ENCYCLOPAEDIA
JUDAICA

ENCYCLOPAEDIA JUDAICA

SECOND EDITION

VOLUME 9
HER–INT

FRED SKOLNIK, *Editor in Chief*
MICHAEL BERENBAUM, *Executive Editor*

MACMILLAN REFERENCE USA
An imprint of Thomson Gale, a part of The Thomson Corporation

IN ASSOCIATION WITH
KETER PUBLISHING HOUSE LTD., JERUSALEM

THOMSON
GALE™

Detroit • New York • San Francisco • New Haven, Conn. • Waterville, Maine • London

ENCYCLOPAEDIA JUDAICA, Second Edition

Fred Skolnik, *Editor in Chief*
Michael Berenbaum, *Executive Editor*
Shlomo S. (Yosh) Gafni, *Editorial Project Manager*
Rachel Gilon, *Editorial Project Planning and Control*

Thomson Gale
Gordon Macomber, *President*
Frank Menchaca, *Senior Vice President and Publisher*
Jay Flynn, *Publisher*
Hélène Potter, *Publishing Director*

Keter Publishing House
Yiphtach Dekel, *Chief Executive Officer*
Peter Tomkins, *Executive Project Director*

Complete staff listings appear in Volume 1

©2007 Keter Publishing House Ltd.
Thomson Gale is a part of The Thomson Corporation. Thomson, Star Logo and Macmillan Reference USA are trademarks and Gale is a registered trademark used herein under license.

For more information, contact
Macmillan Reference USA
An imprint of Thomson Gale
27500 Drake Rd.
Farmington Hills, MI 48331-3535
Or you can visit our internet site at
http://www.gale.com

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED
No part of this work covered by the copyright hereon may be reproduced or used in any form or by any means – graphic, electronic, or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, taping, web distribution, or information storage retrieval systems – without the written permission of the publisher.
For permission to use material from this product, submit your request via Web at http://www.gale-edit.com/permissions, or you may download our Permissions Request form and submit your request by fax or mail to:

Permissions Department
Thomson Gale
27500 Drake Road
Farmington Hills, MI 48331-3535
Permissions Hotline:
(+1) 248-699-8006 or
800-877-4253 ext. 8006
Fax:
(+1) 248-699-8074 or 800-762-4058

Since this page cannot legibly accommodate all copyright notices, the acknowledgments constitute an extension of the copyright notice.

While every effort has been made to ensure the reliability of the information presented in this publication, Thomson Gale does not guarantee the accuracy of the data contained herein. Thomson Gale accepts no payment for listing; and inclusion in the publication of any organization, agency, institution, publication, service, or individual does not imply endorsement of the editors or publisher. Errors brought to the attention of the publisher and verified to the satisfaction of the publisher will be corrected in future editions.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA

Encyclopaedia Judaica / Fred Skolnik, editor-in-chief ; Michael Berenbaum, executive editor. -- 2nd ed.
v. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
Contents: v.1. Aa-Alp.
ISBN 0-02-865928-7 (set hardcover : alk. paper) -- ISBN 0-02-865929-5 (vol. 1 hardcover : alk. paper) -- ISBN 0-02-865930-9 (vol. 2 hardcover : alk. paper) -- ISBN 0-02-865931-7 (vol. 3 hardcover : alk. paper) -- ISBN 0-02-865932-5 (vol. 4 hardcover : alk. paper) -- ISBN 0-02-865933-3 (vol. 5 hardcover : alk. paper) -- ISBN 0-02-865934-1 (vol. 6 hardcover : alk. paper) -- ISBN 0-02-865935-X (vol. 7 hardcover : alk. paper) -- ISBN 0-02-865936-8 (vol. 8 hardcover : alk. paper) -- ISBN 0-02-865937-6 (vol. 9 hardcover : alk. paper) -- ISBN 0-02-865938-4 (vol. 10 hardcover : alk. paper) -- ISBN 0-02-865939-2 (vol. 11 hardcover : alk. paper) -- ISBN 0-02-865940-6 (vol. 12 hardcover : alk. paper) -- ISBN 0-02-865941-4 (vol. 13 hardcover : alk. paper) -- ISBN 0-02-865942-2 (vol. 14 hardcover : alk. paper) -- ISBN 0-02-865943-0 (vol. 15: alk. paper) -- ISBN 0-02-865944-9 (vol. 16: alk. paper) -- ISBN 0-02-865945-7 (vol. 17: alk. paper) -- ISBN 0-02-865946-5 (vol. 18: alk. paper) -- ISBN 0-02-865947-3 (vol. 19: alk. paper) -- ISBN 0-02-865948-1 (vol. 20: alk. paper) -- ISBN 0-02-865949-X (vol. 21: alk. paper) -- ISBN 0-02-865950-3 (vol. 22: alk. paper)
1. Jews -- Encyclopedias. I. Skolnik, Fred. II. Berenbaum, Michael, 1945-
DS102.8.E496 2007
909'.04924 -- dc22
2006020426

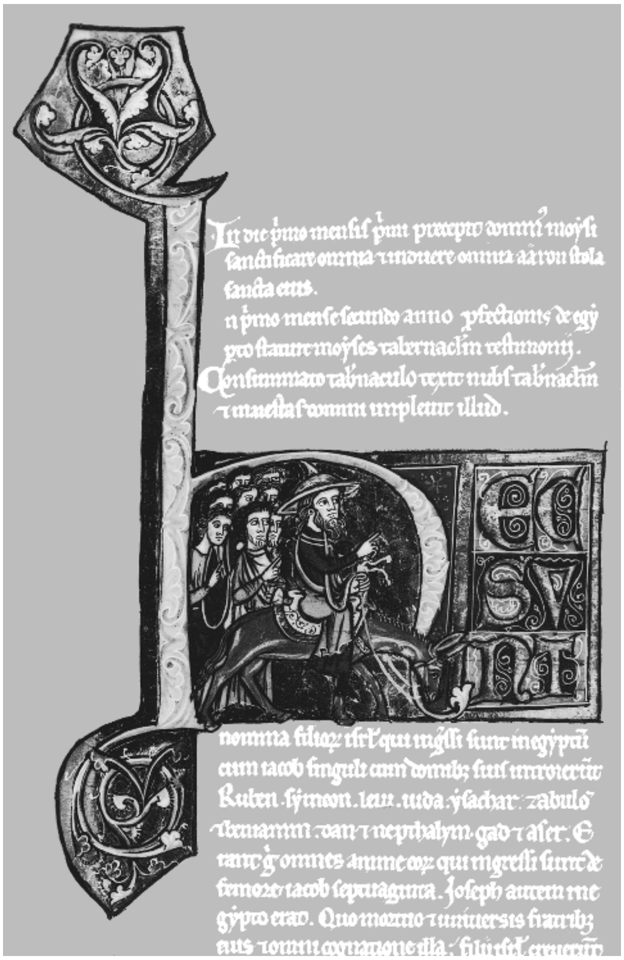
ISBN-13:

978-0-02-865928-2 (set)
978-0-02-865929-9 (vol. 1)
978-0-02-865930-5 (vol. 2)
978-0-02-865931-2 (vol. 3)
978-0-02-865932-9 (vol. 4)
978-0-02-865933-6 (vol. 5)
978-0-02-865934-3 (vol. 6)
978-0-02-865935-0 (vol. 7)
978-0-02-865936-7 (vol. 8)
978-0-02-865937-4 (vol. 9)
978-0-02-865938-1 (vol. 10)
978-0-02-865939-8 (vol. 11)
978-0-02-865940-4 (vol. 12)
978-0-02-865941-1 (vol. 13)
978-0-02-865942-8 (vol. 14)
978-0-02-865943-5 (vol. 15)
978-0-02-865944-2 (vol. 16)
978-0-02-865945-9 (vol. 17)
978-0-02-865946-6 (vol. 18)
978-0-02-865947-3 (vol. 19)
978-0-02-865948-0 (vol. 20)
978-0-02-865949-7 (vol. 21)
978-0-02-865950-3 (vol. 22)

This title is also available as an e-book
ISBN-10: 0-02-866097-8
ISBN-13: 978-0-02-866097-4
Contact your Thomson Gale representative for ordering information.
Printed in the United States of America

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

TABLE OF CONTENTS



Initial letter "H" from the beginning of Exodus in a Latin Bible, France, 12th century. The illumination shows Jacob and his sons going down to Egypt. Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 21, fol. 27.

Her–Hy

HERACLES (Latin: **Hercules**), mythological Greek hero whom Philo praises as a benefactor of mankind and for his courage and determination. The historian *Cleodemus-Malchus (cited by Josephus (Ant., 1:240–1) from *Alexander Polyhistor) relates that the sons of Abraham by *Keturah campaigned with Heracles against Libya and that the daughter of one of them married Heracles and bore him a son. Plutarch, without mentioning that Heracles' wife was the granddaughter of Abraham, has a similar account (*Life of Sertorius*, 9).

[Howard Jacobson]

°**HERACLITUS** (c. 500 B.C.E.), Greek philosopher. Philo asserts that Heraclitus stole his theory of opposites from Moses, but condemns him for not believing in a divine agency beyond the world. "Heraclitean" views on the constant motion of all things and on the origin of the world in fire were known to and sometimes opposed by medieval Jewish philosophers, e.g., *Saadiah Gaon.

°**HERACLIUS**, emperor of the Byzantine Empire from 610 to 641. He is known for his repression of the Jews as a punishment for their sympathy, aid, and collaboration (alleged and actual) with the Persians during their conquest of Jerusalem in 614. Information on such conduct comes mainly from monastic sources. When Jerusalem was recaptured by Heraclius in 629 he encouraged the indiscriminate slaughter of Jews and ultimately their expulsion from the city. After Edessa was retaken by Heraclius, the Jews continued to resist even after the Persians had surrendered and therefore they were expelled on Heraclius' orders. Shortly afterward the Arabs conquered Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. In 632, motivated by exaggerated stories of Jewish sympathy for Islam, Heraclius decreed the forced baptism of all Jews in the empire, but the decree was enforced only in Carthage. He also put into effect *Justinian's novella 146, which interfered with synagogue services and found an echo in contemporary apocalyptic texts. Some scholars consider that Heraclius appears as the notorious King *Armilus destined to be slain by the Messiah according to the

Hebrew apocalypse *Sefer Zerubbavel*, written in the 630s. It is reported that Heraclius advised Dagobert, king of the Franks, to kill Jews who would not accept Christianity. Despite his anti-Jewish acts, the Jews of Constantinople were in a strong enough position after his death to participate in a street riot during which they invaded Hagia Sophia. The emperor and his retinue during their stay in Ereẓ Israel were entertained by the wealthy and prominent *Benjamin of Tiberias, who later converted to Christianity. (See Israel, *History.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Starr, *Jews in the Byzantine Empire* (1939), index; idem, in: JPOS, 15 (1935), 280–93; idem, in: *Byzantinischeneugrieschische Jahrbuecher*, 16 (1940), 192–6; Hilkowitz, in: *Zion*, 4 (1927), 256–76; Baron, Social^2, 3 (1957), 20–24; A. Sharf, in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 48 (1955), 103–15; Hilkowitz, in: *Zion*, 4 (1939), 307–16; Y. Ibn Shmuel, *Midreshei Ge'ullah* (1954^2), 56–92; A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 1 (1965), 195–9.

[Andrew Sharf]

HERALDRY. Seventeenth-century writers on heraldry claimed that the origins of coats of arms could be found in Numbers 2:2: "The Lord spoke to Moses and Aaron saying 'The Israelites shall camp each with his standard under the banners of their ancestral house.'" Although this theory has been abandoned, it would seem that the standards borne by the 12 tribes served the same purpose as heraldic devices. The colors (Num. R. 2:7; Ex. 36:17–21) and emblems were as follows: Reuben – red; emblem: mandrakes (Gen. 30:14). Simeon – green; emblem: the town of Shechem (Gen. 34:25f.). Levi – white, black, and red; emblem: the Urim and Thummim (Deut. 33:9). Judah – azure; emblem: a lion (Gen. 49:9). Issachar – black; emblem: a strong-boned ass (Gen. 49:14) or sun and moon (I Chron. 12:33). Zebulun – white; emblem: a ship (Gen. 49:13). Dan – sapphire; emblem: a serpent (Gen. 49:17) or a lion's whelp (Deut. 33:22). Gad – grey; emblem: a tent (Gen. 49:19) or a lion (Deut. 33:20). Naphtali – rose; emblem: a hind (Gen. 49:21). Asher – aquamarine; emblem: an olive tree (Gen. 49:20; Deut. 33:24). Ephraim and Manasseh – black, embroidered with a picture of Egypt; emblem: Ephraim, a bullock (Deut. 33:17) and Manasseh, a wild ox. Benjamin – 12 colors; emblem: a wolf (Gen. 49:27).

Modern heraldry is founded on a system of heraldry which developed in feudal Western Europe at the time of the Crusades and was based on the principle that only the landowning class, which formed the nobility, was entitled to bear arms. The extensive use of emblems by Jews for seals sometimes led to a design similar to a coat of arms, such as the 14th-century seal used by Kalonymus b. Todros of Narbonne which consisted of a shield charged with a lion rampant; and the king of Portugal, Alfonso Henriques (1094–1185), was said to have granted a coat of arms to a Jew. Nevertheless, the system which prevented Jews from bearing arms was not relaxed until the 16th century. By then, in most countries of Western Europe grants of arms had become the prerogative of the sovereign, who could confer them as a reward for services rendered; they did not necessarily carry with them the status of nobility. The first Jew to receive a grant of arms, Jacob Batsheba Schmieles, was ennobled at the same time, having in 1622 been made a knight of the Holy Roman Empire with the title of *Bassevi of Treuenberg.

The largest group claiming armorial bearings were those Jews of *Marrano descent whose ancestors had adopted the name of the persons sponsoring them for baptism. This would not have given them the right to bear the same arms, although Isaac da Costa argues that the Christian and Jewish branches of these families were indistinguishable. Others inherited arms which had actually been granted to their Marrano ancestors. Among these were Isaac Lousada (d. 1857), who was confirmed by the Spanish government in 1848 in the title of duke and grandee of Spain of the first class; Isaac da Silva *Solis, whose father was made marquis of Montfort in 1673; Antonio Lopez *Suasso (Isaac Israel Suasso), made baron of Avernas de Gras in 1676; and the de *Pinto family descended from Manuel Alvarez Pinto, who was made a knight of St. Jago in 1640. Manuel (Isaac Henriques) Pimentel obtained a declaration in 1674 signed on behalf of the Spanish king that he was entitled to use the ancient arms of Pimentel. The original arms of Pereira and Teixeira contained crosses and were accordingly modified by Jewish families of that name.

The English College of Arms raised no difficulty about granting or registering arms for Jews who had been born in England or had been naturalized or endenizened. The earliest record in this connection, that of 1568 concerning the New Christian family of Anes (JHSET 11, 18), is of only slight Jewish significance, and the first patents of arms for Jews relate to the ancient canting arms of Da *Costa: "gules six broken bones, two two and two barwise and the joynts almost meeting each other in pale argent." These were registered in 1723 and 1725 with variations for Leonor da Costa, her cousin Catharine da Costa Villareal, and her nephew Anthony *Mendes; the first two declared that the arms had been borne by their late husbands before they settled in England, while Anthony Mendes claimed them through his father Dr. Fernando Mendes. The arms registered for de *Aguilar, *Castello, and *Salvador were also of Spanish or Portuguese origin. The grant of arms to Sir Morris *Ximenes, dated May 5, 1807, recites that the arms which his family had always used were similar to those borne by Cardinal Ximenes from a branch of whose family he was traditionally descended, a claim which today would be received with considerable doubt.

Some of these coats of arms contain Jewish features. Both the Belilios and the *Mocatta arms include a seven-branch candlestick. The Franco (*Lopes) arms were confirmed in 1760 by the College of Arms to Jacob Franco, "his ancestors having used for their armorial ensigns on a field a fountain proper thereout issuant a palm tree vert… represented on a marble monument in the synagogue of the Jewish nation in the City of Leghorn." The arms granted in 1819 to Moses *Montefiore were based on the family badge embroidered on an Ark curtain presented to the Levantine synagogue at Ancona in 1635 by Judah Leone Montefiore. In 1831 Moses Montefiore obtained as an augmentation to the banner on his crest the word

Jerusalem in Hebrew characters of gold to commemorate his visit to the Holy Land in 1827. In 1841 after his intervention with the sultan at Constantinople about the *Damascus Affair, he recorded details of the affair as well as a copy of the sultan's firman at the College of Arms. At the same time he received an additional crest, and Queen Victoria granted him the right to bear supporters, "being desirous of giving an especial mark of our royal favor… in commemoration of these his unceasing exertions on behalf of his injured and persecuted brethren although the privilege of bearing supporters be limited to the peers of our realm, the knights of our orders and the proxies of princes of our blood" (Sir Moses was then only a knight bachelor). Each of the supporters carried a flagstaff with the word *Jerusalem* in Hebrew characters of gold. The *Sassoon arms were usually emblazoned with the motto in Latin and Hebrew, but the Hebrew motto is not mentioned in the grant of arms made in 1862 to David Sassoon. The priestly blessing is referred to in the motto, "the Lord bless them," adopted by Sir Samuel Sydney Cohen of Sydney, Australia, in 1947. The emblem of the tribe of Benjamin forms the basis of the coat of arms granted, also in 1947, to the descendants of Sir Benjamin Benjamin of Melbourne, Australia: "Azure, a wolf passant between three stars of six points argent."

Naphtali Basevi, maternal grandfather of Benjamin *Disraeli, earl of Beaconsfield, used an unregistered coat of arms, the charges on which were a lion, supposed to be for St. Mark of Venice, an eagle for Austria, and a crescent for Turkey; according to family tradition, they were the arms granted to an ancestor, Solomon ben Nathan *Ashkenazi (1520?–1602), in reward for his services in negotiating a peace treaty when serving as Turkish ambassador to Venice. A similar device is used as a printer's mark in the Midrash Tanḥuma printed by Abraham Basevi at Verona in 1595 and on Basevi tombstones in that city. Disraeli himself adopted the lion and the eagle and added a castle for Castille. According to him the lion represented Leon and was the device of his Lara ancestors, but in fact his Spanish lineage was fanciful.

In contrast with conditions in England, there were few instances of Jews receiving grants of arms on the Continent prior to the 19th century. When the four *Rothschild brothers, Amschel, Solomon, Carl, and James, were ennobled by the emperor Francis II of Austria in 1816, the first somewhat ambitious design for their coat of arms was rejected by the Austrian Heralds' College with the comment that it was "necessary to proceed with the greatest caution particularly in the case of members of the Jewish nation for various reasons and more especially because they are not familiar with the prerogatives of nobility." The coat of arms granted in 1817 had as charges: a half eagle and an arm bearing four arrows, not five, because Nathan, the English brother, was not included (E.C. Corti, *The Rise of the House of Rothschild*, 1 (1928), 193). He himself was granted a different coat of arms by the English College of Arms in February 1818, consisting of a "lion passant guardant grasping with the dexter forepaw five arrows." The de *Worms family, who were kinsmen of the Rothschilds, had a hand grasping three arrows in their coat of arms to represent the three de Worms brothers. In Italy the Jews followed the practice common among families of all classes of adopting family badges. Some of these, as in the cases of Franco and Montefiore, were later incorporated in coats of arms, but in their original form they were extensively used on seals, marriage contracts, tombstones, and personal effects.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Wolf, in: JHSET, 2 (1894/95), 153–69; I. da Costa, *Noble Families among the Sephardic Jews…* (1936); A. Rubens, in: *Anglo-Jewish Notabilities* (1949), 75–128; C. Roth, *Stemmi di Famiglie Ebraiche Italiane* (1967).

[Alfred Rubens]

HERAT, city in N.W. Afghanistan. Jewish settlement there goes back to early Islamic times. The recent discovery in Firuzkuh, near Herat, of 20 Judeo-Persian tombstone inscriptions covering the years 1115–1215 indicates the existence of a Jewish settlement with a cemetery. Firuzkuh was destroyed by the *Mongol invasion (1221), and the Jewish survivors may have fled further east, perhaps to China. From 1839 the community in Herat absorbed many refugees from *Meshed across the Persian border, victims of a forced conversion decree. The outbreak of Anglo-Persian hostilities in the second part of the 19th century caused many of these Meshed Conversos to be expelled from Herat, forcing them to settle in the vicinity of Baba Qudrat. Ephraim *Neumark found in Herat in 1884 about 300 Jewish families, engaged in commerce, handicrafts, and trade with India and Central Asia. In 1898 E.N. *Adler discovered in the city some Hebrew manuscripts written in 1773. Many Jews from Herat emigrated to Palestine in the early decades of the 20th century, among them R. Garji and his family, and the Shauloff family. They brought with them manuscripts of Judeo-Persian literature which they printed in Jerusalem. In the late 1960s the Jewish community in Herat had dwindled to only a few families.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W.J. Fischel, in: JAOS, 85 (1965), 148–53; I. Ben Zvi, *Meḥkarim u-Mekorot* (1966), 325, 331–3. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R.N. Frye, "Harāt," in: EIS², 3 (1971), 177–78.

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

HERBERG, WILL (1909–1977), U.S. theologian and social critic. Herberg was born and reared in New York City. A child of assimilated Russian Jewish intellectuals, he joined the Communist Party in 1924 and broke with it in 1931. From 1934 to 1946 he served as educational director and labor analyst for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Returning to academic life in 1946, he held academic positions at major universities and from 1955 was on the faculty of Drew University, becoming professor of philosophy and culture. Herberg was reared as an atheist and became a Marxist at the age of 15. On breaking with the Communist Party, he began a serious study of theology and was deeply influenced by Karl Barth, Emil Brunner, and Reinhold Niebuhr. Niebuhr's political and theological thinking had a profound impact on Herberg. The Jewish thinkers who influenced Herberg were Buber, Rosenzweig and, to a lesser extent, Solomon Schechter.

His return to Judaism, if it can be called a "return," for there was no Judaism in his background, took place around 1944 and was documented in a major article, "From Marxism to Judaism," published in *Commentary* magazine in 1947. This was followed in 1951 by *Judaism and Modern Man: An Interpretation of Jewish Religion*. Herberg's contribution to contemporary Jewish thought has been the rediscovery of the central importance of the covenant for Jewish existence and the conception of idolatry for modern man. Denying emancipation views of Jewishness as synagogue affiliation (Western views) or as *shtetl* citizenship (East European views), Herberg saw Jewishness as covenantal existence, an existence that makes sense of Jewish specificity-particularity and Jewish universality. The rediscovery of idolatry, that the biblical conception of idolatry was not simply the rejection of the worship of sticks and stones but the denial of the claims of all human absolutes, led him to see that "idolatry" remains a permanently relevant category of Jewish thought. Like thinkers before him, such as Samuel David Luzzatto, Herberg distinguished between the Greco-Oriental and Hebraic religions, and includes Christianity, since it is rooted in Hebrew Scripture, as a Hebraic religion. Following F. Rosenzweig, he had a view of the double covenant in terms of Judaism and Christianity.

Stemming from his interest in social, political, and theological matters Herberg published *Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (1955; revised 1960); and three monographs, "The Jewish Labor Movement in America" (1950), "The Political Theory of American Marxism" (1951), "Religion and Education in America" (1961). Herberg later wrote *Judaism and Modern Man* (1970) and *Faith Enacted as History: Essays in Biblical Theology* (1976). He edited *The Writings of Martin Buber* (1956), *Four Existentialist Theologians* (1958), and *Community, State and Church: Three Essays by Karl Barth* (1960). *From Marxism to Judaism: The Collected Essays of Will Herberg* was published in 1988.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Arthur A. Cohen, *The Natural and the Supernatural Jew* (1962), ch. 3, sect. 6. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Marty and H. Ausmus, *Will Herberg: From Right to Right* (1987); H. Ausmus, *Will Herberg: A Bio-Bibliography* (1985).

[Monford Harris]

HERBS, MEDICINAL. In ancient times herbs were the main source of remedies. According to the Book of *Jubilees (10:12), the angels revealed the various remedies to Noah, who wrote them down in a book. *Asaph the physician adds that Noah, having been taught by the angel Raphael the remedies obtainable from trees, plants, and roots, recorded them in a book which he gave to his son Shem and which was used by the ancient physicians (Asaph, ed. Venetianer, 6). Apparently in olden times books of remedies were common among the people. One of them, mentioned by Maimonides as having supposedly been written by Solomon (Maim., commentary on Pes. 4:9; cf. Jos., Ant. 8:45ff.), was suppressed by order of Hezekiah, king of Judah, for which action he was praised by the sages (Pes. 4:9); his purpose, so commentators explain, was that people should pray to the Almighty for mercy and not rely solely on remedies. Maimonides, however, rejects the legend. Except for צֳרִי (*ẓori*, "balm"), stated to be efficacious in curing wounds (Jer. 8:22, 46:11, 51:8), no medicinal herbs or prophylactics are mentioned in the Bible. It is suggested that the story of the *mandrakes (Gen. 30:14–17) alludes to this plant's properties in promoting pregnancy, but the passage seems specifically intended rather to point out that pregnancy is a gift of the Lord, for Leah, who handed over the mandrakes, became pregnant and not Rachel, who received them. The Bible several times mentions toxic plants from which poisons were extracted, such as ראשׁ or רושׁ (*rosh*, "*hemlock"; AV, JPS, "gall") and לַעֲנָה (*la'anah*, "wormwood"), these having apparently also been used in minute quantities as remedies, as testified by Greek and Roman medical writings. Of the toxic plant פַּקֻּעוֹת (*pakku'ot*; AV, JPS, "gourds"), colocynth (see *cucumber), it is told that during a famine in the days of Elisha one of the disciples, intending to gather אורות (*orot*; AV, JPS, "herbs"), that is, according to R. Meir, roquet, a medicinal herb especially efficacious in eye diseases, instead collected and boiled a dish of colocynth. After eating of it, the disciples cried out: "There is death in the pot," but by adding flour to the dish Elisha made it edible (II Kings 4:39–41), the flour having absorbed, some contend, the fruit's bitter toxic substance.

Whereas the Bible speaks very little about medicinal plants, talmudic literature mentions many herbs, some regarded as cures, others used as a prophylactic against various ailments. From time immemorial popular medicine has used numerous herbs, particularly wild plants, as remedies. The classical medical literature of Theophrastus, Pliny, Dioscorides, Galen, and others shows that different remedial qualities were ascribed to the vast majority of herbs, some of which were used by many peoples. In talmudic literature close upon 70 plants are mentioned as having medicinal properties, including plants mainly used as food, such as olives, dates, pomegranates, quinces among fruit – and garlic, *beet, *hyssop, *cumin, and *fennel-flower among vegetables and spices. In addition wild plants are mentioned which were used principally for remedial purposes. The following are some of the medicinal plants enumerated in the Talmud: for a liver ailment, יוֹעֶזֶר (*yo'ezer* "maidenhair fern"; *Adiantum capillus veneris*; Shab. 14:3; Shab. 109b); as an antidote for snake poison, אַבּוּב רוֹעֶה (*abbuv ro'eh*, "knoodweed," *Polygonum aviculare; ibid.*); for eye ailments, scurvy, and intestinal worms, גַּרְגִּיר (*gargir*, "roquet"; *Eruca sativa*; Shab. 109a; Git. 69b); recommended for intestinal worms are the leaves of עָרָא (*ara*, "bay"; *Laurus nobilis*; Git. 69b) and אֵזוֹב (*ezov*, "hyssop"; *Majorana syriaca*; Shab. 109b); for intestinal ailments, שַׁחְלַיִים (*shiḥlayim*, "garden cress"; *Lepidium sativum*; Av.Zar. 29a; Git. 57a); for skin disease, תְּרֵד (*tered*, "spinach beet"; *Beta vulgaris* var. *cicla*; Shab. 133b f.), considered efficacious in many ailments, it having been said that "a broth of spinach beet is beneficial for the heart, good for eyes, and still more so for the bowels" (Ber. 39a); for דְּמָא דְּרֵישָׁא (*dema de-reisha*), apparently blood pressure in the head, הֲדַס (*Hadas*, "myr-

tle"), and the wild rose (*Rosa canina*; Git. 68b) are recommended; for stopping hemorrhage, כַּמּוֹן (*kammon*, "cumin"), תַּחֲלֵי (*taḥalei*; garden cress), and seeds of סְנֶה (*seneh*, "the raspberry"; *Rubus sanctus*) are suggested (Shab. 19:2; Av. Zar. 28 a–b). There is in addition a long list of medicinal plants, potions, and remedies from the plant world which are prescribed in the Talmud. A number of remedies were known for restoring virility, for increasing seed, for aphrodisiac purposes, for inducing temporary sterility, or for preventing conception. Several herbs are prescribed as cosmetics. Opium is mentioned once – as a plant dangerous to buy from gentiles (TJ, Av. Zar. 2:2, 40d).

The pharmaceutical importance of the herbs mentioned in the Talmud has hardly been investigated. Apparently the vast majority of them have a significance no greater than the potions and remedies that were used until the development of modern pharmaceuticals. Although Jacob b. Moses Moellin and others warned against the use of the remedies mentioned in the Talmud, some are apparently worth studying and examining by modern scientific methods.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Krauss, Tal Arch, 1 (1910), 256–61; J. Preuss, *Biblisch-Talmudische Medizin* (1923^{3}), 506–8; Loew, Flora, 4 (1934), 102–7; H.N. and A.L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible* (1952), 312 (index), s.v.; J. Feliks, *Olam ha-Ẓome'aḥ ha-Mikra'i* (1968^{2}), 176–203.

[Jehuda Feliks]

HERBST, KARL (1865–1919), one of the founders of the Zionist movement in Bulgaria. Born in Czernowitz, Bukovina (according to one source his place of birth was Brno, Moravia), he grew up in Adrianople, where his father served as a railroad inspector. Later he moved to Sofia, became a senior Bulgarian government official, and for a time served at the Bulgarian embassy in Istanbul. He became one of Theodor *Herzl's first adherents in Bulgaria and, together with J. *Kalef, translated *Der Judenstaat* into Bulgarian (1896). He attended the First Zionist Congress (1897) and was the chairman of the first Zionist conference to take place in Bulgaria in Plovdiv (Philippopolis), December 1898. Herbst became the chief spokesman of Zionism in Bulgaria and, together with J. Kalef, he established and edited *Kol Israel*, the organ of the Zionist organization in that country, which appeared in Bulgarian and Ladino. He was known as "the father of Bulgarian Zionism."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Romano et al. (eds.), *Yahadut Bulgaryah* (1967), index; L. Jaffe (ed.), *Sefer ha-Congress* (1950^{2}), 215–6, 369.

[Getzel Kressel]

HERBSTEIN, JOSEPH (1897–1983), South African jurist. Born in Graaff-Reinet, South Africa, he was the son of Morris Isaac Herbstein who had gone from Romania to Palestine with the Bilu pioneers in the early 1880s, but had been forced to leave the country because of malaria and blackwater fever. Joseph Herbstein practiced at the Cape bar. He became a king's counsel in 1939 and was the first Jew raised to the bench in the Cape Division (1946). As senior judge, he acted for a time as judge president of the Division. He retired in 1963 and settled in Israel. His writings include two authoritative legal works, *The Civil Practice of the Superior Courts in South Africa*, with L. van Winsen (1954) and *The Magistrates' Courts Act* with A.W.E. Baker and S. Aaron (1954). A Zionist from youth, Herbstein founded the first Students' Zionist Society (at Rhodes University) in South Africa. Forthright and outspoken in his views, he was an ardent public worker, led many fund-raising campaigns for Zionism, and held high office in the South African Zionist Federation. He was a governor of the Haifa Technion and of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

[Lewis Sowden]

HERDAN, KURT LUCIAN (1922–), Chilean artist. Born in Romania, Herdan spent from 1941 to 1944 in concentration camps. He moved to Israel in 1950 and had his first exhibition in Tel Aviv in 1953. In 1954, he moved to Santiago, Chile, and became director of a private art academy. From 1956 to 1959 he made interior decorations for the Municipal Theater in Santiago, Chile. In 1964, he founded with other Chilean artists the Group "Form and Space" in Santiago.

°HERDER, JOHANN GOTTFRIED (1744–1803), German philosopher, author, critic, and translator and as such one of the central figures of 18th-century German intellectual life. He exerted his widest influence as *Generalsuperintendent* in classical Weimar (1776–1803), winning a reputation particularly as a preacher. Few Protestant theologians have devoted so much admiring attention to the Old Testament at the expense of the New, or considered the Bible and the Jewish people with such remarkable objectivity. While acknowledging the Divine inspiration of the biblical writers, Herder saw them as spokesmen for humanity; and, in his pioneering aesthetic comparison between the poetry of the Bible and that of classical antiquity or of writers like Milton, he proclaimed the superiority of the Hebrew genius. His opinions were expressed in the *Aelteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts* (2 vols., 1774–76) and in his translation and commentary *Lieder der Liebe* (1778). More importance is, however, attached to his incomplete *Vom Geiste der ebraeischen Poesie* (2 vols., 1782–83; *The Spirit Of Hebrew Poetry*, Vermont, 1833), which regards all Hebrew literature from Genesis to rabbinic times as a single unit, endowed with unique quality and power. *Vom Geiste der ebraeischen Poesie* was written in dialogue form, a device borrowed from *Judah Halevi's *Kuzari*. Herder greatly admired the medieval Spanish poet (whose *Ode to Zion* he translated into German), and other post-biblical Jewish writers and philosophers, such as *Maimonides, Isaac *Abrabanel, and Solomon *Maimon. His familiarity with rabbinic literature, particularly the Midrash, is seen in his various "Juedische Parabeln." Herder was friendly with Moses *Mendelssohn and in his essay "Ueber die Bekehrung der Juden" (*Adrastea*, 4 (Leipzig, 1802), ch. 7) called for the total emancipation of the Jews. His own religious philosophy developed in contemplation of *Spinoza's thought, though Herder himself always rejected the Deist position. N.H. *Wes-

sely wrote his *Shirei Tiferet* in response to Herder's challenge that no epic had yet been written about Moses.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R.T. Clark, *Herder: His Life and Thought* (1955); F.M. Barnard, in: JSOS, 28 (1966), 25–33. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** K. Menges, in: *Euphorion* 90 (1996), 394–415; M.F. Moeller, *Herders Menschenbild* (1998).

[David Baumgardt / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

HEREFORD, county town in S.W. England. Jews lived there from the middle of the 12th century, and later it possessed an *archa. Ten members of the community contributed to the *Northampton Donum in 1194 for ransoming Richard I. Hamo of Hereford (d. 1232) was one of the most affluent financiers of his day; the duties payable on his estate amounted to 6,000 marks, a good part of which went to the building of Westminster Abbey. Under Henry III, a dispute between the king's officials and the local bishop for jurisdiction over the Jews necessitated royal intervention. In 1272 the entire community was imprisoned to compel payment of a tallage. In 1275, the community was increased by Jews expelled from *Worcester with their *archa*. Among the latter was Isaac of Worcester, who became one of the most prominent local financiers. Twenty-four burghers were appointed "Guardians of the Peace" on behalf of the Jews in 1282. Relations with Christians were good and as late as 1286 several prominent citizens were invited to attend a Jewish wedding but were prevented by the bishop. The community comprised about 40 prominent householders at the time of the expulsion from England. The debts due them, amounting to over £2,000, fell into royal hands. There has been no organized Jewish community in Hereford in modern times, although the Liberal movement hosts a local group for Jews in the area.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: JHSET, 1 (1893–94), 136–59; 2 (1894–95), 92; Roth, England3, passim; Rigg-Jenkinson, Exchequer, passim.

[Cecil Roth]

ḤEREM (Heb. חֵרֶם), the status of that which is separated from common use or contact either because it is proscribed as an abomination to God or because it is consecrated to Him (cf. Ar., *ḥaruma*, "be forbidden, become sacred"; *ḥaram*, "holy precinct"; *ḥarim*, "women's quarters"). In the second sense it is similar to qodesh, "sanctity," from which it differs only in being irredeemable. To declare or treat as *ḥerem* is expressed by the verb *heḥerim* (passive, *hoḥoram*), henceforth rendered "proscribe." Things in the status of *ḥerem* are also called *ḥerem.*

Categories of Ḥerem

The laws of the Torah declare the following to be *ḥerem*:

1. Israelites who worship other gods, whether individuals or an entire community; idols and their accouterments. These are an abomination to the Lord: Human beings are to be put to the sword; inanimate objects are to be burned. This severest degree of *ḥerem* is contagious: hence all the property of a proscribed community is condemned – livestock must be put to the sword, the rest burned "as a holocaust to the Lord," and no spoil may be taken of the idols or the proscribed community (Ex. 22:19; Deut. 7:25–26; 13:13–19). An individual, too, who incurs the severest degree of *ḥerem* contaminates everything that comes into contact with him (cf. Josh. 7:24–25).

2. The seven nations inhabiting the land promised to Israel – the Hittites, Girgashites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites (Deut. 7:1–2; cf. 20:17). Not a soul of these is to be left alive "lest they lead you into doing all the abhorrent things that they have done for their gods and you stand guilty before the Lord your God" (20:18). The motive and the context of this law (cf. 20:13–14) indicate that the spoil of these nations was not *ḥerem* (cf. Deut. 6:11).

3. Whatever one privately devotes to the Lord as *ḥerem*. Such things are sacred in the highest degree (*qodesh qodashim*), and their status is irrevocable: they may neither be sold by the sanctuary nor redeemed by the devoter (Lev. 27:28). They belong to the priests (Num. 18:14; Ezek. 44:29). The situation envisaged by the law of Leviticus 27:29, that a human being in *ḥerem* must be put to death and may not be redeemed, is obscure. Some take it to refer to a person condemned for idolatry (1, above), others, to the victim of a private vow (see above; cf. the case of *Jephthah's daughter (Judg. 11:34ff.); see also d. below).

The cases of *ḥerem* recorded outside the laws conform only partially to those set forth in the laws:

(a) Having been defeated in an attempt to invade Canaan from the south by the Canaanites of Arad, Israel vowed to proscribe them should God grant a victory over them. Later, victorious Israel did proscribe "them and their towns" (Num. 21:1–3). Thus, the *ḥerem* of these Canaanites, at any rate, stemmed from a public vow, rather than from the blanket decree (see 2. above). Harmonizers suggest that the vow simply supplemented the law by including the booty ["their towns"] in the *ḥerem*, in addition to the population.

(b) Several proscriptions of Canaanites, conforming with the law of number 2 (see above) are recorded: The Transjordanian populations subject to Sihon (Deut. 2:34) and Og (3:6), and the Cisjordanian inhabitants of Makkedah, Eglon, Hebron, Debir, and Libnah – in general, the towns of the south (10:28–40) and those of the north (11:10ff.). Livestock and booty were taken, and the towns were left intact.

(c) Exceptionally severe was the *ḥerem* of Jericho: Animals as well as human beings were put to the sword, the city was burned down, its spoliation banned, and its silver, gold, copper, and iron vessels dedicated to the sanctuary treasury (Josh. 6:17ff.). *Achan's encroachment on this *ḥerem* was punished by his being stoned and burned, along with his family, livestock, and property (cf. 1. above). The Midrash represents Achan as exculpating himself on the grounds that Joshua's *ḥerem* decree went beyond the law, which indeed it did (see 2. above; Num. R. 23:6; cf. Sanh. 44a). Exceptional, too, is the burning down of Ai and Hazor, though both were despoiled beforehand (Josh. 8:26; 10:39; 11:13).

(d) The population of Negebite Zephath was slain, and the town proscribed (Judg. 1:17).

(e) Most of the Jabesh-Gilead was proscribed in accordance with a public oath condemning to death any who failed to join the sacred battle against Benjamin (Judg. 21:5–11). Perhaps such a situation underlies the *ḥerem* law of Leviticus 27:29. This is, at any rate, an antecedent to the coercive *ḥerem* applied within the community in post-exilic times (see h. below).

(f) God bade Samuel to charge Saul with a war of extermination against *Amalek for its ambush of Israel at the Exodus. Amalek and all its property were proscribed; Saul's failure to execute the order fully resulted in his rejection (I Sam. 15; I Chron. 10:13).

(g) The end of the proscription of enemies is signaled in Solomon's impressment into state service of such elements of the indigenous population as escaped proscription at the time of the Conquest (I Kings 9:21; cf. Josh. 15:63; 17:12; Judg. 1:19–35). Though not put to death, the presence of a class of "Solomon's slaves" down to the Restoration (Ezra 2:55) indicates that this element remained segregated in the Israelite community for generations.

(h) The latest biblical attestation of the *ḥerem* as a practical measure is its post-exilic use as a penalty to coerce individuals to obey communal authorities. "The property of anyone who does not appear within three days [to answer the summons of the Jewish authorities]… will be proscribed, and he himself separated from the community" (Ezra 10:8). By "proscription," destruction may be meant, though (in light of 3. above) expropriation by the Temple treasury is usually understood.

Whether or not the absence of *ḥerem* terminology in cases where it would fit is significant is hard to say. The slaughter of the inhabitants of Beth-El and Laish (Judg. 1:25; 18:27) is not called a proscription, though it resembles the case of Zephath (1:17), which is. Was the former not religiously motivated, then, in contrast with the latter? (cf. what is said below on the divergent representations of the wars conducted against Sihon and Og in Num. and Deut.). Moses' condemnation of the calf-worshipers is not called a proscription (Ex. 32:27), though it conforms precisely with the terms of number 1 (above). Nor is "the Lord's vengeance on Midian" (Num. 31:3) so called, though it resembles the war against Amalek, which is. Thus, the suspicion exists that the narrative did not always choose its terms precisely, and that more instances of *ḥerem* may in fact exist than are so designated expressly.

In the literature of the later monarchy and the Prophets *ḥerem* terminology is used loosely in the sense of "utter destruction," without its specific, religious context. Thus, for example, Sennacherib can be said to have "utterly destroyed (*heḥerim*) all countries" (II Kings 19:11; in II Chron. 32:14, "all gods!"), or God-sent destruction may be expressed in *ḥerem* terms (Isa. 34:2; Jer. 25:9; Zech. 14:11 (*ḥurban*, "ruin," see *Kimḥi); Mal. 3:24). Something of the early notion of dedication to God appears in Micah 4:13.

The Evolution of the Term Ḥerem

The evolution of the conception and practice of the *ḥerem* in Israel may be surmised as follows: The *ḥerem* as a private irrevocable dedication of property to the sanctuary (3. above) so directly expresses its character of "separation from common use" that, although it is found in a stratum commonly dated to late (even Exilic) times – the priestly code – there is no reason to suppose it is a late practice.

The antiquity of the notion that that which was an abomination to the Lord was *ḥerem* is vouched for by the early law of Exodus 22:19; proscribing the worshiper of other gods. This punitive application of *ḥerem* within the community appears in the case of Jabesh-Gilead (e. above) and Ezra (h. above), and eventuated in the later, modified form of Jewish excommunication.

The practice of declaring an enemy to be *ḥerem* combines both of the foregoing aspects. Ancient warfare, especially the wars fought by the tribal league of Israel in pre-Davidic times, had a religious grounding. The battle was God's (I Sam. 17:47), the enemy was God's (Judg. 5:31), and Israel's forces were God's helpers (Judg. 5:23). It was, therefore, natural to regard the enemy as *ḥerem* and his destruction as an act of devotion to God. Yet the actual instances of enemy *ḥerem* are too few and special to warrant the assumption that it was a rule of ancient Israelite warfare. Nor must every destruction of an enemy be counted as a religious proscription – Gideon's slaughter of the Penuelites (Judg. 8:17) and Abimelech's of the Shechemites (9:45) were not. The laws of Deuteronomy (2. above) and narratives in Deuteronomy and Joshua (b) and (c) above) speak of the natives of Israel's land as *ḥerem*; other cases are very rare – none occurs in the wars of the period of the Judges or from the reign of David on. But even the limited *ḥerem* of Deuteronomy (and its narrative reflexes), in its present form of a blanket, antecedent proscription, does not seem to have been an early conception. The laws prior to Deuteronomy do not mention such a *ḥerem*. Exodus 23:27–33 indeed speaks of the expulsion of the Canaanites and forbids coming to such terms with them as will allow them to remain in the land, "lest they cause you to sin against me, for you will serve their gods" (so too 33:2–3; Num. 33:50–56). Exodus 34:11–16 adds a ban on intermarriage, "lest [the Canaanite wives] cause your sons to lust after their gods." The injunction is to expel and dispossess, and is given a religious ground; there is no command to slaughter the population. The first case of enemy *ḥerem* results from a vow taken by Israel to proscribe the Canaanites who defeated them at Hormah ((a) above). In return for a victory, the people dedicate to God all the fruits of battle. By this solemn, awful, and self-denying undertaking the people seek the favor of God after a military reverse. There is no suggestion of a blanket, antecedent proscription of any and all Canaanites on religious grounds. The wars with Sihon and Og, according to Numbers 21:24, 35, ended with an annihilation of the enemy's forces and the seizure of his land; the *ḥerem* is not mentioned. Only Deuteronomy 2:34 and 3:6 speak of "proscribing every town – men, women, and children" – while

retaining the booty (in accordance with 2. above; but note that the Deuteronomic account states that Moses offered peace to Sihon (2:26) in accordance with Deuteronomy 20:10 (see Naḥmanides ad. loc., but see also 20: 15ff.). The *ḥerem* of Jericho is represented as an ad hoc injunction of Joshua (Josh, 6:17–19); it goes well beyond the Deuteronomic law, and makes no reference to it. This *ḥerem* has the character of a firstfruits offering: The first spoils of Canaan are wholly devoted to God. The terms of Ai's *ḥerem* are likewise represented as an ad hoc instruction of God to Joshua (8:2, 26–27), without reference to the Deuteronomic rule enunciated by Moses (though conforming to it). Samuel's proscription of Amalek diverges too widely from the Deuteronomic law to serve as an attestation of it. Amalek is not one of the nations condemned in the law; the total proscription exceeds that of the law; the ground of the proscription is revenge (I Sam. 15:2) rather than concern over purity of the faith.

The evidence suggests that the enemy *ḥerem*, eventually codified in a very special form in Deuteronomy, originated as a dedicatory proscription designed to win God's favor by totally devoting to Him His (and the nation's) enemy. It was declared in situations of particular stress – after the national army had suffered a defeat (Hormah, Ai), or when a crucial test of arms was imminent (Jericho, Amalek). The persistent tradition that, by and large, the Canaanites were evicted from the land occupied by the invading Israelites (cf. Amos 2:9) indicates that the reported proscription of towns by Joshua, though doubtless over-systematized, reflects a typical feature of the wars of conquest. The land-hunger of the invaders must have made the battles over Canaanite towns bitter. Since the citizenry realized they were to be dispossessed, they resisted desperately; the no less desperate invader thereupon sought to enlist God's help by devoting the enemy as *ḥerem* to him. Judging from the cases of Ai, the soldiers' behavior in the battle against Amalek, and the Deuteronomic law, the normal *ḥerem* allowed spoliation but proscribed the enemy population. Its effect was to clear an area for Israelite occupation (and doubtless to panic into flight or surrender the inhabitants of nearby towns; cf. the Gibeonites, Josh. 9).

The sole extra-biblical attestation of *ḥerem* is of just this kind. *Mesha, king of Moab, reports that when he won back from Israel long-lost territory north of the Arnon, he massacred the Israelite inhabitants of some towns – those of Nebo expressly because he "had proscribed it [*hḥrmth*] to [the god] Ashtar-Chemosh"; he then resettled Moabites in their stead (*Mesha Stele, lines 10–21, in Pritchard, Texts, 320). Classical writers provide analogies from the practice of the Celts (Diodorus, 5:32), Gauls (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, 6: 17), Teutons (Tacitus, *Annals*, 13:57), and early Romans (Livy, 8:9).

Deuteronomy's Reinterpretation of the Enemy Ḥerem

After the reign of Saul, the enemy *ḥerem* seems to have fallen into disuse. The national-religious fervor of the wars of settlement declined; the armies of Israel consisted more and more of professional soldiers (cf. I Sam. 14:52); and offensive wars became imperial – so that subject populations were desirable. Solomon's impressment into state service of Canaanites who survived the wars of settlement demonstrates this disuse ((g) above). Subsequently, the concept appears only rarely, and then only in prophetic speech (e.g., the condemnation of Ahab for having released Ben-Hadad, God's "*ḥerem*-man"; I Kings 20:42; cf. Isa. 34:5; Micah 4:13). It had become archaic, evocative of a bygone enthusiasm, fit for the high-strung, affective idiom of prophecy. As described above, the enemy *ḥerem* was not a peculiarly Israelite practice. However, another representation, informed by Israelite ideology, is found in Deuteronomy and related literature. This representation exemplifies Deuteronomy's penchant for systematizing and rationalizing traditional conceptions. The religiously motivated injunction against coexistence with the Canaanites is combined with the old enemy *ḥerem* into a new law: So as not to fall into the debased ways of the Canaanites, Israel must not only expel and dispossess them (Ex. 34:11ff.; Num. 33:51ff.) but also exterminate them as *ḥerem* (Deut. 7:1–5; 20:16ff.). Thus an *ad hoc*, quasi-theurgic war measure was converted into a fixed religious duty. At the same time, a status which in practice could be invoked against any enemy was restricted by Deuteronomy to the inhabitants of the promised land, for they alone threatened the purity of the faith. Accounts of past wars were modified accordingly: The realms of Sihon and Og were treated in conformity with the *ḥerem* law (Deut. 2:32–35; 3:6–7; contrast Num. 21:24, 35); Joshua automatically and everywhere proscribed the Canaanite towns he took – "as God had commanded Moses" (Josh. 11:12, 15, 20). Only a trace of the primary nature of the enemy *ḥerem* survives in the summary notice that the proscription resulted from the determined resistance of the enemy (Josh. 11:20).

The severest degree of the old enemy *ḥerem* inspired Deuteronomy's expansion of the proscription of alien cults in Exodus 22:19. Not only an individual, but a whole community, with all its property, must be proscribed for apostasy (Deut. 13:13ff.; the non-ethnic, purely religious basis of Deuteronomy's *ḥerem* concept manifests itself in this application of *ḥerem* to Israelites; later jurists denied that the law was practicable: Tosef., Sanh. 14:1; Sanh. 71a). The notion of contagiousness reached its extreme in this case and in the rule of Deut. 7:25–26 that even the precious metals of idols must be destroyed on penalty of incurring *ḥerem*. While the metals of Jericho were devoted to the sanctuary, those of idols were a contaminating abomination.

Deuteronomy's revision of the *ḥerem*, an aspect of its intense concern over keeping Israel free of alien influences, cannot be precisely dated. Its execration of idols contrasts with the Samuel narrative's unruffled reports of David's taking the abandoned idols of the Philistines (II Sam. 5:21) and the crown of the Ammonite god Malcam (Milcom; II Sam. 12:30). I Chronicles 14:12 adjusts the first report to conform with the Deuteronomic law (the idols were burned), suggesting, but not proving, that the law came in between. The blanket proscription of the Canaanites seems to be a theory,

and the accounts of its systematic application, a tendentious revision of history. Critics have sought to connect it with the religio-military revival of Josiah's time; however, the express restriction of the *ḥerem* to the seven nations of Canaan, who posed no threat to Judah's religion in Josiah's time, does not speak for that connection. Any time after Solomon, in whose reign the extinction of the old enemy *ḥerem* is attested, may have seen the birth of the Deuteronomic concept. To assume that it is the reflex of a reformational movement like that of Josiah (or Hezekiah) is unnecessary.

Later jurists drew the final inferences from Deuteronomy's reinterpretation of the enemy *ḥerem*. They reasoned that since the express intention of the law was to protect Israel against the allure of a debased way of life, if the Canaanites gave up their polluted cult, they were exempt from the *ḥerem* (Sif. Deut. 202; Tosef. Sot. 8:5). The rule of Deuteronomy 20:10 is therefore universal: even campaigns against the Canaanites must begin with an offer of peace, the difference between far-off towns and theirs being that, to escape destruction, they must agree, upon surrendering, to abandon idolatry and accept the *Noachide Laws. And that is how Joshua dealt with them: Like Moses, who offered peace to Sihon in spite of God's order to start a war with him, Joshua preceded his campaigns with a proclamation published throughout Canaan, inviting the population to choose between leaving, making peace, or fighting. The Gibeonites chose peace, gave up idolatry, and became temple servants (Deut. R. 5:13, 14). Solomon's failure to proscribe the remaining Canaanites in his realm was probably due to their having abandoned idolatry (Kimḥi, to II Chron. 2:16).

Thus, the ancient, rude notion of enemy *ḥerem* underwent continued revision long after it had ceased to be applied in practice. Originating as a votive proscription of the enemy – any enemy – and made under the stress of war to propitiate God, it was transformed by Deuteronomy into an ordinance to protect the purity of Israel's faith in Canaan. Against the background of the Jewish institution of conversion, its operation was later qualified again by being made contingent upon a prior offer of peace on condition of conversion. Religious-rational tendencies inherent in biblical thought did away with the application of the *ḥerem* limitlessly and automatically to populations who had no choice in the matter.

[Moshe Greenberg]

In Later Jewish Law

The *ḥerem* of Ezra, mentioned above, is the first indication of a *ḥerem* operating by way of excommunication. Indeed, the criminal jurisdiction vested in Ezra included a power to root out (*shoreshu*: JPS "banishment": Ezra 7:26) which was interpreted in the Talmud to mean persecution (*hardafah*) by *niddui* and *ḥerem* (MK 16a).

Niddui is the term employed in tannaitic literature for the punishment of an offender by his isolation from, and his being held in enforced contempt by, the community at large. A precedent for such punitive isolation and contempt is found in the Bible (Num. 12:14) and was described as *niddui* (Sif. Num. 104). Some hold that the tannaitic *niddui* was the expulsion of a member from the order of the Pharisees: "If he failed to maintain the standards required," he would be expelled from the order and "declared *menuddeh*" ("defiled"), and his former comrades would withdraw from his company "lest he defile them" (see bibl., Finkelstein, p. 77). This theory is based mainly on the records of infliction of *niddui* on renowned scholars for non-compliance with the rules of the majority (Eduy. 5:6; BM 59b), but it takes no account of the fact that *niddui* was, even during the tannaitic period, inflicted or threatened also on laymen (e.g., a hunter: Shab. 130a, Kid. 72a) and for offenses or misconduct unconnected with any rules of the Pharisees (Ta'an. 3:8; Pes. 53a). While *niddui* may well have implied expulsion from scholarly or holy orders, the sanction as such was a general one, applicable at the discretion of the courts or of the heads of academies. As it was a criminal punishment, a great scholar who was threatened with *niddui* rightly protested that before he could be so punished it had first to be clearly established on whom might *niddui* be inflicted, in what measure, and for what offenses (TJ, MK 3:1, 81d). Later talmudic law reintroduced the *ḥerem* as an aggravated form of *niddui* (MK 16a): First a *niddui* was pronounced, and when it had not (on the application of the *menuddeh*: Maim. Yad, Talmud Torah 7:6) been lifted after 30 days, it was extended for another 30 days; after the 60 days had expired, a *ḥerem* was imposed (MK 16a; Maim. loc. cit.; Sh. Ar., YD 334:1, 13). Another innovation was the *nezifah* ("reprimand") which was to last for seven days (MK 16a): The commentators were not quite certain about the implications of the *nezifah*, and surmised that while *niddui* and *ḥerem* implied compulsory isolation, the seven days' isolation inherent in the *nezifah* was rather a voluntary one, dictated by shame and remorse; and while *niddui* and *ḥerem* remained in force until lifted by the Bet Din (Rema, Sh. Ar., YD 334, 24), *nezifah* expired automatically after seven days (*Piskei ha-Rosh* MK 3:7).

Niddui differed from *ḥerem* mainly in that with the *menuddeh* social intercourse was allowed for purposes of study and of business, whereas the *muḥram* had to study alone (so as not to forget what he had learned) and find his livelihood from a small shop he was permitted to maintain (MK 15a; Maim. *ibid.* 7:4–5; Sh. Ar., YD 334:2). Otherwise the restrictions imposed on the *muḥram* were (*a fortiori*) those imposed on the *menuddeh*, namely: He had to conduct himself as if he were in a state of mourning, not being allowed to have his hair cut or his laundry washed or to wear shoes (except for out-of-town walks). He was even forbidden to wash, except for his face, hands, and feet; but he was not obliged to rend his clothes (notwithstanding the contrary report in BM 59b) nor to lower his bedstead (MK 15a–b; Sem. 5:10–13; *Piskei ha-Rosh* MK 3:4); and he had to live in confinement with his family only, no outsider being allowed to come near him, eat and drink with him, greet him, or give him any enjoyment (*ibid.*; Sh. Ar., YD 334:2). He could not be counted as one of the three required for the special *grace after meals formula

nor as one of the 10 (*minyan) required for communal prayers (Maim. *ibid.* 7:4; Sh. Ar. YD loc. cit.); and after his death his coffin would be stoned, if only symbolically by placing a single stone on it (Eduy. 5:6; MK 15a; Maim. loc. cit.).

Both *niddui* and *ḥerem* appear in the Talmud at times in the Aramaic form *shamta* – a term which, by being retransliterated into Hebrew, was interpreted as indicating the civil death (*sham mitah*) or the utter loneliness (*shemamah*) involved in this punishment (MK 17a). Notwithstanding its potential severity, however, *niddui* was apparently regarded as a relatively light penalty, reserved mainly for minor offenses, perhaps because it could so easily be lifted and terminated. Talmudic scholars counted 24 offenses for which *niddui* was prescribed (Ber. 19a), listed by Maimonides as follows (loc. cit. 6:14):

(1) insulting a scholar, even after his death;

(2) contempt of an officer of the court;

(3) calling any man a slave;

(4) disobedience to a court summons;

(5) disregarding any rabbinic prescription (such as the washing of hands (Eduy. 5:6; see *Ablution));

(6) nonpayment of judgment debts;

(7) keeping dangerous dogs or other dangerous things without properly guarding them;

(8) selling land to a gentile in disregard of a neighbor's right of preemption (see *Maẓranut*);

(9) recovering money on the judgment of a gentile court, where the money was not due under Jewish law;

(10) failure by a priest to give other priests their dues;

(11) non-observance of the second festival day customarily observed abroad (see *Festivals);

(12) doing work in the afternoon of Passover Eve;

(13) mentioning God's name in speech or oath in trifling matters;

(14) causing the public to profane God's name (*ḥillul ha-Shem*);

(15) causing the public to eat sacrificial meals outside the Temple;

(16) establishing the calendar, i.e., fixing the lengths of months and years, outside the Land of Israel;

(17) placing any stumbling-block before the blind (Lev. 19:14);

(18) obstructing the public in the performance of any precept;

(19) negligence in ritual slaughtering; (20); failure to have knives used for ritual slaughter periodically inspected;

(21) willful sexual self-stimulation;

(22) such business relations with one's divorced wife as might lead to intimacy;

(23) connections or activities of a scholar which bring him into disrepute;

(24) imposing a *niddui* without sufficient cause.

The list is not exhaustive (Rabad ad loc.), and was supplemented in the Shulḥan Arukh by additional offenses among which are the following:

(1) breaking a vow;

(2) doing work while a corpse lies unburied in town;

(3) disobedience to Torah precepts on the strength of spurious analogies or arguments;

(4) demanding the performance of the impossible;

(5) insisting on minority views overruled by the majority;

(6) usurpation by a disciple of his teacher's functions;

(7) applying to the king or a leader with a view to evading or circumventing the authority of the competent court (YD 334:43). (The *niddui* for disobedience to law on spurious analogies or arguments might be identical with the ban referred to in John 9:22, 12:42.)

The existence of an offense of imposing a *niddui* without sufficient cause indicates that, under talmudic law, the *niddui* could be imposed not only by the court but also by individual scholars and even by laymen: for instance, creditors used to impose a *niddui* on delinquent debtors (MK 16a), and in later periods we find debtors agreeing in writing beforehand to be placed under *niddui* by the creditor in the event of non-payment (e.g., *Maḥzor Vitry* 567). Individual scholars used to impose a *niddui* for their own vindication from insults (MK 16a), a practice which persisted throughout the ages (cf. e.g., Resp. Joseph Colon 168–9; Resp. Maharyu 163), although deprecated in no uncertain terms (Maim. *ibid.* 7:13; Tur, YD 334; Sh. Ar., YD 243:9; and cf. Kid. 32a; Meg. 28a). There is a strong opinion to the effect that this power of individual scholars is now obsolete (Rema, Sh. Ar., YD 243:8); it was never recognized for any purpose other than as a punishment for insults, and the scholar was forbidden to use it for his business purposes (TJ, MK 3:1, 84d; YD 334:19).

Normally, *niddui* would be pronounced by the court; it is only by order of a court that a man is regarded as a *menuddeh*; non-judicial *niddui* renders him only "half-*menuddeh*" (*menuddeh la-ḥaẓa'in*) from whom the public at large need not dissociate itself (Sh. Ar., YD 334:12). Where the offense charged was civil disobedience or nonpayment of debts, the court would first warn the delinquent that unless he obeyed or paid a *niddui* would be pronounced against him, but no warning was required where the offense was of a religious nature (MK 16a and Rashi ad loc.). The *niddui* and its causes had to be publicly announced (*ibid.* interpreting Judg. 5:23), but could be pronounced in the absence of the accused (Maim. loc. cit. 7:2, 13; Sh. Ar., YD 334:29). No formal procedure nor any adduction of evidence was required: The court could act on its own knowledge or on evidence that would be otherwise inadmissible (Rema YD 334:43). The formulae used for the pronouncement as well as for lifting of the *niddui* could be very short (Maim. loc. cit. 7:2–3; Sh. Ar., YD 334:23); but it would be enlarged and embellished with curses and imprecations when a *ḥerem* was imposed (*ibid.*; Shev. 36a). The ban could be lifted by any court, not necessarily the court which had imposed it (Maim. loc. cit. 7:9), but a *niddui* imposed by an individual had to be lifted by that same person or – where he was unknown or unavailable – by the *nasi* or leader of the

community (MK 17a; TJ, MK 3:1, 81d; Maim. loc. cit. 7:10). The delinquent had a claim as of right to have the ban against him lifted as soon as he had done the act or rectified the omission of which he had been accused, or ceased to do that which he had been accused of doing (Maim. loc. cit. 9) – hence *niddui* was a coercive as well as a punitive measure.

Courts were urged not to pronounce *niddui* against judges (*Takkanat Usha*, MK 17a), scholars (Resh Lakish, *ibid.*), or notables (*zaken*; TJ, MK 3:1, 81d), but rather to ask them to stay at home; only if they persisted in and repeated their offenses was *niddui* pronounced against them to prevent *ḥillul ha-Shem* (by insinuations of discriminations and privileges; *ibid.*). *Flogging is considered a more suitable punishment for judges and scholars than *niddui* (MK 17a and Rashi *ibid*); but where a scholar's misconduct is due to a failure of his memory by reason of old age or sickness, he should rather be treated as if he were "the Holy Ark holding fragments of the broken tablets" (TJ, MK 3:1, 81d and *Korban ha-Edah*, *ibid.*).

In Post-Talmudic Law

The distinction between the punitive and coercive functions of *niddui* and *ḥerem* became more clearly marked: On the one hand they grew into the most deterrent, and often very cruel, punishment for past misdeed or past misconduct; on the other they were invoked for purposes of future law enforcement, either by warning potential individual offenders of imminent excommunication, or by attaching the threat of excommunication to secure general acceptance of and obedience to a newly created law: Several such laws have thus become known by the name of *ḥerem* (e.g., *ḥerem de-Rabbenu Gershom*; see *Bigamy).

From the geonic period and throughout the Middle Ages until recent times, courts added further and greater hardships to the living conditions of the *menuddeh* as laid down in the Talmud – the talmudic provisions being regarded as a minimum which the court could increase according to the severity of the individual case (Sh. Ar., YD 334:10; Rema YD 334:6). Among such additional hardships were prohibitions against performing circumcision of the *menuddeh*'s children or their marriages; expulsions of his children from school and of his wife from synagogue; and prohibitions against burial of the *menuddeh* and according him any honor due to the dead (Rema, *ibid.*). He was to be treated as a non-Jew, his bread and wine were forbidden like those of a heathen, his books were regarded as magicians' trash, his *ẓiẓit* were to be cut off and the *mezuzah* removed from his door (e.g., *Sha'arei Ẓedek* 4:5, 14). Treating a Jew as if he were a non-Jew amounted, within the closed Jewish community, to civil death; and indeed it is said that a man on whom a *ḥerem* lies can be regarded as dead (cf. also the precept in the Karaite "Book of Precepts" by Anan b. David, after describing the ban to be imposed for capital offenses: "In short, we must treat him as if he were dead": L. Nemoy, *Karaite Anthology* (1952), 13).

The constant growth and increasing frequency of the *ḥerem* as punishment was in no small degree due to the predominant role excommunication played as a punishment in the Church: Some features of the later penances inflicted on excommunicated Jews were even borrowed from practices of the Church (see bibliography, Abrahams p. 66f.). It happened also that the ecclesiastical or secular gentile authorities enjoined Jewish courts from imposing or enforcing a *ḥerem*, as for instance where it had been imposed for having recourse to non-Jewish courts: In such cases the law was laid down that in monetary matters the Jewish court would have to give in, whereas in religious matters the Jewish court had to insist on its authority even at the risk of incurring punishment for disobedience (Israel Isserlin, *Terumat ha-Deshen* 276; and cf. YD 334:44, 48). Visiting the guilt of the *menuddeh* on his innocent wife and children and making life in general unbearable for him, shocked the conscience of many a great rabbi (cf., e.g., Resp. Ribash 173, 185; *Yam Shel Shelomo* BK 10:13). Not only did they and many others try to mitigate the hardships of the *ḥerem* when they had to impose it, but they endeavored to abstain from imposing it at all. Thus, Asher b. Jehiel says that he never imposed a *ḥerem* without the previous consent of the congregation (Resp. Rosh 43:9); Jacob Levi Moellin imposed only one single *ḥerem* during his lifetime (*Minhagei Maharil*, quoted by Assaf, *Onshin* (see bibliography), p. 34); and Israel *Bruna relates his father's last will enjoining him from ever imposing a *ḥerem* (Resp. 189).

The severity and cruelty of total *niddui* or *ḥerem* led to the creation of lighter punishments, involving only partial excommunication and not inhibiting the offender in his daily life – such as permanent or temporary expulsion from town or province, expulsion from the synagogue, change of the synagogue seat for an inferior one, and public denunciations and reprimands. Application of graver or lighter punishments was left entirely to the discretion of the courts (cf. Resp. Rashba, vol. 5 no. 238; *Zikhron Yehudah* 63; et al.); and the same or similar offenses are found punished at one place or time with *niddui* and another place or time with floggings, expulsions, or reprimands. Among the many and varied offenses for which *niddui* was imposed, mention may be made of a husband's refusal to divorce his wife though ordered to do so (*Or Zaru'a BK* 161; Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, 927, and see *Divorce), and of a bridegroom's refusal to marry his bride (Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, 250) – as well as property offenses ranging from theft and receiving stolen property to bankruptcy, fraud, and forgery (cf. e.g., *Takkanot Medinat Mehrin*, ed. I. Halpern, p. 161). On the other hand, assaults (including wife-beating) and offenses against morality were more often visited with the lighter expulsions (many illustrations in Assaf, *Onshin* (see bibliography), passim). So it was laid down that the straying disciple who is found in possession of profane books and frequents theatrical and musical entertainment should be flogged rather than excommunicated (Tur, YD 334).

The Procedure of Pronouncing a Herem

The minor forms of the *ḥerem, nezifah*, and *niddui*, were pronounced by the head of the rabbinic court. A severe *ḥerem* was

pronounced in the synagogue either before the open Ark or while holding a Torah scroll. The proclamation was made with the sounding of the *shofar*, while those present held wax candles which were symbolically extinguished after the excommunication was declared. The person was anathematized, excommunicated, and several biblical curses were evoked upon him. The proclamation contained a public warning not to associate with the anathematized and concluded with a plea for the welfare of the congregation of the faithful.

In Later Centuries

Ḥerem and *niddui* became so common in later centuries that they no longer made any impression and lost their force. They became the standard rabbinic reaction to all forms of deviation or non-conformity considered incompatible with or dangerous to Orthodoxy. As such, they are sometimes imposed by extreme Orthodox authorities in the present day, but as neither the persons afflicted nor the public at large regard themselves as bound by them, they have ceased to be a terror or have much effect. (It is arguable that the imposition of *niddui* or *ḥerem* by persons acting in unison – e.g., a court of three – amounts to a criminal conspiracy to cause injury to a person or the reputation of a person and to injure him in his trade or profession, which in Israel is punishable with two years' imprisonment: Section 36, Criminal Code Ordinance, 1936.)

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fernandez, in: *Biblica*, 5 (1924), 3ff. (Sp.); Kaufmann, Toledot, 1 (1960), 624–58; 2 (1960), 132–34; Kaufmann, Religion, 247–54; Loewenstamm, in: EM, 3 (1965), 290–2 (incl. bibl.); G. von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (1951); C.H.W. Brekelmann, *De ḥerem in het Oude Testament* (1959); Malamat, in: *Biblical Essays* (1966), 40–49 (includes bibl.); Weinfeld, in: BM, 12 (1967), 121–7; On the Jewish interpretation of the enemy *ḥerem*, see Naḥmanides to Deut. 20:10, and Maim. Yad, Melakhim, 6:1ff. IN LATER JEWISH LAW: Nahmanides, *Mishpetei ha-Ḥerem* (1515), also printed as annex to *Sefer Kol Bo*; J. Wiesner, *Der Bann in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklungen…* (1864); D. Friedmann, *Emek Berakhah* (1881); M. Aron, *Histoire de l'excommunication juive* (1882); S. Mandl, *Der Bann* (1898); E. Schulmann, in: *Ha-Goren*, 3 (1902), 90–97; Gulak, Yesodei, 2 (1922), 16f., 35, 52–56, 64, 216ff.; 3 (1922), 17ff.; 4 (1922), 60, 83–85, 89–91, 112, 129, 132ff.; S. Assaf, *Ha-Onshin Aḥarei Ḥatimat ha-Talmud* (1922), 146 (index); s.v.; idem, *Battei Din ve-Sidreihem…* (1924), 32–34; L. Finkelstein, Middle Ages, 387 (index), s.v.; I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (19322); Gulak, Oẓar xlf., 160, 195, 298ff., 333f., 360; M. Frank, *Kehillot Ashkenaz u-Vattei Dineihen* (1937), 163 (index) s.v.; Baron, Community, 3 (1942), 429 (index), s.v.; J. Katz, *Tradition and Crisis* (1961), index, s.v. *Excommunication*; I. Agus, *Urban Civilization in Pre-Crusade Europe*, 2 (1965), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (1988), 1:12ff., 106, 194, 198, 318, 371, 375, 379–380, 399, 416, 417, 537, 538ff., 548, 550, 551, 553, 554, 558, 564–67, 574, 579, 583, 589, 590, 591ff., 594–96, 612, 613, 616, 617, 623, 633, 634, 638, 641–42, 644ff., 647, 651, 655, 657ff., 665, 683, 697, 705, 708, 2:1069, 1288; 3:1319; idem, *Jewish Law* (1994), 1:11ff., 119–20, 219, 223, 381, 449, 454, 459–60, 708; 2:487 ,508, 510, 653, 655ff., 667, 669–71, 673–74, 679, 685–90, 714, 717, 728, 729, 731ff., 734, 736–738, 757, 758, 761–62, 763, 770, 785, 790, 794–96, 798ff., 801, 806, 810, 812ff., 822, 842, 860, 871, 875; 3:1289, 1537; 4:1576; M. Elon and B. Lifshitz, *Mafte'aḥ ha-She'elot ve-ha-Teshuvot shel Ḥakhmei Sefarad u-Ẓefon Afrikah* (legal digest) (1986), 1:144–153; 2:549–52, 556, 585; B. Lifshitz and E. Shochetman, *Mafte'aḥ ha-She'elot ve-ha-Teshuvot shel Ḥakhmei Ashkenaz, Ẓarefat ve-Italyah* (legal digest) (1997), 95–99, 367–72, 389.

ḤEREM BET DIN (Heb. חֵרֶם בֵּית דִּין, "ban of the court"), the shortened and accepted form of *ḥerem bet din ha-gadol*. This was the social and legal concept and *takkanah* originally prevailing in Western and Central Europe that gave to the court of the local community rights and competences which, according to talmudic law, pertained only to the High Court of the *Sanhedrin and later, by right of custom, to the High Courts of the *exilarch and the *geonim. In practice, this extension of the rights of the local court applied to its competence to summon defendants before it even when they came from a different locality. At first this was envisaged in a fairly simple fashion:

> If a man passes through a community where there is a *ḥerem bet din* and he is summoned to court under the *ḥerem* in the presence of proper witnesses, even if he be in the market place, the *ḥerem* is upon him until he repairs to the court to plead his case. Even if no witnesses are present, the *ḥerem* applies, for witnesses are needed only as a protection against deceivers, but a writ of insubordination [for not appearing in court] can be issued only on the testimony of witnesses. After having made his plea, the defendant may proceed on his way. The plaintiff is responsible for seeing that the decree of the court reaches him (*takkanah* attributed to Gershom b. *Judah).

Though *ḥerem* here means a *takkanah* sanctioned by a *ḥerem*, custom certainly preceded the enactment. Central institutions, such as those envisaged in talmudic law and those which were active in the old centers of Jewish settlement in Mediterranean countries, were never within the scope of communication of Western Europe. *Ḥerem bet din* was a practical expression of the problems of communication and security which, in increasingly perilous times, faced small communities dispersed over relatively wide areas. On the social and leadership levels *ḥerem bet din* is one of the earliest Jewish manifestations of the spirit of the commune-city with its insistence on having justice dispensed within the city walls. In the course of time, the authority of each locality and its *bet din* became so well established that *Samson b. Abraham of Sens (13th century) stated:

> The custom of the *ḥerem ha-gadol* in our town operates in the following manner. If one of our townspeople summons another to court, he is compelled to litigate here. He cannot refuse and say: 'Let us go to the college of scholars or to the Great Court.' He is, however, entitled to have three days before presenting his case. Judges, though, must be chosen immediately; each party chooses one judge [and they elect the third judge]. If a visitor summons a townsman, or two visitors summon each other, they must appoint the judges and plead their cases forthwith.

By this time the need for a specific *takkanah* or *ḥerem* to authorize the local court was abandoned. In 1272 it was stated in France that any town that was known to have had a scholar residing in it at one time or another was accorded by this very fact the presumption of full competence for its local court, as if it had an express and documented *takkanah* of *ḥerem bet din*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Finkelstein, Middle Ages; M. Frank, *Kehillot Ashkenaz u-Vattei Dineihem* (1937); Baron, Community, index; H.H. Ben-Sasson, *Perakim be-Toledot ha-Yehudim bi-Ymei ha-Beinayim* (1962), index; idem, *Toledot Am-Yisrael*, 2 (1969), index.

[Isaac Levitats]

ḤEREM HA-IKKUL (Heb. חֵרֶם הָעִקּוּל, "ban on confiscation"), a prohibition against a person retaining an article entrusted to him as a bailee even though he has a subsequent claim against its owner. Because of the dangers of medieval travel, and the consequent lack of security and the fact that Jewish property consisted mainly of cash and movables, there was frequent need for a bailee. This custom, which became generally accepted law, was designed to protect the commerce which was developing as a result of the rise of towns.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Finkelstein, Middle Ages.

[Isaac Levitats]

ḤEREM HA-YISHUV (Heb. חֵרֶם הַיִּשּׁוּב, "ban on settlement"), the concept, *takkanah*, and institutions pertaining to the corporate right of regulating settlement in many communities which existed in certain countries in the Middle Ages and early modern times. Underlying and governing the *ḥerem ha-yishuv* was the assumption that a community belonged to its members, who might or might not permit other Jews to settle in their locality. A newcomer had to acquire the right of settlement – termed *ḥezkat ha-yishuv* or *ḥezkat ha-kehillah* – from the community, its authorities and its members, wherever *ḥezkat ha-yishuv* came to be accepted. The most common manner of acquisition of this right was by purchase or hire; other ways involved inheritance or undisputed residence over a certain period. The leadership alone or the entire community could grant such a right anew, especially if a vacancy occurred in the fixed number of settlers. It was assumed that the original settlers in a community had created for themselves a property right in the opportunities for profit-making offered by that settlement. They were enabled to do so by the local autonomous rights granted to them by king, overlord, or bishop. In Italy a person could claim permanent rights on the grounds of a temporary grant. The institution was found in northern France, Germany, Bohemia, England, and all of Eastern Europe. Its time of origin has not been definitely established, although it was known in the Rhine communities in the 11th century and an actual case is recorded in the 12th century. This was the period of the rise of the commune-cities in Western Europe, in which the inhabitants saw themselves as a closed unit governing entrance to the town and settlement in their midst. It was also the time of the origin of Jewish community life and law in the Rhineland area.

Most Jewish communities gradually became closed to newcomers. As early as the first half of the 12th century, the Paris community enacted a *gezerat ha-yishuv* ("ordinance about settlement"): "Lest someone will stay in the city, in addition to the citizens who were there at this time and their children who will be born unto them, the male only, excluding the female" (S.D. Luzzatto (ed.), *Bet ha-Oẓar*, (1847) 58a). *Ḥezkat ha-yishuv* was thus parallel to the communal practices prevalent among the non-Jews, who strictly regulated the right to reside and trade in their communities. Jews who pioneered as merchants and artisans in the cities and were responsible as a body to king, lord, or bishop considered themselves entitled to regulate residence rights. The unfair competition of outsiders who were not responsible for toll or tax had to be eliminated. Since one of its main purposes was the protection of trade, there were many who could settle freely even under *ḥerem ha-yishuv*: non-practicing ordained rabbis, students, personal servants, rentiers who received a fixed income without trading, wholesalers, and refugees, but the last were permitted to stay only temporarily. Exempt also were nonresidents who came to a local fair, although they were often restricted to selling to out-of-towners only and their activities had to be confined to the market place.

This tendency to close the community to outsiders soon clashed with the opposing Jewish tradition of granting shelter and communal assistance to Jews without regard for locality. Great leaders and scholars tended to limit the use of *ḥerem ha-yishuv* to exclusion of Jews on moral grounds only. The tosafist Jacob b. Meir *Tam (12th century) stated that "our earlier authorities instituted the *ḥerem ha-yishuv* only against violent men and informers, and those who refused to obey communal enactments or to pay their share of communal taxes. But against others there is no *ḥerem*." In 1266 the Canterbury community accepted this view, writing to the royal authorities in a Latin text, "The community of Jews of Canterbury… have bound themselves by oath that no Jew of any other town than Canterbury shall dwell in the said town, to wit, no liar, improper person, or slanderer…" (Rigg-Jenkinson, Exchequer). R. *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi of Bonn (13th century) insisted on the validity of the custom. *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg (13th century) dealt a great deal with the problem in his responsa, since during his time the *ḥerem ha-yishuv* became generally accepted. By the 14th century it was agreed by the general authorities that the Jews were the sole arbiters of the matter. In some cases the newcomer, after admission by the Jews, had to be introduced to the bishop and the town council. Jacob b. Judah *Weil in the 15th century ruled that a community might strictly enforce the rules against a *nokhri* ("alien"), a Jew temporarily staying in town.

Records of the institution exist down to the 18th century. In Italy, where it seems to have appeared in the 13th century, moneylending rather than trade was the main prize sought in settling rights. In Poland and Lithuania (16th–18th centuries) the *ḥerem ha-yishuv* was so well entrenched that a particular community did not need to enter into the bond of excommunication against recalcitrants in order to enforce the rule: it became a recognized right of every *kahal*. The added rationale was advanced that an excessive increase of Jews would arouse ill-will among the gentiles. In 1623 the Lithuanian Council decreed that "no man from another country is entitled to establish his residence in the Lithuanian provinces without the

knowledge and approval of the provincial chiefs… he shall be relentlessly persecuted and driven out of this land." The rule was temporarily relaxed after the *Chmielnicki massacres in 1648. The Jews did not hesitate to enlist the aid of the civil authorities in enforcing these regulations. *Jus Gazaga*, the right not to let or sell a house, was combined with the prohibition to trade with an intruder. As settlements increased in size, newcomers were welcome, especially if they were wealthy, to help carry the burden of taxes and other obligations. Every means was employed to detain the wealthy. If they left, they were still held responsible for their share of the community's fiscal burden. Simultaneously, the poverty-stricken were encouraged and pressed to leave town. In fact, the alien poor were kept constantly on the move, thus compounding pauperism. In Russia, which took over much of Lithuania and Polish territory, *ḥezkat ha-yishuv* probably lasted down to the 20th century. The story was told of a Jew who, refused permission to settle in Dubrovno asked indignantly, "But how will I make a living?" The reply was, "Well, does Dubrovno itself make a living?"

The restrictions imposed by *ḥerem ha-yishuv* created many problems in practice and in law. The right which protected the tradesman and craftsman thereby discriminated against the consumer. Hence there was a body of opinion among Jewish jurists which held that an outside trader, prepared to sell his goods considerably cheaper than at the prices prevailing locally, was entitled to do so. Further, when the Jews of Rome refused to admit the Spanish refugees, it was adjudged by many a highly unethical act.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Agus, *Urban Civilization in Pre-Crusade Europe*, 2 (1965), index; Baron, Community, index; Baron, Social², index s.v. *Residence Permit*; H.H. Ben-Sasson, *Toledot Am Yisrael*, 2 (1969), 124–5; L. Rabinowitz, *Ḥerem ha-Yishuv* (1945); I. Levitats, *Jewish Community in Russia* (1943); I. Katz, *Masoret u-Mashber* (1963).

[Isaac Levitats]

ḤEREM SETAM (roughly translated as "anonymous ban" or "imprecation"), a geonic innovation that gained wide acceptance in later rabbinic literature, particularly in Spain and North Africa, although it was more sparsely used in Franco-Germany as well. It served primarily as an instrument of judicial proof in situations where there was no obligation to impose an oath. *Ḥerem setam* could be utilized to reveal assets in a variety of situations (lost, stolen, or hidden assets), to locate witnesses concealing their testimony or trying to withhold it, or to reveal informers – this last application seems to have predated the use of *ḥerem setam* in an evidentiary capacity.

Historically speaking, *ḥerem setam* was apparently applied in two different ways at different times: Common to both was their style and their imposition where there was no legal obligation to administer an oath; they differed, however, as to context and purpose. In the early stage, *ḥerem setam* was used during the course of judicial proceedings to expose false or deceptive arguments and to reach a final decision. In the later stage, it was also used to force the exposure of assets or to locate witnesses, in which cases it did not necessarily close the proceedings.

Ḥerem setam, invoked as part of the judicial proceedings in a wide range of situations, was generally used in civil cases. These may be divided into five categories: (1) Situations in which the plaintiff presented a claim that was positive (*ta'anat bari*) but otherwise unsupported, for if the claim had some concrete basis (*derara de-mamona*) an oath would have been mandatory. Such cases are discussed in several responsa of Rav Hai Gaon (see, e.g., *Sha'arei Ẓedek* 59a, §30), although at an earlier stage he held that an oath should be administered even in the absence of concrete basis (see his *Mishpetei Shevu'ot* 7b–8a); (2) Where the plaintiff presented a doubtful claim – it was in such cases that the *ḥerem setam* was most commonly applied (e.g., in the commercial field, in claims contested by husband and wife, etc.); (3) Where, for various reasons, the court would not impose an oath – for example, if one of the litigants had perjured himself on a previous occasion, if one of the litigants refused to take the oath, if the litigant was a married woman (this restriction was not universally accepted), and in a few other cases. This category also included the imposition of *ḥerem setam* when a clause in a contract exempted one of the litigants from the obligation to take an oath, his word alone being accepted; (4) A defendant contesting a claim could demand that *ḥerem setam* be imposed on the plaintiff to ensure that the claim was genuine. As a further development of this category, *ḥerem setam* could be imposed upon the plaintiff to ensure that he was not forcing the defendant to take an unnecessary oath. Maimonides refers to this as "a minor enactment enacted by the last *geonim*" (Yad, Sheluḥim ve-Shutfin 3.11); (5) *Ḥerem setam* could also be imposed upon witnesses to force them to testify and warn them not to withhold their evidence – this case is somewhat related to the oath of testimony.

The term *ḥerem setam* also referred to an imprecation pronounced "upon whosoever…" without specifying a particular name (this being the meaning of the Hebrew word *setam*); the imprecation itself was abbreviated and only the gist of the suspicion included. This generalized formula seems to have paved the way for the later medieval invocation of a ban to reinforce a special enactment, in order to deter "whosoever should act" in violation of the enactment.

The institution of *ḥerem setam* is attributed in post-geonic literature (R. Judah of Barcelona, R. Solomon b. Adret, R. Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet, R. Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran, and others) to a geonic enactment. Solomon b. Adret writes: "Whosoever is in doubt about a matter may invoke *ḥerem setam*, according to the enactment of the *geonim*, of blessed memory" (*Resp. Rashba* 11, §79; and elsewhere quite frequently). But while *ḥerem setam* was undoubtedly a geonic innovation, as implied by a responsum of R. Sherira Gaon (Groner, *Resp. Rav Sherira*, p. 16), the statement that it was instituted by a special enactment (*takkanah*) is inconsistent with its historical development. The evidence emerging from geonic responsa is that the anonymous ban evolved gradually in the

geonic academies, as the *geonim* themselves note in some of their responsa. For example: "The courts were accustomed in cases of doubt to impose a *ḥerem* without specification [of the deponent's name]" (*Teshuvot ha-Geonim,* ed. Assaf, 1927, §16); "In general, wherever there is no concrete basis for the claim (*derara de-mamona*), the matter depends on custom" (Groner, *Resp. Rav Sherira*, p. 18).

As stated, the innovation of *ḥerem setam* was a gradual process. Early *geonim* substituted an imprecation (*alah*) for a mandatory oath. Subsequently, some early *geonim* (Rav Natronai and Rav Hilai) began to use the imprecation even where an oath was not required; however, the deponent's name was still specified, as it normally was in an oath, and at this stage the borderline between imprecations invoked in cases where an oath was mandatory and those where it was not was still unclear. Only later, especially in the writings of R. Paltoi and R. Naḥshon, do we find the imprecation applied even when an oath was not mandatory, but without specifying the deponent's name. These *geonim* used the term *shamta setam* or *shamuta setam* ("anonymous ban") for what was later known as *ḥerem setam*. Another term sometimes used was *pitka delutata* ("letter of curse").

R. Saadiah Gaon seems to have been the earliest authority to distinguish explicitly between an imprecation substituted for a mandatory oath and one applied even when an oath was not mandatory. He also noted the distinguishing features in the application of these two measures. Where the imprecation took the place of a mandatory oath, the name of the deponent would be included in the imprecation. This imprecation was referred to as *ḥerem* or as *ḥerem ba-shem*. However, where the imprecation was not substituting for a mandatory oath, the name of the deponent was not included, and in such cases the term used was *ḥerem setam*, apparently coined by R. Saadiah himself in recognition of the fact that no name was specified – hence *setam*, meaning roughly "anonymous." Other distinguishing features in the case of an imprecation replacing a mandatory oath were the necessary presence of the deponent, the requirement that he respond "*Amen*," and the holding of a Torah scroll during the ceremony. These features were common when the imprecation was first introduced, but gradually disappeared with the expanding use of *ḥerem setam*.

The indications that R. Saadiah's school should apparently be credited with the above distinction are the following: (1) Only in R. Saadiah's time was a credibility clause inserted in deeds in order to exempt one of the parties from *ḥerem setam*; presumably, had the *ḥerem setam* been practiced before his time, the exemption clause would surely have appeared in various deeds. (2) R. Saadiah was the first *gaon* who, through interpretation of a talmudic passage dealing with a debtor who denies the claim against him (*b. Shevu'ot* 40b), ruled that *ḥerem setam* should be imposed even where *derara demamona* is absent (*Sha'arei Ẓedek* 39b, §17). Such a ruling is unprecedented.

The introduction of *ḥerem setam* was not simply a matter of internal halakhic development. The general environment was the prime catalyst that induced the *geonim* to endow it with a halakhic framework. The reality was shaped by three factors: (1) a first factor was the moral laxity of the times, as indicated by the ease with which people would take false oaths (see *Gezerta). (2) Related to this was the prevalence of oaths in Muslim society, characterized by the almost indiscriminate use of oaths in Muslim courts, with no procedural constraints or rigid rules to limit the applicability of oaths. Indeed, Muslim courts imposed oaths even during the intermediate stage of the judicial procedure, in order to establish the truth of a litigant's arguments or to substantiate a factual argument. The *geonim* introduced the *ḥerem setam* to help counter this laxity. (3) The geonic period witnessed a gradual economic transformation, from a society engaged in agriculture or local commerce to one whose international trade contacts extended over large areas. The new realities placed obstacles in the way of normal judicial procedures and induced the *geonim* to seek solutions for situations where real proof or evidence was lacking. *Ḥerem setam* was an effective instrument to that end. R. Joseph ibn Migash, in a famous responsum (§75), refers to the evolving use of *ḥerem setam* in cases where the defendant could demand imposition of *ḥerem setam* on the plaintiff before taking the oath himself: "Since the imposition of the said *ḥerem* is not legally required, it seems to us that it is a corrective measure and a question of social conduct, once we have understood that most people intend to make false accusations. We therefore see fit to invoke the said *ḥerem* before the oath, in the hope that the plaintiff will withdraw a false claim… And we instituted this [practice] many years ago, when we were in one of the lands of Andalusia, for the reason that we were obliged to do so because of what we saw there of this practice, not in our own abode. And when we were staying with you in Fez we were reminded there that this [practice] is mentioned in a responsum of R. Isaac [Alfasi], our great rabbi of blessed memory, or of one of the *geonim* of blessed memory, and we rejoiced at this. Now this is a corrective measure and a question of social conduct instituted by the court, not a legally required measure."

After R. Saadiah's time, the *geonim* limited the free use of *ḥerem setam*, so that we find Rav Hai Gaon stating, in the name of his ancestors as well, that it should be used only in certain cases: "Know that neither we nor our ancestors are accustomed to permit anyone who comes and says, 'Write me a *pitka de-lutata* and give me permission to ban and to curse people without specifying names.'… But in the case of orphans who bring a plea… they will immediately receive a *pitka delutata*" (*Teshuvot ha-Geonim*, *Ḥemdah Genuzah*, §165). At the same time, they did not generally prevent its imposition by litigants if they so desired; it was this rather ambivalent attitude to *ḥerem setam* that gave the measure its force.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: V. Aptowitzer, "Formularies of Decrees and Documents from a Gaonic Court," in: JQR, (n.s.) 4 (1913–14), 23–51; T. Groner, "A Fragment of Responsa from the Genizah, Some of Them by the Geonim R. Sherira and R. Hai," in: *Asufot – Annual for Jewish Studies,* 2 (1988), 71–82 (Heb.); G. Libson, "The Origin and De-

velopment of the Anonymous Ban (Herem Setam) During the Geonic Period," in: *Shenaton ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri,* 22 (2001–03), 107–232 (Heb.); B. Lifshitz, "Evolution of the Court-Oath with Imprecation," in: *Shenaton ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri,* 11–12 (1984–86), 393–406 (Heb.); H. Tykocinski H., *The Geonic Ordinances* (Heb., 1959).

[Gideon Libson (2nd ed.)]

HERESY, belief in ideas contrary to those advocated by religious authorities. Because Judaism has no one official formulation of dogma against which heresy can be defined, it has no clear-cut definition of heresy. A heretic may be distinguished from an apostate in that, although he holds beliefs which are contrary to currently accepted doctrines, he does not renounce his religion and often believes that he represents the true tradition. Since the heretic is still a Jew, various halakhic questions concerning his relationship to the Jewish community arise, such as whether he may offer a sacrifice, be counted in a *minyan*, or have his testimony admitted as evidence in a Jewish court (Ḥul. 13a; Git. 45b; Av. Zar. 32b; Sh. Ar., ḤM 34:22).

The Bible, although it does not have a specific term for heretic, regards as a heretic one who "whores after strange gods." It sets forth procedures to suppress idolatry and prescribes stoning for anyone who introduces idolatry into the community (Deut. 13:7–12).

Heresy in the Talmud and Rabbinic Literature

In talmudic literature a number of terms are used to refer to heretics, *min, *apikoros, *kofer*, and *mumar*, each of which also has other meanings. *Min* is the most common term and the one that appeared originally in the 12th petition of the daily *Amidah. Some identify the talmudic *minim* with the Judeo-Christians, others with unspecified groups who denied rabbinic authority and/or the belief in the coming of the Messiah. There is an early tradition that there were 24 groups of *minim* as early as the destruction of the Second Temple (TJ, Sanh. 10:29c). Among the errors of the *minim*, the Talmud lists denial of God's unity; belief in an independent divinity of evil; the portrayal of God as a cruel jester (Sanh. 38b–39a); and the denial of Israel's chosenness (Sanh. 99a), physical resurrection, and the coming of the Messiah (Sanh. 91a). *Maimonides identified *minut* with atheism, with the denial of God's unity and incorporeality, with the denial of creation *ex nihilo*, and with the belief in a power intermediary between God and man (Yad, Teshuvah 3:7).

The term *apikoros* seems to be derived from the *Epicureans, whose skeptical naturalism denied divine providence, and hence, divine retribution. The sages in accordance with their method of interpretation derived *apikoros* from an Aramaic form of the root *p-k-r-*, "to be free of restraint" (Sanh. 38b). The suggestion is that one who denies divine providence and retribution will feel free not to obey the laws of the Torah. In the Talmud the term *apikoros* refers to the *Sadducees (Kid. 66a); to those who denigrate rabbinic authority even in such seemingly insignificant ways as calling a sage by his first name; and to those who shame neighbors before the sages (Sanh. 99b). Maimonides defined the *apikoros* as one who denies the possibility of prophecy and divine revelation, that Moses was a prophet, or that there is divine providence (Yad, Teshuvah 3:8; cf. *Guide of the Perplexed*, 2:13 (end), and *ibid.*, 3:17 (start), in which Maimonides identifies the *apikoros* with someone who agrees with the opinions of Epicurus).

Kofer may be best translated as "freethinker." In *Sanhedrin* the *kofer* is identified as one who asks needling questions and points out contradictions between biblical texts (Sanh. 39a–b). The term *kofer ba-ikkar* in rabbinic literature refers to one who denies a basic and essential *ikkar* ("dogma"; on the various formulations of dogmas in Judaism see S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism* (1896), 147–81). Maimonides defines a *kofer ba-Torah* as someone who denies either the divine inspiration of the Torah or the authority of the Oral Law and the rabbis who teach it, or one who maintains that the legislation of the Torah has been superseded (Yad, Teshuvah, 3:8).

Mumar, literally, "one who changes" or "converts", refers to an apostate, i.e., to one who converts, but in the talmudic tradition it sometimes means heretic, especially when it is used to refer to one who rejects only one commandment of the Torah (Hor. 11a). While the *apikoros* seems to be led to his heresy by intellectual uncertainty, the *mumar* seems to be brought to it by his appetites or emotional unbalance (see J.J. Petuchowski, in: HUCA, 30 (1959), 179–90).

Talmudic treatment of the heretic is not uniform but reflects many different situations and differing responses. While some texts tell of a scholar who shared a meal and conversed agreeably with a heretic, others hold that the food, wine, and bread of a heretic are not permissible, that a Torah scroll or *tefillin* written by a heretic must be destroyed, and that one need not endanger his life in order to save the life of a heretic or take medicine prescribed by one (Ḥul. 13a–b; Av. Zar. 26a–b; Tosef. Ḥul 2:20–21).

Causes of Heresy

Heresy derives from many sources: general restlessness (cf. Er. 69b), impatience with authority (cf. Av. Zar. 26b), the agitations of other heretics (cf. Eccl. R. 1:8, no. 3), and predisposition (cf. Ḥag. 16b). Intellectual vanity is frequently cited as a motivation to heresy (based on Num. 15:39, "that ye go not after your own heart").

Assuming that the intellect has only a limited competence, rabbinic Judaism maintained that those who seek theological truth without being guided by revelation often fall into error and heresy (Maim. Yad, Avodah Zarah, 2:3; cf. S.R. Hirsch, *Horeb*, Section 1, 4:18). Rationalist apologetes emphasized the danger of unbound speculation as much as the more traditional sages. The ban issued by Solomon b. Abraham ibn *Adret and others in 1305 against the study of Greek philosophy by the untrained under the age of 50 and by students under the age of 25 referred to a passage from Maimonides' *Guide* in support of its restrictions (Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 281–305; Adret, *She'elot u-Teshuvot* (1958), 417, 154). Simeon ben Ẓemaḥ

*Duran's insistence that thinkers who go beyond acceptable textual interpretations are in error but are not *ipso facto* heretics represented a novel and remarkable attitude; but he excluded specifically from this category anyone who misinterprets fundamental principles (*Sefer Magen Avot*, 14b).

Persecution of Heretics

The persecution of heretics, when it occurred, was generally justified as a barrier to prevent those who mock the teachings of the Torah and its authoritative teachers from leading others into sin. A ban issued by the community of Venice in 1618 contains typical language:

"They consider all the words of the sages as being without meaning and void, and they call all those who believe in them 'fools who believe everything'… Therefore, when we heard the sound of war against the Lord and His Torah and we saw the flame glowing, we were afraid lest it go forth and set fire to some thorn – a man whose soul is empty and who knows nothing so that he be smitten; and as a consequence, God forbid, the land would be destroyed and laid waste – for this generation is spoiled and all the people listen to whoever favors leniency" (E. Rivkin, *Leon da Modena and the Sakhal* (1952), 14–15).

Rabbinic leaders who opposed actions against heresy did not advocate the concept of intellectual freedom but argued pragmatically that divisiveness must be avoided and that restrictions by which a community will not abide should not be imposed (see Naḥmanides' letter to certain French rabbis concerning their ban on the *Guide, Kovez̦ Teshuvot ha-Rambam*, pt. 3 (1859), 8a–10b).

The concern with heresy reflected a concern with the inner stability of the Jewish community and its relationship to the outside world. Thus, the heretic presented not only a spiritual danger but also a political one. Rabbinic Judaism could not ignore the intellectual attitudes of the outside world, which held the power of life and death over Diaspora communities. The monks of Montpellier gladly burned the "heresies" of Maimonides along with those of Catholic Aristotelians (1230; see *Maimonidean Controversy; and also D.J. Silver, *Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy 1180–1240* (1965) 152ff.); the Dutch Reformed Church encouraged the Amsterdam Jewish community in its measures against Baruch *Spinoza, whose non-personalist pantheism was also influencing many Christians.

The liturgical petition against *minim* in the *Amidah* of the liturgy was changed to include *malshinim* ("informers"), suggesting at least an intimate association in the Jewish mind between defiance and defamation. Heresy gave birth to schism, and schism was not only unsettling but politically dangerous; many squabbles ended tragically as a result of the intervention of the sovereign power. Early and vigorous action against suspicious ideas was justified by many rabbinic leaders on the grounds that Israel must not be divided. Communities were encouraged to follow the example of the schools of Hillel and Shammai (see *Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai), whose arguments remained academic and did not lead to division within the community. They were also reminded of the dire consequences of the split of the kingdom of David between Jeroboam and Rehoboam.

ḤEREM. Jews never organized a central agency to define heresy and establish procedures to judge and punish heresy. In the medieval period heresy was established by individual rabbis, a *kehillah* ("community"), or a group of *kehillot*, and was combated by means of a **ḥerem*, a ban prohibiting social intercourse and marriage with a heretic and denying him burial rites. Those who taught doctrines considered heretical were threatened with this ban. Questionable books were sometimes banned, but, generally, they were prohibited only to the masses. Although censorship of texts seems not to have been practiced, it should be noted that a certain degree of censorship was imposed by the custom of requiring approbations (**haskamot*) for books.

A ban was valid only within the boundaries of the promulgating community or in the area under the promulgating sage's jurisdiction. Therefore, after the ban was proclaimed by a sage or by a *kehillah*, details of the charge were circulated among well-known scholars with a request for corroboration. Scholars far from the scene of the struggle, being personally uninvolved, could point out the lack of substance in the listed charges and weigh the practical dangers of persecuting an action of heresy against the need to protect the integrity of the community (see Z̦evi Hirsch *Ashkenazi of Altona reacting to the charges against David Nieto of London – 1703, Responsa 11/8). Often one community placed a ban while another refused to do so (see Rivkin, *Leon da Modena and the Kol Sakhal*, 8–9, on the opposite action of Venice and Salonika in the matter of Abraham Farrar). When a theoretically universal ban was pronounced against a specific group, for example, the *Karaites, the absence of a universal authority made it possible for certain communities to overlook the ban, and for its members to live peaceably side by side. The decentralization of religious authority effectively enlarged the range of permissible theological ideas.

The practice of excommunication probably goes back to the disciplines of the *Pharisees, the *Essenes, and the Dead Sea Covenanters (see *Dead Sea Scrolls), who excluded from their fellowship those who violated their rules. For these people, who were bound by oath to eat only special foods and to adhere to special rules of purity, such a ban was a terrible punishment. There is no indication of formal bans for heresy being pronounced against individuals until the Middle Ages.

Individuals, sects, and books were at various times declared heretical. The list includes *Samaritans, Judeo-Christians, *Karaites, *Shabbateans, *Frankists, *Ḥasidim, and liberal branches of modern Judaism; books ranging from Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* to the *Zohar; and such men as Uriel Da *Costa, Baruch Spinoza, and *Shneur Zalman of Lyady.

When Moses *Mendelssohn wrote his *Jerusalem*, he maintained that the community had no legitimate authority over anyone's opinions, an original argument, far-reaching in its consequences and breaking entirely new ground. In the 19th and 20th centuries liberal thinkers have argued that all attempts at restricting ideas are self-defeating and that mistaken notions can be opposed only by gentle reason (see *Rabbinische Gutachten ueber die Vertraeglichkeit der freien Forschung mit dem Rabbineramte*, 1842–43). However, those who adhere to Orthodox Judaism can still find some meaning in the term heresy, though few modern religious authorities are likely to institute anti-heretical proceedings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Guttmann, Philosophies, index; Baron, Social[2], index vol. (1960), 61; D.J. Silver, *Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy* (1965); I. Sarachek, *Faith and Reason. The Conflict Over the Rationalism of Maimonides* (1935); R.T. Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash* (1903). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G.J. Blidstein, "The 'Other' in Maimonidean Law," in: *Jewish History*, 18 (2004): 173–95; idem., "Who Is Not a Jew? – The Medieval Discussion," in: *Israel Law Review*, 11 (1976): 369–90; M. Kellner, *Dogma in Medieval Jewish Thought* (1986); idem, "Inadvertent Heresy in Medieval Jewish Thought: Maimonides and Abravanel vs. Duran and Crescas?" in: *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought*, 3 (1984): 393–403 (Hebrew); idem, "Heresy and the Nature of Faith in Medieval Jewish Philosophy," in: *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 76 (1987): 299–318; S. Nadler, *Spinoza's Heresy: Immortality and The Jewish Mind* (2002); M. Shapiro, *The Limits of Orthodox Theology: Maimonides' Thirteen Principles Reappraised* (2004).

[Daniel Jeremy Silver]

ḤEREV LE-ET (Heb. חֶרֶב לְאֵת), moshav in central Israel, in the Ḥefer Plain, affiliated with Ha-Iḥud ha-Ḥakla'i, founded in 1947 by veterans of the British and Czechoslovak forces in World War II. In the first years of Israel's statehood, new immigrants from European and North African countries joined the settlement. Citrus groves, poultry, flowers, orchards were the moshav's main farm branches. In 1969, its population numbered 239, rising to approximately 360 in the mid-1990s and 721 in 2002 after expansion. The moshav had both religious and secular residents. Ḥerev le-Et, meaning "Sword into Plowshare" (Isa. 2:4), refers to the fact that demobilized soldiers became farmers.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

°HERFORD, ROBERT TRAVERS (1860–1950), English Unitarian theologian who devoted his life to research into the Judaism of the Second Temple and the Talmud, particularly the Pharisees. Travers Herford was a liberal scholar who was free of the theological prejudices of Christian scholars of Judaism and strove to present Pharisaic Judaism in an unprejudiced light. In the Oral Law he discerned a continuation of the spirit of the prophets. What the prophets demanded in vehement speeches, by emphasizing general principles, the rabbis accomplished by logical reasoning and by specifying laws and right conduct.

Herford rejected the notion that the halakhic sages placed the ceremonial act in the center of the Jewish religion: he demonstrates that in talmudic Judaism the intention is primary, but that in the view of the halakhic sages its moral content must be manifested primarily in deeds. "The yoke of the Torah" referred to disparagingly in Christian literature is to the Jew only a source of joy; its purpose is the fulfillment of God's will as it was revealed and embodied in each of the commandments, major or minor. Herford places special emphasis on the great historical function fulfilled by the Scribes and the Pharisees who brought the Torah to the people and established the synagogue as a place of learning and prayer. It popularized Judaism, and its consequent democratization of religion saved Judaism from extinction after the destruction of the Temple. Herford's view of Jewish apocalyptic literature also differs from that of Protestant scholars, who regard it as a continuation of prophecy. The Pharisees, according to Herford, did not produce apocalyptic literature but confined themselves to interpreting the Torah; the apocalyptic works were written by nonconformist groups who did, in fact, preserve the outer shell of prophetic Judaism, but did not preserve its core. That core was preserved by *halakhah*.

The difference between Judaism and Christianity was seen by Herford to rest on the difference between faith in a divinely revealed law, and faith in a supernatural personality capable of legislating laws which are "outside the authority of the Torah." Judaism is an independent entity and has no need of Christianity, while Christianity, according to Herford, needs Judaism's pure faith, which rejects any compromise with paganism. Without the heritage of Judaism, Christianity faces the "danger of assimilation to paganism." Not only is Judaism not a stage which led to Christianity, but rather the contrary: only after Christianity's completion of its activity will "the hidden treasure of the Pharisees be largely accepted." His most important works were *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash* (1903); *Pharisaism, its Aim and its Method* (1912); *What the World Owes to the Pharisees* (1919); *The Pharisees* (1924); *Talmud and Apocrypha: A Comparative Study of the Jewish Ethical Teaching in the Early Centuries* (1933); an edition of *Pirkei Avot* with English translation, introduction, and commentary (1962[4]); *The Separation of Christianity from Judaism* (1927); and *Judaism in the New Testament Period* (1928).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Klausner, in: *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 42 (1924), 414–24 (= *Yahadut ve-Enoshiyyut*, 2 (1955), 284–68); idem, in: KS, 22 (1935/36), 439–50.

[Israel M. Goldman]

HERLANDS, WILLIAM BERNARD (1905–1969), U.S. lawyer and judge. Herlands, who was born in New York City, practiced law in New York with George Z. *Medalie from 1928 to 1931. After serving as assistant U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York (1931–34), he was appointed assistant corporation counsel by Mayor Fiorello La Guardia in 1934. A year later he became chief trial assistant to N.Y. County special prosecutor Thomas E. Dewey in the latter's campaign against organized crime, handling cases in the restaurant industry and other areas. From 1938 to 1944 Herlands served as New York

City commissioner of investigation. He was particularly vigilant in exposing municipal corruption and investigating the German-American Bund. While in private law practice from 1944 to 1954, Herlands served at various periods in special investigative positions. After being appointed New York State's first commissioner of investigation in 1954, he was named by President Eisenhower to be Federal District Court judge for the Southern District of New York in 1955, a post he held until his death. Herlands, who was extremely active in Jewish affairs, was an honorary president of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, and a director of the Jewish Welfare Board.

HERLINGEN, AARON WOLFF (Schreiber) OF GEWITSCH (c. 1700-c. 1760), Austrian scribe, illuminator, one of the most gifted and prolific of the school of Jewish manuscript artists who flourished in Central Europe in the 18th century. His work developed over the years, and he was especially distinguished as a calligrapher. Born probably in Gewitsch, his family came to Moravia following the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna in 1669–70. Herlingen became active in the field of Hebrew manuscript production when he was a young man, and the earliest known manuscript he wrote and decorated, *Seder Birkat ha-Mazon*, is dated 1719–20. Herlingen produced his early manuscripts in Pressburg (today Bratislava), and later he settled in Vienna. His reputation increased quickly and apparently with the help of an assistant he hired, Herlingen carried out many commissions for the Viennese court Jews and other wealthy families, as well as some non-Jewish clients. Herlingen specialized in richly illustrated manuscripts of the Passover *Haggadah* and Grace after Meals (in color and grisaille), though he also produced illuminated manuscripts of other texts, such as the Esther scroll, a *Mohel* book, Book of Psalms, five *Megillot*, and *Perek Shirah*. His illustrations are strongly influenced, like those of other Hebrew manuscript artists of the period, by printed illustrated books (especially the Amsterdam *Haggadah* of 1695 and 1712), but introduced new images and an attractive freshness of approach. In 1736 or earlier he was appointed scribe to the Imperial Library in Vienna. This fact was proudly noted by him on the title pages of many manuscripts he produced, often also in Latin and other languages. His calligraphic work included non-Hebrew manuscripts as well, including the Book of Psalms in Latin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Naményi, "La miniature juive au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle," in: REJ, 116 (1957), 61–63; V.B. Mann and R.I. Cohen (eds.), *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds: Art, Patronage, and Power 1600–1800* (1996), 112–14, 170–76; N.Z. Roth, "*Ha-Ẓayyar ha-Amami Aharon Schreiber Herlingen*," in: *Yeda Am*, 5 (1958), 73–79 (Heb.); S. Sabar, "Seder *Birkat ha-Mazon,* Vienna, 1719–20 – The Earliest Illustrated Manuscript of Aaron Herlingen of Gewitsch," in: *Dov Rappel Festschrift* (in press); M. Schmelzer, "Decorated Hebrew Manuscripts of the Eighteenth Century in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America," in: R. Dan (ed.), *Occident and Orient* (1998), 331–51; U. Schubert, *Jüdische Buchkunst*, vol. 2 (1992), 87–90.

[Shalom Sabar (2nd ed.)]

HERLITZ, GEORG (1885–1968), Zionist archivist and author. Born in Oppeln (Opole), in Silesia, Herlitz worked from 1911 to 1916 at the Gesamtarchiv der deutschen Juden (see *Archives) under the guidance of Eugen Taeubler. In 1919 he was appointed the first director of the Central Zionist Archives and headed this institution first in Berlin and from 1933 to 1955 in Jerusalem. He published numerous articles on general Jewish topics and on Zionist questions in *Juedische Rundschau, Haaretz*, and *Ha-Olam*. Herlitz edited the *Juedisches Lexikon* (5 vols., Berlin, 1927–30; the first two with Bruno Kirschner as co-editor), for which he wrote a number of entries on the history of the German Jews and the history of Zionism. He also compiled a Zionist chronological handbook, *Das Jahr des Zionismus* (1949), and wrote an autobiography *Mein Weg nach Jerusalem* (1964). He served for many years as the secretary of the presidium of Zionist Congresses. His daughter ESTHER HERLITZ (1921–) was a senior member of the Israel Foreign Service and was Israel ambassador to Denmark from 1966 to 1971, and a member of Knesset in 1973–81.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 2 (1947), 945–6.

[Michael Heymann]

HERMAN, DAVID (Nathan-David; 1876–1937), Yiddish theater producer. Born in Warsaw, Herman had a traditional education, studied dramaturgy in Warsaw, wrote initially in Polish and Hebrew, but turned to Yiddish when he joined the *Bund. He organized a dramatic group in Warsaw in 1903 that produced plays by I.L. *Peretz, *Sholem Aleichem, and Sholem *Asch. In 1908 he organized another group in Vienna that staged plays by David *Pinski, Asch, and Peretz in German. On his return to Poland, where the Russian ban on Yiddish theater had been lifted, Herman worked with the Peretz *Hirschbein troupe and organized with Peretz and A. *Mukdoni a Yiddish drama school in Warsaw. He was also director of the *Vilna Troupe, for which he staged the first production of *An-Ski's "Der Dibuk" (1920), which proved an international success. In 1931 he immigrated to the U.S.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Z. Zylbercweig, *Leksikon fun Yidishn Teater*, 1 (1931), 634–6.

[Joseph Leftwich / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

HERMAN, JERRY (1933–), U.S. theater composer/lyricist. Jerry (Gerald) Herman was born in New York City to musically inclined parents and learned to play piano at an early age. At 17 he was introduced to Frank *Loesser, who encouraged him to continue composing. Herman went to the University of Miami and after graduation he moved into musical theater. His first effort, *I Feel Wonderful*, a revue consisting of material he had written in college, played Off Broadway. It was the only show his mother, a teacher, was able to see. She died of cancer at 44 and Herman spent the next year seriously depressed. In an attempt to break loose from his grief, Herman produced *Nightcap*, which got enthusiastic reviews in a tiny jazz club and played for two years.

In 1960 Herman was approached by a producer to compose the score for a show about the founding of the State of Israel. It was called *Milk and Honey* and starred Molly *Picon, the star of Yiddish theater. It opened in 1961 and ran for 543 performances on Broadway. Three years later the producer David *Merrick united Herman with Carol Channing for a project that was to become one of the theater's blockbusters, *Hello, Dolly!* The original production ran for 2,844 performances, the longest-running musical for its time. The show swept the Tony Awards, winning ten, a record that was unbroken for 37 years.

Herman went on to compose several more shows, including the smash *Mame,* starring Angela Lansbury; *La Cage aux Folles*; *Mack & Mabel*; and *Dear World.* Many of Herman's show tunes became standards and are presented regularly on television, in film, and on stage and were recorded by many of the world's most notable singers. The title tune from *Hello, Dolly!* is the single most popular song ever to have originated from a Broadway musical score. It was a No. 1 hit for Louis Armstrong in 1964 when it knocked the Beatles off the charts. Another Herman composition, "If He Walked into My Life," from *Mame*, became a pop standard. Other well-known Herman show tunes include "Shalom," "Before the Parade Passes By," "It Only Takes a Moment," "We Need a Little Christmas," "Mame," "I Am What I Am," and "The Best of Times."

Herman had three Broadway musicals run more than 1,500 performances: *Dolly, Mame*, and *La Cage*. His songs were the subject of two popular musicals, *Jerry's Girls* in 1985 and *Showtune* in 2003. His autobiography, *Showtune: A Memoir,* was published in 1996.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

HERMAN, JOSEF (1911–2000), painter. Born in Warsaw, he was the son of a cobbler. He left Poland for Brussels in 1938 and in 1940 escaped to Glasgow. From 1944 to 1953 he lived in the Welsh mining village of Ystradgynlais, and then settled in London. Herman brought from Poland a deep involvement in Jewish life and the Yiddish culture of East European Jewry. His earliest work was based on memories of Poland, deeply Jewish in sentiment and subject. But it was in Wales that he found his true style. He lived with the miners and in the Welshman's intensely religious and warm family life, he found a living substitute for the Jewish *shtetl*. In later years Herman painted in Israel, France, Spain, and Mexico, but his interest in men at work, and his heavy, profound, somber manner, relate directly to his Welsh experience.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Taylor, *Josef Herman: Drawings* (1956); Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, *Josef Herman: Paintings and Drawings, 1940–56* (1956), introd.; E. Mullins, *Josef Herman: Paintings and Drawings* (1967).

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

HERMAN, OSKAR (1886–1974), Yugoslav painter. Born in Zagreb, until 1933 Herman lived in Munich. In 1941 he returned to Yugoslavia, was deported to the detention camp of Ferramonti in Italy, and in 1943 joined the Yugoslav partisan movement. In 1945, he returned to Zagreb. His painting, rich in color, became introspective, reflecting a balance of conflicting emotions.

HERMANN, GEORG (pen name of **Georg Borchardt**; 1871–1943), German novelist, essayist, and art historian; brother of Ludwig *Borchardt. Born in Berlin, Hermann lived there until 1933, when he immigrated to Holland. After the Nazi invasion of the Netherlands, he was first deported to the Westerbork concentration camp and later to Auschwitz, where he died. Hermann's life and literary work were rooted in the liberal bourgeoisie of Berlin, and his novels have sociological as well as artistic value. He had psychological insight and a gift for minute description of detail, and his poetic realism differed sharply from the naturalist school of writers' emphasis on daily life. Hermann published essays on the fine arts, sketches, and short stories; his most successful works were the novel *Jettchen Gebert* (1906) and its sequel, *Henriette Jacoby* (1908). This work portrays a cultivated Berlin Jewish family in the 1840s in the tradition of the family novels of Theodor Fontane and Thomas Mann. The modern Jewish intellectual, with his many inner complexities, appears in the novel *Die Nacht des Dr. Herzfeld* (1912) and its sequel, *Schnee* (1921). In 1928 Hermann returned to history in *Traenen um Modesta Zamboni*, the scene of which is Potsdam in the reign of Frederick the Great. Hermann considered himself a Jew without being religious. Critical toward both German and Jewish nationalist attitudes, he believed German Jews to be an integral part of the German people without having to neglect the intrinsic value of their particular tradition and experience.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Weiss-Sussex, *Georg Hermann – Deutsch-juedischer Schriftsteller und Journalist 1871–1943* (2004); idem, *Georg Hermann's Berlin Novels* (2001); K. Schoor, *Der Schriftsteller Georg Hermann* (1999); C.G. van Liere, *Georg Hermann – Materialien zur Kenntnis seines Lebens und Werkes* (1974).

[Rudolf Kayser / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

HERMANN, LEO (1888–1951), Zionist journalist and a founder of the *Keren Hayesod. Born in Landskron, Bohemia, Hermann studied law in Prague where he joined the students' society *Bar Kochba (1906), became one of its leading members, and its chairman in 1908–09. He exercised a great influence on Bohemian Zionism between 1909 and 1913, mainly through his editorship of the Zionist weekly **Selbstwehr* (1910–13). He brought Martin *Buber to Prague, where under Bar Kochba's auspices, he delivered his famous "Three Speeches on Judaism," which laid down a philosophy adopted by Bar Kochba as its own. In 1913 Hermann became secretary of the World Zionist Executive in Berlin and, for a time during World War I, edited *Die Juedische Rundschau*. He remained secretary of the Executive until 1920, when he joined Berthold *Feiwel in organizing the newly created Keren Hayesod. When the fund's headquarters were transferred to Jerusalem in 1926, Hermann moved there and became its general secretary. He wrote *Nathan Birnbaum, sein Werk und seine Wandlung* (1914)

and edited and published a collection of ideological essays on Jewish and Zionist topics, *Treue* (1916), and a pamphlet on the language controversy in Ereẓ Israel, *Im Kampf um die hebraeische Sprache* (1914) on behalf of the Zionist Executive. He was also among the initiators and founders of the monthly *Der Jude*, which was edited by Martin *Buber. During his last years, he devoted himself to films about Israel, among which was *Le-Ḥayyim Ḥadashim* ("To a New Life").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Weltsch (ed.), *Prag vi-Yrushalayim. Sefer le-Zekher Leo Hermann* (n.d., 125–200); Z. Shazar, *Or Ishim*, 1 (1963^2), 126–8.

[Oskar K. Rabinowicz]

HERMANUS QUONDAM JUDAEUS (**Herman of Scheda**; c. 1107–1170 or 1198), apostate abbot of Scheda (Westphalia). Born in Cologne, and originally named Judah b. David, he traveled to Mainz on business, and there loaned money to Ekbert, bishop of Muenster, without receiving a pledge. His parents therefore sent him back with his tutor Baruch to collect the pledge. He spent 20 weeks at Ekbert's court visiting monasteries, attending Ekbert's sermons, and taking part in religious disputations. When he returned home, Baruch accused him of undue sympathy toward Christianity. After a few weeks he decided to embrace Christianity. He went to Worms, preaching Christianity to the community there, and kidnapped his seven-year-old step-brother. Around 1128 he was baptized and five years later became a priest in the Premonstratensian Order. His autobiography, *Hermani Opusculum de conversione sua* (1687), describes Jewish life in Germany in the 12th century. However some scholars consider that Herman Quondam Judaeus may not have been identical with Herman of Scheda.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Aronius, Regesten (1902), index; idem, in: ZGJD, 2 (1888), 217–31; G. Niemeyer, *Hermanus Quondam Judaeus opusculum de conversione sua* (1963), bibl. 62–66; *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 6 (1967), s.v. *Herman of Scheda*; A. Epstein, in: MGWJ, 45 (1901), 66.

[Meir Lamed]

HERMANUV MESTEC (Czech **Heřmanův Městec**, Ger. **Hermann Mestetz**), town in Bohemia, Czech Republic. Jews settled in Hermanuv Mestec at the end of the 15th century and 10 families are mentioned in a document of 1570. Statutes of the *ḥevra kaddisha* exist from 1643 and an enlargement of the cemetery is recorded in 1667. In 1686 the local lord invited Jews to settle in houses formerly belonging to Christians who had died of the plague. At the end of the 19th century several Jewish firms made the town a center of shoe manufacturing. Noteworthy rabbis included Moses Simḥah Bumsla (d. 1724) and Moses *Bloch (1855–63). Sixty-three Jewish families lived in Hermanuv Mestec in 1724; by 1826 there were 492 Jews in the town, 721 in 1859, and 434 (9.3% of the total population) in 1880. In 1893 the community numbered 1,085, including the Jews in 40 surrounding villages. The community declined to 87 in 1921 and 54 (1.3%) in 1930. In 1942 the Jews were deported to Auschwitz via Theresienstadt and the synagogue appurtenances sent to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Folkmann, in: H. Gold (ed.) *Die Juden und Judengemeinden Boehmens in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (1934), 170–3; *Selbstwehr*, no. 52 (Dec. 27, 1912), 7–8.

[Jan Herman]

HERMENEUTICS, the science of biblical interpretation. The rabbis saw the Pentateuch as a unified, divinely communicated text, consistent in all its parts. It was consequently possible to uncover deeper meanings and to provide for a fuller application of its laws by adopting certain principles of interpretation (*middot*; "measures," "norms"). There are three formulations of such principles: the seven rules of *Hillel (Sifra, introd. 1:7; ARN[1] 37, 55; Tosef., Sanh. 7: end); the 13 rules of R. *Ishmael (Sifra, introd. 5); the 32 rules of R. *Eliezer b. Yose ha-Gelili (chiefly aggadic and generally considered to be post-talmudic). The indications are that the rules are earlier than Hillel (who lived in the first century B.C.E.). It is debatable whether (as suggested by the 12th-century Karaite author Judah *Hadassi) any Greek influence can be detected, though terminologically some of the rules have Greek parallels. R. Ishmael's rules are basically an amplification of Hillel's, so that the best method of studying rabbinic hermeneutics is to consider each of R. Ishmael's rules in detail.

The Thirteen Rules of R. Ishmael

(1) *Kal va-ḥomer* (more accurately *kol va-ḥomer*): an argument from the minor premise (*kal*) to the major (*ḥomer*). The Midrash (Gen. R. 92:7) traces its use to the Bible (cf. Gen. 44:8; Ex. 6:12; Num. 12:14 – not explicit but see BK 25a; Deut. 31:27; I Sam. 23:3; Jer. 12:5; Ezek. 15:5; Prov. 11:31; Esth. 9:12). The following two examples may be given: (a) It is stated in Deuteronomy 21:23 that the corpse of a criminal executed by the court must not be left on the gallows overnight, which R. Meir takes to mean that God is distressed by the criminal's death. Hence, R. Meir argues: "If God is troubled at the shedding of the blood of the ungodly, how much more [*kal va-ḥomer*] at the blood of the righteous!" (Sanh. 6:5). (b) "If priests, who are not disqualified for service in the Temple by age, are disqualified by bodily blemishes (Lev. 21:16–21) then levites, who are disqualified by age (Num. 8:24–25), should certainly be disqualified by bodily blemishes" (Ḥul. 24a). Example (a), where the "minor" and "major" are readily apparent, might be termed a simple *kal va-ḥomer*. Example (b) might be termed a complex *kal va-ḥomer*. Here an extraneous element (disqualification by age) has to be adduced to indicate which is the "minor" and which the "major." Symbolically the two types can be represented as SIMPLE: If A has X, then B certainly has X. COMPLEX: If A, which lacks Y, has X, then B, which has Y, certainly has X. Schwarz (see bibliography) erroneously identifies the Aristotelean syllogism with the *kal va-ḥomer*. First, the element of "how much more" is lacking in the syllogism. Second, the syllogism inference concerns genus and species:

All men are mortal.
Socrates is a man.
Therefore Socrates is mortal.

Since Socrates belongs in the class "man" he must share the characteristics of that class. However, in the *kal va-ḥomer* it is not suggested that the "major" belongs in the class of the "minor" but that what is true of the "minor" must be true of the "major" (Kunst, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 10 (1942), 976–91). Not all of the thirteen principles are based on logic as is the *kal va-ḥomer*. Some are purely literary tools, while the *gezerah shavah* is only valid if received through the transmission of a rabbinic tradition.

The principle of *dayyo* ("it is sufficient"), that the conclusion should advance only as far as the premise and not beyond it, is a qualification of the *kal va-ḥomer* (BK 2:5). It must not be argued that if A has x, then B has x + y. The *kal va-ḥomer* suffices only to prove that B has x, and it is to go beyond the evidence to conclude that it also has y. R. Tarfon rejects the *dayyo* principle in certain instances (BK 25a).

(2) *Gezerah shavah*: comparison of similar expressions. It is probable that etymologically the word *gezerah* means "law" – as in Daniel 4:4, 14 – so that *gezerah shavah* would mean a comparison of two similar laws (Beẓah 1:6; see however S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, 193ff.); if the same word occurs in two Pentateuchal passages, then the law applying in the one should be applied to the other. Bergman argues (Sinai 71, 1972) that a *gezerah shavah* is the application of the laws in one instance to a second instance to achieve a unified legal principle, irrespective of the differences between the cases, more often than not by finding a word that appears in both instances. For example, the word *be-mo'ado* ("in its appointed time") is used both in regard to the Paschal lamb (Num. 9:2) and to the *tamid*, the daily offering (Num. 28:2), which is offered on the Sabbath as well. Thus it can be inferred that the term *be-mo'ado* includes the Sabbath and hence the Paschal lamb may be offered even on the Sabbath, although work normally forbidden on the Sabbath is entailed (Pes. 66a). The *gezerah shavah*, as may be seen from the above example, was originally a purely logical principle. It is reasonable to suppose that a law clearly stated in one passage can shed light on a similar law in a different passage. In the schools, however, the *gezerah shavah* threatened to become a formal principle whereby a mere similarity in words was sufficient warrant for positing similar laws in the respective passages. To prevent the abuse of this method, rules were laid down to qualify its use. A man cannot advance a *gezerah shavah* independently, but must receive it by tradition from his teachers (Pes. 66a); both passages must be from the Pentateuch (BK 2b); the words of the *gezerah shavah* must not only be similar but also superfluous (*mufneh*, "free") in the context in which they appear, so that it can be argued that they were placed there for the express purpose of the *gezerah shavah* (Shab. 64a). It would appear that the school of R. Akiva disagrees with that of R. Ishmael and does not require *mufneh* (TJ, Yoma 8:3, 45a).

Similar to the *gezerah shavah* but not identical with it are the rules of *hekkesh* ("comparison") and *semukhim* ("juxtaposition"). *Hekkesh* refers to the presence of two laws in the same verse, from which it may be inferred that whatever is true of one is true of the other. For example, "Thou shalt eat no leavened bread with it; seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread therewith" (Deut. 16:3). Although women are exempt from carrying out positive precepts associated with given time, they are nevertheless obliged to eat unleavened bread on Passover since the verse, by combining the two laws compared the duty to eat unleavened bread with the prohibition against eating leaven, which, being a negative precept, is binding on women (Pes. 43b). *Semukhim* refers to the juxtaposition of two laws in two adjacent verses. For example, "Thou shalt not suffer a sorceress to live; Whosoever lieth with a beast shall be put to death" (Ex. 22:17, 18). Just as one who lies with a beast is put to death by stoning, so, too, a sorceress is put to death by stoning (Ber. 21b). R. Judah, however, rejects the universal application of the *semukhim* rule: "Just because the two statements are juxtaposed, are we to take this one out to be stoned?" (*ibid*). The *semukhim* rule, according to R. Judah, is to be applied only in Deuteronomy (*ibid*).

(3) *Binyan av mi-katuv eḥad* and *binyan av mi-shenei khetuvim*: an inference from a single verse, and an inference from two verses. (A construction – *binyan* – in which the premise acts as a "father" – *av* – to the conclusions drawn from it.) Examples: (a) "He shall pour out the blood thereof and cover it with dust" (Lev. 17:13) – just as the pouring out of the blood (the act of slaughter) is performed with the hand, so must the covering be done with the hand, not with the foot (*hekkesh*). R. Joseph derives from this that no precept may be treated disrespectfully. He observes: "The father of all of them is blood," i.e., from the law that the precept of covering the blood must be carried out in a respectful manner it is learnt that all precepts must be so carried out (Shab. 22a). (b) According to the rabbinic interpretation of Deuteronomy 23:25f., a farm laborer, when working in the field, may eat of his employer's grapes and standing corn. May he likewise eat of other things growing in the field? This cannot be derived from the case of the vineyard, for the owner of a vineyard is obliged to leave the gleanings to the poor (Lev. 19:10), and it may be that since the owner has this obligation, he also has the other. Nor can it be derived from the case of standing corn, for the owner of standing corn is obliged to give *ḥallah*, the priest's portion of the dough (Num. 15:17–21). Taking the two cases together, however, others can be derived from them. For the decisive factor in the case of the vineyard cannot be the gleanings, since the law of gleanings does not apply to standing corn. Nor can the decisive factor in the case of standing corn be *ḥallah* since *ḥallah* does not apply to a vineyard. The factor common to both vines and standing corn is that they are plants, from which it may be inferred that the law applies to all plants (BM 87b). The peculiarities of each case cannot be decisive since they are different from each other; the common factor is decisive. Symbolically they can be represented as:

Axy…………………a
Bxz…………………a
Cx…………………..a

(According to some commentators a simple analogy of type (a) is not to be reckoned among R. Ishmael's principles, both of which are of type (b), the difference being that in *binyan av mi-katuv eḥad* both the cases from which the induction is made are in the same verse whereas in *binyan av mi-shenei khetuvim* they are in separate verses – *Sefer Keritut* 1:3.)

(4) *Kelal u-ferat*; general and particular. If a law is stated in general terms and followed by particular instances, only those instances are covered by the law. Example: "Ye shall bring an offering of the cattle, even of the herd and the flock" (Lev. 1:2). Even though the term "cattle" normally embraces the "beast" (i.e., non-domesticated cattle), the latter is excluded by the particular limitation, "the herd and the flock" (Sifra, introd. 7).

(5) *Perat u-khelal*: particular and general. If the particular instances are stated first and are followed by the general category, instances other than the particular ones mentioned are included. Example: "If a man deliver unto his neighbor an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast" (Ex. 22:9) – beasts other than those specifically mentioned are included (Sifra, introd. 8).

(6) *Kelal u-ferat u-khelal i attah dan ella ke-ein ha-perat*: general, particular, general – you may derive only things similar to those specified. Example: "Thou shalt bestow the money for whatsoever thy soul desireth [*kelal*] for oxen, or for sheep, or for wine, or for strong drink [*perat*] or for whatsoever thy soul asketh of thee [*kelal*]" (Deut. 14:26). Other things than those specified may be purchased, but only if they are food or drink like those specified (Sifra, introd. 8).

(7) *Kelal she-hu ẓarikh li-ferat u-ferat she-hu ẓarikh li-khelal*: the general requires the particular and the particular the general. Specification is provided by taking the general and the particular together, each "requiring" the other. An example is, "Sanctify unto Me all the first-born" (i.e., males – Deut. 15:19), "whatsoever openeth the womb" (Ex. 13:2). A first-born male would have been understood as included in the term "all the first-born" even if a female had previously been born to that mother. Hence, the particular limiting expression "whatsoever openeth the womb" is stated. But this term would not have excluded one born after a previous Caesarian birth, hence the general term "all the first-born" (Bek. 19a).

(8) *Davar she-hayah bi-khelal ve-yaẓa min ha-kelal le-lammed lo le-lammed al aẓmo yaẓa ella le-lammed al ha-kelal kullo yaẓa*: if a particular instance of a general rule is singled out for special treatment, whatever is postulated of this instance is to be applied to all the instances embraced by the general rule. For example, "A man, also, or a woman that divineth that by a ghost or a familiar spirit, shall surely be put to death; they shall stone them with stones" (Lev. 20:27). Divination by a ghost or familiar spirit is included in the general rule against witchcraft (Deut. 18:10f.). Since the penalty of stoning is applied to these instances, it may be inferred that the same penalty applies to all the other instances embraced by the general rule (Sanh. 67b).

(9) *Davar she-hayah bi-khelal ve-yaẓa liton to'an eḥad she-hu khe-inyano yaẓa lehakel ve-lo lehaḥmir*: when particular instances of a general rule are treated specifically, in details similar to those included in the general rule, then only the relaxations of the general rule and not its restrictions are to be applied in those instances. For example, the laws of the boil (Lev. 13:18–21) and the burn (Lev. 13:24–28) are treated specifically even though these are particular instances of the general rule regarding plague-spots (Lev. 13:1–17). The general restrictions regarding the law of the second week (Lev. 13:5) and the quick raw flesh (Lev. 13:10) are, therefore, not be applied to them (Sifra 1:2).

(10) *Davar she-hayah bi-khelal ve-yaẓa liton to'an aḥer she-lo khe-inyano yaẓa lehakel-lehaḥmir*: when particular instances of a general rule are treated specifically in details dissimilar from those included in the general rule, then both relaxations and restrictions are to be applied in those instances. For example, the details of the laws of plague in the hair or beard (Lev. 13:29–37) are dissimilar from those in the general rule of plague spots. Hence, both the relaxation regarding the white hair mentioned in the general rule (*ibid.*, 13:4) and the restriction of the yellow hair mentioned in the particular instance (*ibid.* 13:30) are to be applied (Sifra 1:3).

(11) *Davar she-hayah bi-khelal ve-yaẓa lidon ba-davar he-ḥadash i attah yakhol lehaḥaziro li-khelalo ad she-yaḥazirennu ha-katuv li-khelalo be-ferush*: when a particular instance of a general rule is singled out for completely fresh treatment, the details of the general rule must not be applied to this instance unless Scripture does so specifically. For example, the guilt offering of the leper requires the placing of the blood on the ear, thumb, and toe (Lev. 14:14). Consequently, the laws of the general guilt offering, such as the sprinkling of the blood on the altar (Lev. 7:2) would not have applied, were it not for Scripture's stating: "For as the sin offering is the priest's, so is the guilt offering" (Lev. 14:13), i.e., that this is like other guilt offerings (Yev. 7a–b).

(12) *Davar ha-lamed me-inyano ve-davar ha-lamed mi-sofo*: the meaning of a passage may be deduced: (a) from its context (*mi-inyano*), (b) from a later reference in the same passage (*mi-sofo*). As an example of (a), "Thou shalt not steal" in the Decalogue (Ex. 20:13) must refer to the capital offense of kidnapping, since the two other offenses mentioned in the same verse, "Thou shalt not murder" and "Thou shalt not commit adultery," are both capital offenses (Mekh., Ba-Ḥodesh, 8, 5). In example of (b), "I put the plague of leprosy in a house of the land of your possession" (Lev. 14:34), refers only to a house built with stones, timber, and mortar, since these materials are mentioned later in verse 45 (Sifra, introd. 1:6).

(13) *Shenei khetuvim ha-makhḥishim zeh et zeh ad she-yavo ha-katuv ha-shelishi ve-yakhri'a beineihem*: two verses contradict one another until a third verse reconciles them. For example, one verse states that God came down to the top of the mountain (Ex. 19:20), another that His voice was heard

from heaven (Deut. 4:36). A third verse (Ex. 20:19) provides the reconciliation. He brought the heavens down to the mount and spoke (Sifra 1:7).

Other Rules

Among other rules found in the literature are *ribbui* ("inclusion") and *mi'ut* ("exclusion"). When found together these terms denote a variation of the *kelal u-ferat* rules (BK 86b; Shev. 26a). The term *ribbui* is also used to denote that the Hebrew particles *af, gam, et* indicate an inclusion or amplification, and the term *mi'ut* to denote that the particles *akh, rak, min* indicate an exclusion or limitation. This method of interpretation, used particularly in the school of R. Akiva, proceeds from the premise that every word of Scripture has significance. For instance, the particle *et* begins the verse "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God" (Deut. 10:20). This implies that the application of the verse is extended to include reverence for scholars (Pes. 22b). According to Akiva's school the use of the infinitive absolute (which repeats the verb) implies an amplification. An example is "That soul shall utterly be cut off" (Num. 15:31) – "*hikkaret tikkaret*." R. Akiva remarks, "*Hikkaret* in this world, *tikkaret* in the world to come," but R. Ishmael demurs, "The Torah speaks in human language," i.e., the duplication of the verb is according to regular Hebrew usage and therefore carries no additional implication (Sif. Num. 112). The word *kol* ("all") is treated as a *ribbui*. For example, the duty of recalling the Exodus "all [*kol*] the days of thy life" (Deut. 16:3) devolves upon one at night as well as by day (Ber. 1:5).

Dots (*nekuddot*) found over certain letters are interpreted as calling attention to some special feature, e.g., over *va-yishakehu*, ("and he kissed him"; Gen. 33:4), to teach, according to one opinion, that Esau was completely sincere (Gen. R. 78:9). **Gematria* refers to the numerical equivalent of a word, e.g., the name Eliezer, Abraham's servant, has the same numerical value as the number of soldiers (318) Abraham takes out to battle (Gen. 14:14). The Midrash therefore states that Abraham sent only Eliezer into the battle (Gen. R. 43:2). In **notarikon* ("shorthand") the letters of a word represent the initial letters of other words. Some examples are: *nimreẓet* ("grievous"; Kings 2:8) alludes to *no'ef* ("adulterer"), *mo'avi* ("Moabite"), *roẓeaḥ* ("murderer"), *ẓorer* ("enemy"), *to'evah* ("abomination"; Shab. 105a). *Al tikrei* ("do not read… but") is a change of reading to convey a different meaning, e.g., *banayikh* ("thy sons"; Isa. 54:13) is read as *bonayikh* ("thy builders"; Ber. 64a). Where the vocalization differs from the consonantal form of the text, there is a debate as to which is to be followed in order to determine the law (Sanh. 4a). Two general rules found frequently are *ein mukdam u-me'uḥar ba-Torah* ("the Torah does not proceed in chronological sequence"; Pes. 6b) and *ein mikra yoẓe mi-ydei feshuto,* "a Scriptural verse never loses its plain meaning," i.e., regardless of any additional interpretation (Shab. 63a; Yev. 24a).

R. Ishmael and R. Akiva

It is stated (Shev. 26a) that R. Ishmael followed his teacher, R. *Neḥunya b. ha-Kanah, in expounding Scripture according to the rules of *kelal u-ferat* and that R. Akiva followed his teacher, *Nahum of Gimzo, in expounding by the rules of *ribbui* and *mi'ut*. The latter method is more inclusive and less confined by the plain meaning of the text. From this and some of the other examples given above it will be seen that the school of R. Ishmael was more restrictive in its use of hermeneutical principles than that of R. Akiva. Two further points of departure must be noted. According to R. Ishmael a matter itself derived from Scripture by means of one of the hermeneutical principles cannot serve as a premise for the derivation of an additional conclusion through the operation of these principles, whereas according to R. Akiva one may "learn from a matter itself derived from Scripture" (*lamed min ha-lamed*; Zev. 57a). According to R. Ishmael the principles of *kal va-ḥomer* and *binyan av* cannot be implemented toward the imposition of a penalty (*ein oneshim min ha-din*), a view to which R. Akiva takes exception (TJ, Yev. 11:1, 11d; J.N. Epstein, *Prolegomena* (1957) 525–6). Despite the appearance of two distinct approaches to the use of the hermeneutical rules, a closer reading of the talmudic sources reveals that R. Ishmael did employ R. Akiva's rules of *ribbui* and *mi'ut*. At the same time, R. Ishmael is not quoted in talmudic sources as having used each and every one of the thirteen principles. Thus, the *Sifra* might be attributing the thirteen principles to R. Ishmael and his school rather than actually quoting him.

The use of the these hermeneutic principles spread because of the increase in Torah study coupled with the increase in disagreements both among the rabbis and between them and the other Second Temple Jewish sects. The use of the principles also gave greater authority to the link between the Pentateuchal text and the law, especially when the law is not stated outright in the text. Over time, as the Mishnah became an authoritative halakhic text, the application of these rules slowly petered out.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.G. Enelow (ed.), *Mishnat R. Eliezer* (1933), introd.; H. Strack, *Introduction to Talmud and Midrash* (1945), 289 n. 2–3; Daube, in: HUCA, 22 (1949), 239–64; S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (1950), 47–82; A. Schwarz, *Hermeneutischer Syllogismus in der talmudischen Litteratur* (1901); Samson b. Isaac of Chinon, *Sefer Keritut*, ed. by Sofer (1965); I. Horowitz, *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit* (1649), ch. 2 beginning; M. Ostrowski, *Ha-Middot she-ha-Torah Nidreshet ba-Hen* (1924); Z.H. Chajes, *Student's Guide through the Talmud*, ed. by J. Schachter (1960²); L. Jacobs, *Studies in Talmudic Logic and Methodology* (1961); A.J. Heschel, *Torah min ha-Shamayim be-Aspaklaryah shel ha-Dorot*, 2 vols. (1962–65); Zeitlin, in: JQR, 54 (1963/64), 161–73. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Y. Krispin, *Sefer Eḥad be-Eḥad: Bi'ur le-beraitah de-Rabbi Yishmael* (2000); Levi ben Gershom, *Sefer Sha'arei Ẓedek: Peirush al Shelosh Esrei Middot she-ha-Torah Nidreshet Bahen* (1994); Aharon ben Avraham ibn Ḥayyim, *Sefer Middot Aharon* (1994); Shemuel ibn Sirilio, *Sefer Kelalei Shemuel* (1990); Zerahia ben Yizḥak ha-Levi, *Sefer Ha-Zavah* (1997); A. Schwartz, *Ha-Gezerah Shavah* (tr.. from Ger., 1975); B. de Vries, in: *Sefer Yovel Li-Khvod ha-Rav Doktor Yisrael Elfenbein* (1962), 95–98; B. Rosensweig, in: *Tradition*, 13:1 (1972), 49–76; S. Norman, in: *Jewish Law and Current Legal Problems* (1985), 125–39; M. Chernick, in: *Jewish Quarterly Review*, (new series) 70 (1979–80), 96–116; idem, *Le-Ḥeker ha-Middot Kelal u-Ferat u-Khelal ve- Ribbui u- Mi'ut* (1984); G. Porton, in: *Reli-*

gion, Literature and Society in Ancient Israel (1987), 3–18; M. Kahana, in: *Meḥkarim be-Talmud u-ve-Midrash* (2005), 173–216; Y. Eitam, in: *Gulot*, 5 (1997), 142–59; D. Cohen, in: *Shema'atin*, 119 (1994), 106–15; Y.M. Levinger, in: *Bekhol Derakhekha Da'eihu* (1997), 81–100.

[Louis Jacobs / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

HERMER, MANFRED (1915–), South African architect. Born in Volksrust, Transvaal, he practiced in Johannesburg from 1939. Later he became a leading authority in South Africa on the planning and construction of theaters. His major work in that field was the Civic Theater in Johannesburg, forming the nucleus of the complex of buildings for the city's projected Civic Center. Hermer designed other theaters and also country and social clubs, industrial buildings, and several private hospitals and clinics including the Ashkelon hospital in Israel. His most prominent building is probably the Ponte City Apartments, a 54-story block in Johannesburg, built in 1976, which was once the most luxurious in the city. His firm is now known as Manfred Hermer, Grosskopff and Lombart. He later made his home in Canada.

HERMETIC WRITINGS, a collection of religious and philosophical treatises, also known as *Hermetica*, which was traditionally attributed to Hermes Trismegistos (Hermes the thrice-great). The *Hermetica* contain cosmological, ethical, and eschatological discourses, based on the assumption that only selected spirits may achieve bliss and salvation of the soul through gnosis (esoteric knowledge). In addition to this gnostic basis, Platonic and eastern religious elements may be discerned. The *Hermetica*, which are of late origin (4th–11th century C.E.), were produced on Egyptian soil by men of Greek speech and culture, although part was written in Latin. Some Jewish influence may be traced in the *Hermetica*. Some of the accounts of the ascent of the soul through the celestial spheres, given in the hermetic writings, have affinities with similar notions in the literature of the *Merkabah mystics. The writers of Book 1 (the *Poimandres*) and Book 3 knew the Mosaic account of the creation; they were also acquainted with Stoic cosmology, and tried to harmonize the one with the other, to "reconcile" Genesis to science: "When the period was completed … all living creatures, having until then been bisexual, were parted asunder … and so there came to be males and females. And God spoke in holy speech: 'Increase and multiply abundantly, all ye that have been created and made'" (1:18). "And each god (element) by his separate power, put forth that which he was bidden to put forth. And there came forth four-footed beasts and creeping things and fishes and winged birds, and grass and every flowering herb, all having seed in them according to their diverse natures … [and God ordained the] births of men, and bade mankind increase and multiply abundantly …" (3:3). Jewish elements in the doctrines of the *Poimandres* include teachings which originated in Jewish Hellenistic circles closely connected with the school of Philo, such as ideas about the Logos and the *Anthropos*. *Anthropos* in the *Hermetica* is more than the Adam of Genesis, the ancestor of the human race; he is a transcendental being, the personification of humanity, a notion evolved out of a combination of data from Genesis with the Platonic concept of the idea of Man. The rabbis, too, endowed Adam with superhuman qualities: His body filled the world from end to end and he shone with a heavenly radiance (Ḥag. 12a; BB 58a).

Hermes Trismegistos

Hermetic literature, as can be judged from its many translations, exercised some influence even in antiquity, the Slavonic Book of *Enoch possibly reflecting such influence. It left its mark in the Christian world, on the literature of Syrians and Arabs and, in some measure, on early Jewish writings. Hermes Trismegistos was identified in Hellenized Egypt with the Egyptian deity, "thrice-great" Thoth. To him were attributed not only the *Hermetica* proper, but also various writings on astrology, magic, and alchemy. Much hermetic literature existed in Arabic translation in the Middle Ages and it is through this literature that it reached, and sometimes influenced, Jewish thinkers. *Judah Halevi includes Hermes with Asclepius, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, among those supposed – by medieval neoplatonic philosophy – to be able to achieve the soul's ascent and its unity with the Active Intellect (*Kuzari*, 1:1). The treatise "Teachings on the Soul," by Pseudo-*Baḥya, appears to be influenced by the *Hermetica*. In his famous letter to Samuel ibn Tibbon, *Maimonides includes the books of Hermes under the rubric of ancient (i.e., pre-Aristotelian) philosophy, the study of which is a waste of time (see A. Marx, in JQR, 25 (1934/35), 380). In the *Guide of the Perplexed* (3:29), Maimonides mentions a work ascribed to Hermes among the compositions which spread the knowledge of idolatry throughout the world. Aside from stray references in books translated from Arabic and despite the huge literature extant in Arabic, there seems to be only one book translated into Hebrew which is ascribed to Hermes. Profiat *Duran, in *Ḥeshev ha-Efod* (quoted by Judah Muscato in his commentary to the *Kuzari*), identifies Hermes with Enoch, and regards him as the originator of the calendar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, index; Krauss, in: *Ha-Goren*, 7 (1907), 29–34; J. Kroll, *Die Lehren des Hermes Trismegistos* (1914); D. Cassel (ed.), *Das Buch Kusari des Jehuda ha-Levi* (1920), 26n.; W. Scott (ed.), *Hermetica*, 4 vols. (1924–36); J. Heinemann, *Die Lehre von der Zweckbestimmung des Menschen…* (1926), 25ff., 39ff.; M. Plessner, in: EI², s.v. *Hirmis*; A.J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, 4 vols. (1949–54).

[Solomon Rappaport and Lawrence V. Berman]

°**HERMIPPUS OF SMYRNA** (third century B.C.E.), peripatetic biographer. He is quoted by Josephus (Apion, 1:163–5) as recording in his work on *Pythagoras that the soul of one of the latter's disciples imparted to him certain precepts, notably, to avoid passing a spot where an ass had collapsed, to abstain from thirst-producing water, and to avoid calumny, in the practice of which Pythagoras "was imitating and appropriating the doctrines of the Jews and Thracians." *Origen cites another work of Hermippus in which he states cat-

egorically that Pythagoras derived his philosophy from the Jews (so also Antonius Diogenes and Aristobulus). Attempts to connect Greek philosophers with the Orient are common, however (cf., e.g., Megasthenes), and based apparently on romantic speculation.

HERMLIN, STEPHAN (**Rudolph Leder**; 1915–1997), German author. Born in Chemnitz, Germany, the son of East European Jewish immigrants, Hermlin joined a Communist youth organization in 1931. He fled Germany for Palestine in 1936. Disillusioned with Zionism, he left Tel Aviv for France in 1937. After the German invasion he was interned briefly but avoided deportation. In 1943 he escaped to Switzerland. After the war he worked in the American sector of Germany, before leaving for the Soviet sector in 1947. In exile Hermlin had established a reputation as a poet, and during the 1950s he wrote paeans to Stalin in a Socialist Realist mode. He gradually ceased writing poetry, but remained active as a translator, editor, essayist, and author of literary prose. Examples from the latter genre include "Die Zeit der Einsamkeit," which deals with the humiliations of a Jewish woman in Vichy France, "Die Zeit der Gemeinsamkeit," one of the first attempts in literature to depict the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto, and his semi-autobiographical *Abendlicht*. Hermlin also wrote essays about his postwar visits to the ruins of the Warsaw ghetto, and a poem dealing with Auschwitz: "Die Asche von Birkenau."

In part due to his persecution by the Nazis, Hermlin enjoyed a reputation in East Germany as an important cultural and moral authority. In 1996 the journalist Karl Corino determined numerous elements of Hermlin's biography to be exaggerations or outright fictions. In questionnaires, interviews, and his literary work, Hermlin, for example, had implied that his mother, an *Ostjuedin*, was a gentile Englishwoman and that his father, who immigrated to England in 1939, died in a German concentration camp. Hermlin had embellished his own anti-fascist activities, asserting incorrectly that he had been imprisoned in a German concentration camp and that he had fought against Franco in Spain. Hermlin died in Berlin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Ertl, *Stephan Hermlin und die Tradition* (1977); S. Schlenstedt, *St. H., homme de lettres. Gespräch zwischen Silvia Schlenstedt und St. H. im Sommer 1983* (1985); idem, *St. H. Leben und Werk* (1985); T.C. Fox, *Stated Memory. East Germany and the Holocaust* (1999); H.D. Zimmermann, *Der Wahnsinn des Jahrhunderts. Die Verantwortung der Schriftsteller in der Politik* (1992); H. Detering, "'Die Stimme im Dornbusch'. Jüdische Motive und Traditionen in den Exilgedichten Stephan Hermlins," in: I. Shedletzky and H.O. Horch (ed.), *Deutsch-jüdische Exil- und Emigrationsliteratur im 20. Jahrhundert* (1993) 253–69; E. Thiele, *Literatur nach Stalins Tod. Sowjetliteratur und DDR-Literatur* (1995); K. Corino, *Außen Marmor, innen Gips. Die Legenden des St. H.* (1996); W. Ertl, "Zum Fall Stephan Hermlin," in: *Glossen*, 6 (1996); M. Jäger, "Nachbesserungen. Zum Streit um Stephan Hermlins Biographie," in: *Deutschland Archiv*, 6 (1996) 845; A. Solbach, "Antifaschismus und Schuld. Zur Diskussion um Stephan Hermlin," in: *Weimarer Beiträge*, 45 (1999); G. Ohlerich, *St. H.s Verhältnis zur Arbeiterklasse zwischen Bürgertum und Sozialismus* (2000); K. Hartewig, *Zurückgekehrt. Die Geschichte der jüdischen Kommunisten in der DDR*, (2000); A. Lamblin, *St. H. et la France. Un poète allemand a contre-courant ou l'éternel exilé* (2001).

[Michael Brenner (2nd ed.)]

°**HERMOGENES** (date unknown), author of a history of Phrygia in which he tells of the Phrygian Noah, Nannacos. Josephus mentions him (Apion, 1:216) among those historians who wrote of the Jews and testified to their antiquity.

HERMON, MOUNT (Heb. הַר חֶרְמוֹן; in Ps. 89:13 and Song 4:13, called just Hermon), the highest mountain in Israel, range in Lebanon, Syria, and (after the Six-Day War) Israel on the N.W. border of Transjordan. Mt. Hermon dominates its surroundings and its impressive peak is visible from a distance of more than 60 mi. (100 km.). It is called Jebel al-Sheikh ("the chieftain mountain") by the Arabs. In the south Mt. Hermon borders on the edge of the basalt table-land of the Golan; in the west on the valley of the Senir River (Ar. Ḥaṣbānī River and its continuation Wadi al-Taym); in the north on the Beirut-Damascus highway, which passes through the upper valley of the Parpar River (now called Barada River); and in the east on the Damascus tableland. Mt. Hermon may be considered to be an upfaulted block whose anticlinal axis, running northeast-southwest, constitutes the southern continuation of the Anti-Lebanon range. The slopes of the massif turning southeast and east are much steeper than those in the west. The Mt. Hermon block extends over a length of about 28 mi. (45 km.) and is widest in the south – about 15 mi. (25 km.). Tectonics, together with erosional processes, have created secondary depressions, most of which parallel the direction of the axis. Its highest peak, reaching 9,230 ft. (2,814 m.) above sea level, is called Qaṣr ʿAntar, "the fortress of ʿAntar," the Black hero of Arab legend. The top stratum of the Hermon massif is mostly Jurassic limestone, while younger strata (Lower Cretaceous, Cenomanian) have preserved themselves only in the mountain's circumference. Mt. Hermon does not appear to have ever undergone glaciation, so that alpine characteristics (e.g., needle peaks, cirques, arêtes, etc.) are absent. Karstic erosion, on the other hand, has been strongly active in the mountain's limestone, resulting in rough terrain features (crags, boulders, sinkholes, etc.) and in an almost complete absence of soil from much of the area. The latter fact also explains the scantiness of the vegetation cover, in spite of the abundant precipitation (dew, rain, and snow), which attains a maximum of 60 in. (1,500 mm.) per year on the mountain's highest reaches. These waters are quickly absorbed in the porous rocks and reappear in strong karstic and tectonic springs at the foot of the mountain. Its peak is covered with snow for about two-thirds of the year, and its waters feed the headstreams of the Jordan and springs descending eastward into the Damascus basin.

History

In the Bible Mt. Hermon is considered the northern boundary of Transjordan, i.e., of the territory of the Amorite kings conquered by Israel (Deut. 3:8; Josh. 12:1), as well as the ex-

treme limit of the territory of the half-tribe of Manasseh east of the Jordan (Josh. 13:11). The name Hermon is derived from the root *ḥrm* ("sacred"), and like most high mountains it was thought to be the residence of a god, whose name, Baal-Hermon, also served as the name of the mountain itself (Judg. 3:3; I Chron. 5:23). According to Deuteronomy 3:9, Mt. Hermon was called Sirion by the Sidonians (Phoenicians) and Senir by the Amorites. These names, which apparently designate the entire Anti-Lebanon range and not just the Hermon peak, appear in the Egyptian Execration Texts of the 19th century B.C.E., and in Ugaritic literature, in a treaty between the Hittites and Amorites (c. 1350 B.C.E.), in which the two sides swear, inter alia, by the gods of Mt. Shariyanu. When the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III attacked Damascus in 841 B.C.E., the Assyrian army had first to overcome Hazael's forces at Mt. Sa-ni-ru. As late as the 10th century C.E., Arab geographers mention the name Snir. In the Psalms, Mt. Hermon is contrasted with Mt. Lebanon (29:6); the land of the Hermons is mentioned with the land of Jordan (42:7); and Mt. Hermon is also juxtaposed with Mt. Tabor (89:13), which led to the Hill of Moreh being called the "Little Hermon." The Bible praises the dew of Hermon (Ps. 133:3), its lions (Song 4:8), and its cypresses (Ezek. 27:5). In classical times Jerome mentions that a temple stood on the mountain (Onom. 21:13–14). A Greek inscription found near the peak states that only those who "had taken the oath" were allowed to continue on from there. Snow from Mt. Hermon was sent to Tyre. The Targums called it Tur Talga ("Mountain of Snow"; Targ. Onk., Deut. 3:9 and Song 4:8), a name still used by the Arabs, Jebel al-Thalj.

In recent times, most parts of Mt. Hermon have been uninhabited. Only at its foot and on its lowest slopes villages nestle on protected sites, many of them inhabited by minority groups (Druze, Alaouites, etc.) that sought refuge there hundreds of years ago. The larger part of Mt. Hermon, its northwestern and western section, including the highest point of the massif, is in Lebanese territory. The northeastern part belongs to Syria. In the Six-Day War (1967), Israel forces occupied the formerly Syrian southeast corner (including the high "Hermon Shoulder"), where Syrian troops had built an elaborate network of fortifications and from where they had frequently shelled the Ḥuleh Valley settlements. They had also begun to dig a canal there, with the intention of diverting the Jordan sources from Israel. Among the villages that came under Israel jurisdiction on June 10, 1967, are the Druze center Majdal *Shams and the Alaouite (Nusairi) village of Ghajar. After 1967 roads were built on Mt. Hermon, two of which meet near the highest point in Israel hands (7,320 ft., or 2,200 m., above sea level), and a recreation and winter-sports center was constructed on the Hermon. In all, Israel controlled nearly 30 sq. miles (70 sq. km.) of the mountain. From 1969 Arab guerrillas installed themselves on Lebanese territory on the western slopes of Mt. Hermon, from which they repeatedly shelled Israel population centers; the Israel Defense Forces reacted with air attacks and land assaults on these hideouts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, 5 (1903), 346ff.; Abel, Geog, 1 (1933), 347–9; EM, s.v.

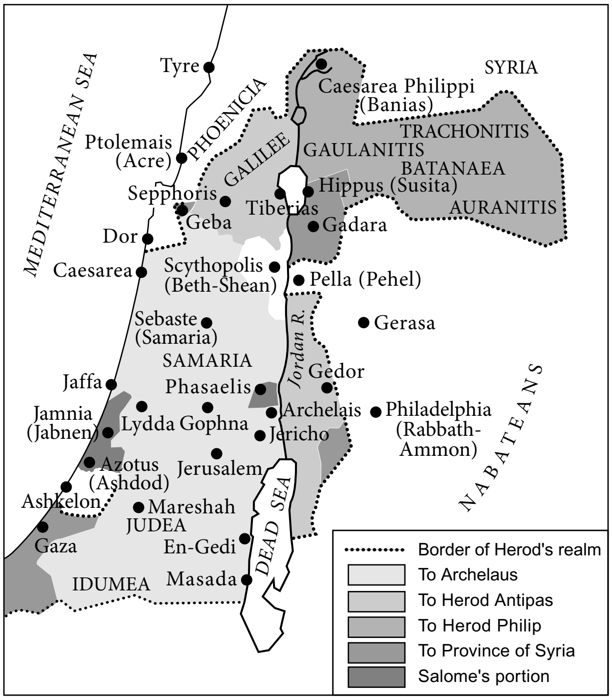
[Michael Avi-Yonah and Efraim Orni]

HEROD (late first century B.C.E.), son of *Herod the Great and Mariamne, daughter of *Simeon B. Boethus. Implicated in the conspiracy of his half brother *Antipater, against his father (5 B.C.E.), Herod was cut off from his father's will and forfeited his hereditary rights (he stood next to Antipater in the line of succession). Herod the Great divorced Mariamne for concealing the plot and removed her father from the office of high priest. Herod thereafter lived in Caesarea as a private citizen. His wife Herodias, the daughter of *Aristobulus, son of Mariamne the Hasmonean, left him and married his brother Herod *Antipas.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 17:78; Jos., Wars, 1:557–600; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 4 (1963), 154, 163; A. Schalit, *Hordos ha-Melekh* (1964^3), 311, 314–6; Schuerer, Hist, 151, 156, 169; A.H.M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea* (1938), index.

[Edna Elazary]

HEROD I (73?–4 B.C.E.), king of Judea from 37 B.C.E. until his death. Herod was the second son of the Idumean *Antipater and *Cypros. Nothing is known of his youth, but it is clear that he began the struggle for power early in life. In 47 B.C.E. he was appointed by Antipater governor of Galilee, ruthlessly crushing the revolt against Antipater's rule led by Hezekiah, and having the rebels put to death without trial. The imposition of the death penalty, solely on his own secular authority, led to Herod's arraignment before the *Sanhedrin in Jerusalem; had he been found guilty he would have faced the death penalty. Herod, however, intimidated the judges by appearing before the Sanhedrin with a heavily armed guard. But a member of the Sanhedrin, probably *Shammai, admonished his colleagues, rebuking them for their cowardice, and warned them that any deviation from their legal duties would eventually bring about their own deaths at the hands of the culprit. At this the members of the Sanhedrin resolved to pass sentence. However, *Hyrcanus II interrupted the session and allowed Herod to slip out of the city. Herod escaped to Roman Syria where the Roman governor appointed him governor of Coele Syria at Samaria. By virtue of this appointment Herod was able to return to Jerusalem and threaten his enemies, and his father was barely able to prevent him from entering the city and punishing his judges, including Hyrcanus himself. A record of the clash between Herod and the Sanhedrin seems to have been preserved in the talmudic story (Sanh. 19a) where, however, the incident is ascribed to Alexander *Yannai. After the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 Herod joined Cassius, who temporarily established his rule in the East. Heavy taxes were imposed upon the inhabitants of Judea and Herod exacted them with great zeal, in order to curry favor with the foreign ruler. In 43 Antipater was killed by the Jew Malichus, seemingly with the connivance of Hyrcanus. Herod and his brother, Phasael, appealed to Cassius



The division of Herod's kingdom (4 B.C.E. to 6 C.E.). From Y. Aharoni and M. Avi-Yonah, Macmillan Bible Atlas, *Carta, Jerusalem, 1968.*

who had Malichus murdered. That same year Antigonus II, son of Aristobulus II, invaded Galilee but was driven out by Herod. Hyrcanus, afraid of the vengeance of his nephew, now accepted Herod as a savior. At that time Herod became betrothed to *Mariamne. By this betrothal Herod was able to attach himself to the Hasmonean dynasty, but at the expense of bringing trouble to both parties.

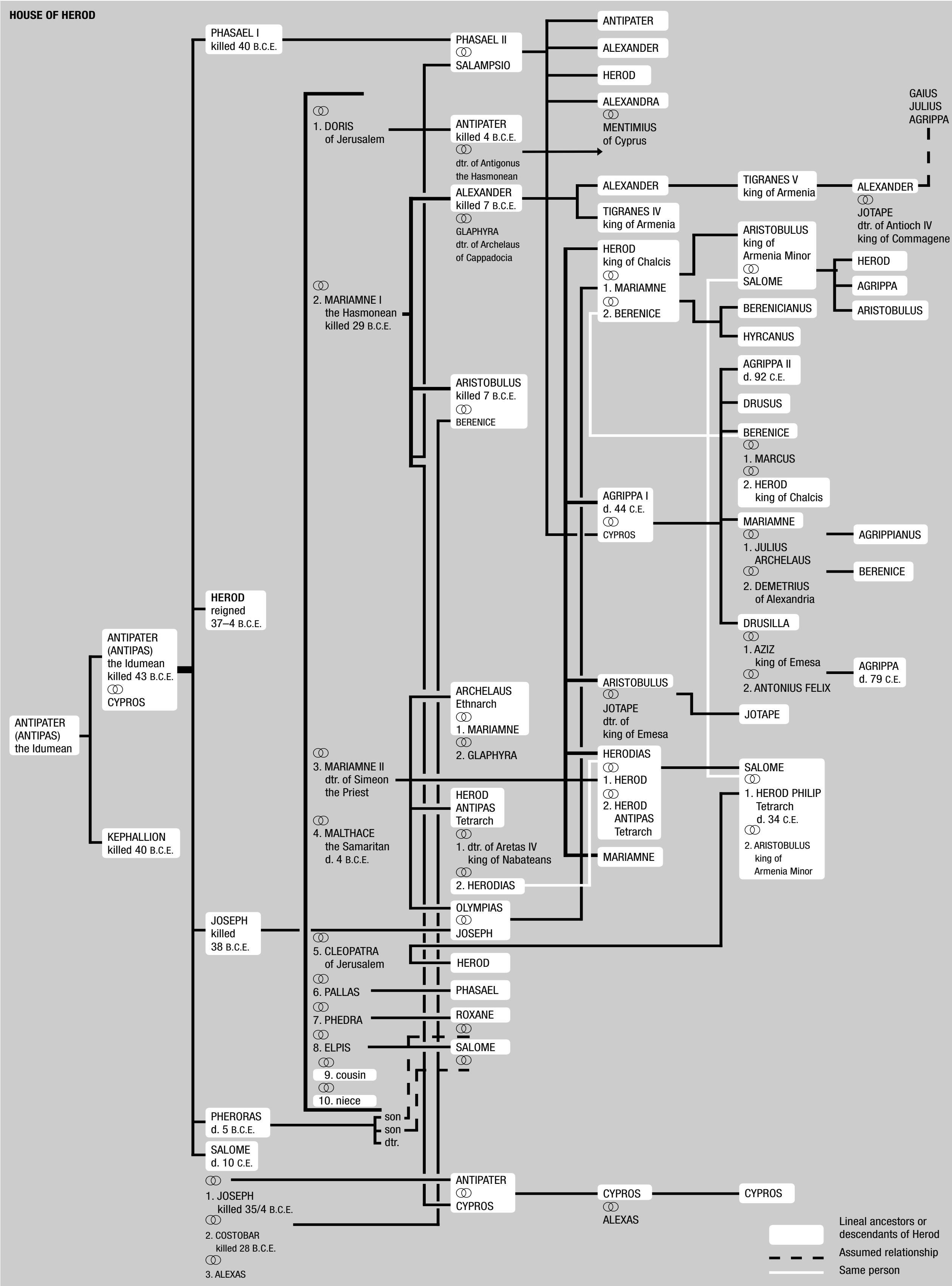
Power Through Rome

In 41 Marc Antony arrived in the East. Despite the complaints which Herod's opponents laid before Antony, Herod succeeded in bribing the Roman ruler, who appointed him and his brother Phasael tetrarchs of Judea, apparently under the supervision of Hyrcanus. Herod's opponents, who had already attempted to express their views before Antony, sent another large delegation which the Romans dispersed with much bloodshed. The leaders of the previous delegation, who had been imprisoned by order of Antony, were put to death.

In the year 40, the Parthians invaded Syria. With their assistance Mattathias Antigonus was able to seize the throne of Judea; he captured Jerusalem and besieged Herod, Phasael, and Hyrcanus in the palace of the Hasmoneans in the city. Phasael and Hyrcanus were persuaded to leave their stronghold to negotiate with the Parthian commander, who was in Galilee at the time; Phasael was put in chains by the Parthians and committed suicide (or was killed), while Hyrcanus was taken captive. Herod succeeded in escaping from Jerusalem together with his family. He left the fugitives in *Masada in the care of his brother Joseph, and himself went to Alexandria and from there to Rome to ask Antony for the throne. Since Herod had already proved his loyalty to Rome, the senate, on the advice of Antony and Octavian, proclaimed him king of Judea, and he was promised the assistance of Rome in his attempt to gain the throne. Herod now mobilized an army of mercenaries and attempted to conquer Galilee. This he failed to do, apparently because of the vehement opposition of the inhabitants. He thereupon turned to the coast and to Idumea and then relieved Masada, which had been besieged by Antigonus. The war dragged on for about two years without Herod's being able to defeat Antigonus. When Herod realized that he would not be able to conquer Jerusalem with his own forces, he requested the help of Antony. The Parthian war having ended, Antony was able to send a large army under the command of Sossius. In the spring of 37 B.C.E. the combined armies laid siege to Jerusalem, which held out for five months but fell at the end of the summer. Only with great difficulty was Herod able to prevent the Romans from completely destroying it. Antigonus was captured and later put to death by Antony, prompted, no doubt, by Herod.

When he came to power, Herod took absolute control of the government by putting to death 45 members of the Sanhedrin who supported the Hasmoneans. This destroyed the political power of the Sanhedrin, which seems to have been left with only the authority of a religious court, lacking any real influence in practical legislation. He also made the appointment to the high priesthood dependent on his favor and during his reign dismissed and appointed high priests arbitrarily. Herod was king only by the grace of Rome, which regarded him as a convenient instrument for carrying out its policy in the East. He established his rule on the basis of Roman patronage, and with great diplomatic skill and personal charm succeeded in winning the favor of the constantly changing Roman rulers. Herod was loyal to Antony during the period that he was all-powerful in the East. Herod leased the district of Jericho, which was of great economic importance, from Cleopatra, who had received it together with some maritime cities from Antony. When war broke out between Octavian and Antony, Herod, at the request of Cleopatra, was sent to subdue Malichus, king of the Nabateans. After a heavy defeat at the beginning of the war, Herod defeated the Nabateans near Philadelphia and finally subdued them in 31 B.C.E.

However, with the defeat of Antony at Actium it seemed as if Herod was doomed. But, unperturbed, he immediately abandoned his old friend and endeavored to join the side of the victor. Because of Herod's past friendship with Antony, Octavian ordered him to come to Rhodes to defend himself, but realizing to the full the benefit that Herod could bring Rome in the east he was not only gracious to him but even returned to him those regions which Antony had given to Cleopatra. Later Herod welcomed Octavian at Ptolemais (Acre) with great pomp, provided his army with abundant provisions, and then went to Egypt to congratulate him on the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra. At that meeting Octavian ceded to him the maritime towns and certain towns in Transjordan. During the period of Octavian's rule in Rome


HOUSE OF HEROD
PHASAEL I
killed 40 B.C.E.
PHASAEL II
SALAMPSIO
ANTIPATER
ALEXANDER
HEROD
ALEXANDRA
MENTIMIUS
of Cyprus
GAIUS
JULIUS
AGRIPPA
1. DORIS
of Jerusalem
ANTIPATER
killed 4 B.C.E.
dtr. of Antigonus
the Hasmonean
ALEXANDER
TIGRANES V
king of Armenia
ALEXANDER
JOTAPE
dtr. of Antioch IV
king of Commagene
ALEXANDER
killed 7 B.C.E.
GLAPHYRA
dtr. of Archelaus
of Cappadocia
TIGRANES IV
king of Armenia
ARISTOBULUS
king of
Armenia Minor
SALOME
HEROD
king of Chalcis
1. MARIAMNE
2. BERENICE
HEROD
AGRIPPA
ARISTOBULUS
BERENICIANUS
HYRCANUS
2. MARIAMNE I
the Hasmonean
killed 29 B.C.E.
AGRIPPA II
d. 92 C.E.
DRUSUS
ARISTOBULUS
killed 7 B.C.E.
BERENICE
BERENICE
1. MARCUS
2. HEROD
king of Chalcis
AGRIPPA I
d. 44 C.E.
CYPROS
MARIAMNE
1. JULIUS
ARCHELAUS
2. DEMETRIUS
of Alexandria
AGRIPPIANUS
BERENICE
HEROD
reigned
37–4 B.C.E.
ANTIPATER
(ANTIPAS)
the Idumean
killed 43 B.C.E.
CYPROS
DRUSILLA
1. AZIZ
king of Emesa
2. ANTONIUS FELIX
AGRIPPA
d. 79 C.E.
ARCHELAUS
Ethnarch
1. MARIAMNE
2. GLAPHYRA
ARISTOBULUS
JOTAPE
dtr. of
king of Emesa
JOTAPE
ANTIPATER
(ANTIPAS)
the Idumean
3. MARIAMNE II
dtr. of Simeon
the Priest
HERODIAS
1. HEROD
2. HEROD
ANTIPAS
Tetrarch
SALOME
1. HEROD PHILIP
Tetrarch
d. 34 C.E.
2. ARISTOBULUS
king of
Armenia Minor
KEPHALLION
killed 40 B.C.E.
4. MALTHACE
the Samaritan
d. 4 B.C.E.
HEROD
ANTIPAS
Tetrarch
1. dtr. of Aretas IV
king of Nabateans
2. HERODIAS
MARIAMNE
JOSEPH
killed
38 B.C.E.
OLYMPIAS
JOSEPH
5. CLEOPATRA
of Jerusalem
HEROD
6. PALLAS
PHASAEL
7. PHEDRA
ROXANE
8. ELPIS
SALOME
9. cousin
10. niece
PHERORAS
d. 5 B.C.E.
son
son
dtr.
SALOME
d. 10 C.E.
1. JOSEPH
killed 35/4 B.C.E.
2. COSTOBAR
killed 28 B.C.E.
3. ALEXAS
ANTIPATER
CYPROS
CYPROS
ALEXAS
CYPROS
Lineal ancestors or
descendants of Herod
Assumed relationship
Same person

(as *Augustus), Herod attained the pinnacle of his power. In 23, Augustus decided that the area of his rule be extended by the addition of territories in northern Transjordan (Trachonitis, Bashan, Auranitis). In 22/21 Herod went to Mitylene to visit Agrippa, Augustus' son-in-law, who was acting as viceroy in the East, and there established extremely cordial relations with him. In 20, Augustus himself came to Syria and met Herod; in consequence of this meeting, districts in the Ḥuleh Valley (Paneas and Ulatha) were transferred to Herod's kingdom. In 19 Herod set sail in the Black Sea at the head of a fleet in order to aid Agrippa in his campaign against the kingdom of Bosphorus.

From this time on Herod was able to unite under his crown the whole of the region previously ruled by the Hasmonean kings (except for some of the cities of *Decapolis), as well as areas beyond those borders in the northeast. His subjects included Jews, Greeks, and many hellenized Syrians. He was regarded as one of the most powerful monarchs in the sphere of Roman patronage in the east, and foreign authors flattered him with the title "the Great." His official status was that of "a king who was an ally and friend of the Roman people" (*rex socius et amicus populi Romani*). This was a personal rather than a hereditary office; he had the right to suggest heirs but confirmation lay with the emperor. Similarly, he possessed no authority to conduct an independent foreign policy and there is no reason to suppose that in his time Judea was exempted from paying tribute to Rome. In internal affairs, however, Rome gave Herod unlimited authority. In this sphere he was given four prerogatives: administrative, judicial, financial, and the authority to maintain his own army; within this framework he did as he pleased, being subject not even to Jewish law. His council, convened in the manner of hellenist kings, had no more than an advisory function. Insofar as Herod did not inherit his governmental institutions from the Hasmonean kings he set up an administration which was highly hellenistic in character. Most of its officials were without doubt hellenizers or even foreigners. In his court too he was attended predominantly by hellenizers, conspicuous among them being Nicholas of Damascus, his chief counselor, who wrote his biography and instructed him in Greek wisdom. His favorites were graded ("the king's familiars," "the king's friends") in the hellenistic manner. His army, too, seems to have been hellenistic in character. Jews constituted only a small portion of it, his main force of professional soldiers being composed of foreign mercenaries from Thrace and Gaul.

The Dynastic Murders

Despite this, there is no doubt that Herod remained an eastern monarch both in his mode of life and in his attitudes. He destroyed, in the full eastern hellenistic tradition, all members of the Hasmonean house, whose existence seemed to him to endanger his position. When he began his reign, after defeating Antigonus and putting him to death, he ignored the right to the high priesthood of the legal heir *Aristobulus, brother of his wife Mariamne, in favor of *Hanamel the Egyptian. This led Alexandra, mother of Mariamne and Aristobulus, to complain to Cleopatra, and Herod was compelled to dismiss Hananel and appoint Aristobulus. However, he kept the young Hasmonean under close surveillance and, on becoming aware of his growing popularity with the people, issued a secret order for him to be put to death. The young Aristobulus was drowned by Herod's courtiers in 36 while in a swimming pool in Jericho. Alexander complained to Antony about the murder and Herod was summoned to defend himself; but once again he was able to save himself by bribing the Roman ruler. Before his departure for Rhodes to present himself before Octavian in 30, Herod had the aged Hyrcanus put to death, so that, should he himself die by order of Octavian, the ex-monarch should not rule in his place. However, these murders created bitter and tragic enmity between Herod and Mariamne. There was in addition a pent-up hatred between the proud Mariamne and Herod's mother Cypros and his sister Salome. In order to keep them apart, before setting out on his journey to Octavian, Herod sent Mariamne and Alexandra to the fortress of Alexandrion and instructed his officers there to do away with Mariamne should he not return. He seems to have done the same before his journey to Antony in 35. Mariamne learned of this and her enmity toward Herod grew. The tension continued after Herod's return from Rhodes. In the end Mariamne was accused by Cypros and Salome of attempting to poison her husband. The king set up a family court accusing Mariamne of adultery and of planning to murder him. She was found guilty and put to death in 29. After her death the king was filled with remorse and suffered from such severe melancholy that he became dangerously ill. Having heard a rumor that he was dying, Alexandra attempted to seize the citadel of Jerusalem but failed, and she too was put to death.

There now remained (apart from her two daughters) only Mariamne's two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus; these were designated to inherit Herod's power and were sent to Rome to be educated. Following the death of Mariamne, Herod contracted many other marriages. But even before his marriage to Mariamne he had married Doris of Jerusalem, who was possibly an Idumean, and who had given birth to his first-born son, Antipater. Of his 10 wives, the names of eight are known. These included Mariamne, daughter of Boethus, a priest from Alexandria, Malthace the Samaritan, and Cleopatra of Jerusalem. He had 15 sons and daughters by these wives.

In 18/17 the two sons of Mariamne returned home and by virtue of their birth and their good looks at once endeared themselves to the people. They openly revealed their resentment at the slaying of their mother as well as their contempt for Herod's family. They quarreled with their father and with his relatives, particularly with his sister Salome and his brother Pheroras, as well as with their half brother Antipater; the last named was brought back to the court by Herod to counterbalance Mariamne's sons and to demonstrate that the succession could fall to another. Eventually Herod did in fact make Antipater heir apparent. For some years the court was full of intrigues, slander, and mutual accusations until finally Herod

was forced to bring the matter before Augustus. The latter endeavored to make peace between Herod and his sons and on his initiative a new succession was evolved which, on the death of Herod, would divide the kingdom between the three sons. Antipater, however, attempted to undermine the position of his brothers and eventually the quarrels were renewed. Herod, whose mistrust and cruelty became pathological in his old age, was convinced that Mariamne's sons were plotting his death. Imprisonments, investigations, and tortures against a background of slander and spying turned the court and the whole country into a hotbed of intrigue and made the lives of Mariamne's sons unbearable. Some efforts at reconciliation were made, but in the end Alexander and Aristobulus were brought before Herod's council accused of conspiring to murder the king. Herod obtained permission of Augustus to punish them as he thought fit. The trial court, which included Roman officials, found the king's sons guilty, and ignoring the protests of Nicholas of Damascus, Herod had them put to death (7 B.C.E).

Antipater thus appeared to be the unopposed heir to the throne, although his claim still lacked the endorsement of Augustus. Automatically he began fearing for his position, and Herod's love of his grandchildren, the sons of Alexander and Aristobulus, caused him to feel his position insecure. He began to form plans to rid himself of the king. A gloomy chapter again began of mutual accusations of varying degrees of veracity and of murder plots, in which Pheroras and his wife were also involved. While Antipater was in Rome, having been sent by Herod to obtain the emperor's assent to the succession, his plot against his father was discovered. On returning to Jerusalem he was brought before a family trial in the presence of the Roman governor of Syria. Sentence of death was pronounced which required confirmation by Augustus. Augustus is reported as having commented, "It is better to be Herod's pig than his son," but the sentence was nevertheless confirmed. However, when the sentence was carried out in the year 4, the aged Herod was lying in his palace in Jericho, and died five days later. Herod apparently died of cardio-renal failure, or failure of the heart and kidneys, but he was already suffering from major illnesses from around 7 B.C.E., accompanied by bouts of uncontrollable anger and cruelty. In his last will he divided the kingdom between his sons *Archelaus and Herod *Antipas, the sons of Malthrace, and Philip, son of Cleopatra.

Ereẓ Israel under Herod's Rule

Herod was a courageous soldier and commander, an efficient and energetic administrator, and in particular a talented diplomat whose skill lay in his ability to assess who were the real powers of his period; his personality was such that he knew how to win over all types of people. At the same time he was a man of unlimited ambition whose opportunism was never restricted by ties of friendship or loyalty (the only exception being his loyalty to his brothers); when in power he brooked no opposition but ruled with cruelty, intensified by his suspicion and jealousy. Herod's rule destroyed the internal organization of the Jewish community. In contrast to the Hasmonean kings who had ruled jointly with the popular institutions, Herod abolished all traditional autonomous institutions, and in practice he did away with the authority of the Torah, although this never took official form. He regarded the kingdom as his private property. One of the aims of his policy was to strengthen the foreign element in Ereẓ Israel and to bring the kingdom into the Roman hellenistic cultural orbit, with the aim of securing it as a sure link in the Roman Empire. Apart from political considerations, a personal inclination toward Greek culture was responsible for his policy. He established Greek cultural institutions such as the theater and the hippodrome in Jerusalem, and outside his own country in Syria, Asia Minor, and the islands of the Aegean Sea he erected splendid public buildings, such as aqueducts, theaters, and colonnades. In Greece itself he proffered aid to gymnasiums; his monetary grants helped finance the Olympic games, and earned him the honorary title of life president. In Ereẓ Israel itself he carried out building projects and extensive settlements that undoubtedly benefited the rural population, particularly the landless peasants, and also helped to root out the menace of robber bands. This was true particularly of the areas in Trachonitis where highway robbery was a daily occurrence. On the other hand the establishment of cities of veterans strengthened Greek influence and reinforced the position of the foreign element in the country. Herod built Sebaste on the site of *Samaria and in 27 allocated land to 6,000 of its inhabitants; he established *Caesarea and made it the largest port in the country (22–9); he rebuilt the maritime city of Anthedon and established the cities of Antipatris, Phasaelis, *Geba Parashim, and *Heshbon. To ensure his internal authority and for the protection of the borders, Herod built or rebuilt a number of fortresses: *Antonia in Jerusalem, *Machaerus and *Herodium in Judea, Herodion in Transjordan, Cypros near Jericho, and *Masada. He built palaces for himself in Jerusalem and in other cities.

Scholars are divided in their assessment of the economic condition of the people and state, and of the financial sources of his government. In addition to government and court expenditure Herod also spent money on gifts for his relatives and Roman politicians who were his allies in Rome. At the same time his kingdom paid tax to Rome. Herod's revenues are estimated at 2,000 talents a year, of which 1,300 were produced by the taxes of Judea; it is possible that the remaining 700 talents were drawn from his business undertakings and from the income from his private property. He rented the copper mines of Cyprus from Augustus for 3,000 talents, taking half their output. By expropriating the wealth of his political opponents he acquired many estates in different parts of the country, and apparently inherited much landed wealth from the Hasmonean house. A substantial part of his revenues from these properties, however, came from payments made by the peasants on his estates: "Since he was involved in expenses greater than his means, he was compelled to be harsh to his

subjects… since he was unable to mend his evil ways without harming his revenues, he exploited the ill will of the people to enrich himself privately" (Jos., Ant. 16:154–5). He even acted in a completely arbitrary manner toward the Greek cities he founded, although the old Greek cities succeeded in preserving a certain degree of self-government, apparently under the patronage of the emperor.

The foundation of Herod's kingdom and its only real strength was the power of Rome, although Herod possibly found a certain measure of cooperation from the Jewish people. The New Testament (Matt. 22:16; Mark 3:6; 8:15; 12:13) refers to a sect of Herodians whom some think to be identical with the *Boethusians whom the Talmud mentions with disapproval. Herod's dependence on Rome was absolute and his loyalty to it boundless. He imposed on his subjects an oath of loyalty to Augustus, and as the possessor of Roman citizenship which Julius Caesar had bestowed upon his father, Herod added the family name of the Julians to his own name. He erected temples to the emperor in the non-Jewish parts of his kingdom, introduced sports in honor of Augustus, and sent his sons to Rome to be educated. The final manifestation of servitude to Rome and one that the Torah loyalists could never forgive was the placing of the Roman eagle upon the facade of the Temple.

His Relationship with His Jewish Subjects

Despite his willing subjection to Rome and his enthusiasm for Greek culture, Herod had to try to make himself accepted to some extent by the Jews. He even attempted, albeit without success, to win over the Pharisees; when many of them refused to swear an oath of loyalty to the emperor and to himself he did not do more than fine them. He was also careful not to flout the external expressions of the religion of Israel; he refrained from putting images of idols or his own portrait on his coins, and, with the exception of the Roman eagle, from bringing images within the borders of Jewish settlement. He did not permit his sister Salome to marry a Nabatean prince who refused to be circumcised. It should be noted that according to Jewish law Herod was a full Jew (being the grandson of an Edomite proselyte), although he was not qualified to reign. To demonstrate his loyalty to Judaism, he decided to rebuild the Temple. He erected a splendid edifice to take the place of the previous unpretentious building, at the same time extending the boundaries of the Temple mount (see *Temple). About 10,000 commoners and 1,000 priests were occupied for nine years in building it; "Herod's building" is the Temple described in the Mishnah and in the writings of Josephus (parts of its external area have been excavated in recent years). From time to time Herod even showed concern for the needs of the people; in 25 B.C.E., a year of hardship and famine, he purchased grain for the people, distributed clothes, and supplied seed, and on two occasions lightened the burden of taxation. The productive capacity of his country was undoubtedly increased by his settlement projects and by the irrigation works which he constructed around Jericho, and also by his securing the border regions and suppressing banditry; his building projects, too, took the form of extensive public works.

All this, however, was of no avail, and far from winning the hearts of the Jewish people and their sages Herod was regarded by them as the destroyer of their traditional institutions, the murderer of their kings and leaders, and the agent for a foreign government. He incurred the wrath of those loyal to the Torah and pledged to national independence; during his time the foundations were already laid for the spiritual climate which was to give rise to the sect of *Zealots who opposed all foreign rule and any authority except that of the kingdom of heaven. During his reign his opponents did not dare oppose him openly, but when he was dying two Pharisaic scholars, Judah b. *Ẓippori and Mattathias b. Margalit, incited their followers to remove the golden eagle from the facade of the Temple; Herod's last act was to order that the perpetrators of this deed be seized and burned to death. After his death the people's anger was such that it exploded into open rebellion against his heir until the latter lost his throne. The Talmud calls Herod "a slave of the Hasmonean dynasty," and recounts the killing of the Jewish scholars and the murder of the Hasmoneans. It even ascribes the building of the Temple to Herod's wish to atone for slaying the scholars (BB 3a–4a; Ta'an. 23a). In Christian tradition too Herod is remembered as a cruel murderer. Herod was more acceptable to the Jews of the exile than to those of Ereẓ Israel. He intervened on their behalf several times, exerting himself with the Roman authorities. He even succeeded in obtaining the restoration of the privileges of which they had been deprived by the Greek cities of Asia Minor, as well as the right to collect the half shekel for the Temple.

Extant from the time of Herod are his coins, the remains of buildings, and a limited number of inscriptions. The main historical sources are the works of Josephus (the *Antiquities* and the *Wars*). Fragmentary accounts about Herod from the works of Nicholas of Damascus have also been preserved. There is also an allusion to Herod's rule in the apocryphal "Assumption of Moses." Fragments of rabbinic literature involving Herod are aggadic and very limited, possessing little historical value.

The Herodian dynasty retained its rule over Ereẓ Israel, or over parts of it, for three generations. However, its sovereignty was taken from it as soon as Herod died, for Archelaus was only recognized by the emperor as "ethnarch" and his two brothers as "tetrarchs" in their patrimony. The rule of Archelaus and Herod Antipas was discontinued during their lifetime, they themselves being exiled. Herod Philip's nephew Agrippa I, son of Aristobulus the son of Mariamne the Hasmonean, ultimately received Philip's territories from Caligula as a personal favor. He also received the title of king and united under himself the whole area ruled by Herod. His son *Agrippa II inherited the royal title, but he only ruled over certain border regions. Agrippa II died childless and with him and his sister *Berenice, the house of Herod came to an end.

[Shimon Applebaum]

In the Arts

Preeminently in European drama, the figure of Herod was immensely popular from the medieval period onward, inspiring a vast amount of literary treatment. Herod appears in the English Chester, Towneley, and York cycles and also in one of the Digby Plays, *Herod's Killing of the Children* ("Candlemas Day"). Here tradition made him a near-comic figure, an irate, roaring tyrant who descended from the stage to beat onlookers with an inflated bladder. In France, on the other hand, Herod was starkly portrayed as the cruel author of the Massacre of the Innocents, as in a passion play by Arnoul Greban (1420–1471). This was also the case in Germany with Hans Sachs's tragedy *Der Wueterich Herodes* (1552). Other early works on the theme include a German play by Sixtus Birck (1501–1554) and *Marianna* (1565) by the Italian writer Lodovico Dolce (1508–1568). In the 17th century, writers began to endow Herod with more complex human emotions, portraying him as a jealous and passionate husband driven to murder his unfortunate wife, Mariamne, only to fall a prey to hallucinations and remorse. This interpretation won particular favor in England, where a whole series of dramas made their appearance, notably Lady Elizabeth Carew's *Tragedy of Mariam, the Faire Queene of Iewry* (1613); *The True Tragedy of Herod and Antipater: with the Death of Faire Marriam*… (London, 1622) by Gervase Markham and William Sampson; and *Herod and Mariamna* (1673), a five-act verse tragedy by Samuel Pordage. Works of the same period in other languages were *Mariamne* (1610) by the French tragedian Alexandre Hardy; *Herodes infanticida* (Leiden, 1632), a neo-Latin tragedy by Daniel Heinsius; *El mayor monstruo, los zelos* (or *Tetrárca de Jerusalém*, 1635) a more sophisticated treatment by the Spanish dramatist Pedro Calderón de la Barca; *Mariane* (1635) by the Frenchman Tristan L' Hermite: and the melodramatic *La vida de Herodes* (1636) by the Spaniard Tirso de Molina.

The subject continued to attract attention in the 18th century, with plays by Elijah Fenton (*Mariamne*, 1723), who adopted a milder approach; Gaspar Lozano Montesino (*Herodes Ascalonita, y la hermosa Mariana*, 1725?); and *Voltaire, whose *Mariamne* (1725) made the king a criminal adventurer. Literary treatment of the theme became more varied in the 19th century, however, with poems and novels as well as plays: "Herod's Lament for Mariamne" was one of Lord *Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* (1815), and Friedrich Rueckert wrote *Herodes der Grosse* (1884), consisting of two five-act dramas: *Herodes und Mariamne* and *Herodes und seine Soehne*. Perhaps the outstanding dramatic treatment of all time was *Herodes und Mariamne* (1850), a powerful tragedy by Friedrich Hebbel, who made his hero a basically noble man of action. Hebbel's play, said to have been inspired by Byron, was later translated into Hebrew by Jacob *Fichman. It was followed by several treatments by Jewish writers, including Isaac Mayer *Wise's *The Combat of the People; or, Hillel and Herod* (1859), a historical novel; *Hordus* (1887), a Hebrew verse tragedy by Judah Leo *Landau; *Fun Kleyn tsu der Kroyn* (1889), a Yiddish historical novel by Nahum Meir *Schaikewitz; and *Di Letste Khashmonayim oder Kenig Hordus* (1907), a Yiddish drama by Judah Loeb Wohlmann. The late 19th century also saw the appearance of a rare Russian work on the subject, Dimitri Alexandrovich Alexandrov's *Tsar Irod i tsaritsa Mariamna* (1893), a verse tragedy based on the history of I.M. *Jost. By contrast, Henry Solly's *Herod the Great* (1896) tried to refute Josephus and to whitewash its hero. Interest in the subject was maintained in the 20th century, the outstanding work in English being *Herod* (1901), a tragedy in blank verse by Stephen Phillips. This was followed by *Mariamne* (1911), a poem by Thomas Sturge Moore; *Księżniczka żydowska* (1927), a tragedy by the Polish writer Wacław Grubiński; Kaj *Munk's *En idealist* (1928; *Herod the King*, 1947), one of the Danish writer's dramatic sketches of the "strong men" of history; *Hordus u-Miriam* (1935), a Hebrew novel by the Palestinian writer A. Orinovsky; and *Die Doper*… (1937), an Afrikaans drama by the South African writer Jacobus Johannes Müller. Two English plays were *King Herod* (1931) by Mary Danvers Stocks and *Herod and Mariamne* (1938), a drama by Clemence Dane based on Hebbel's German classic. Later works include *Herodes* (1942), a Flemish novel by Ernest Claes; a Dutch play of the same title (1955) by the Jewish writer Abel *Herzberg; and Jacob Weinshal's Hebrew novel *Hordus Aḥi* (1960).

Herod the Great mainly figures in portrayals of the New Testament episode of the Massacre of the Innocents (Matt. 2). The wholly negative account of Herod in the Gospels cast him in the role of folk villain in medieval popular imagination, which regarded the "Holy Innocents" as the first Christian martyrs. Herod's consultation with his priests and magicians and his reception of the Magi are subjects found in medieval art. Herod is shown seated on his throne while a devil whispers evil counsels into his ear. The scene is represented in a fifth-century mosaic at Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, on 11th-century bronze doors at Hildesheim, in medieval manuscripts, including the 12th-century *Hortus Deliciarum* and the St. Louis Psalter, and in carvings in several medieval cathedrals, including Chartres, Notre Dame (Paris), and St. Moritz, Vienna. The Massacre of the Innocents was a popular subject throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance. It also occurs in Byzantine ivories, as carvings (notably those at Notre Dame), and in manuscripts. The episode was treated by medieval Italian artists, notably Giotto (c. 1266–1337) in his frescoes in the Arena Chapel, Padua, and Duccio (c. 1255–1319) in his Maestà altarpiece for the cathedral of Siena. Giovanni Pisano (c. 1245–1314) made a bas-relief of the subject (now in the Museo Civico, Pisa). During the Renaissance, it was treated by the German painter Lucas Cranach (1472–1553; Dresden gallery) and by the Flemish painter Pieter Brueghel (c. 1520–1569; Vienna Museum), who made the massacre a snow scene. Tintoretto (1518–1594) was one of the Italian artists who painted the subject (Scuolo di San Rocco, Venice). Herod's massacre was especially popular in the 17th century, when it was treated by Flemish, Dutch, Italian, and French painters, including Rubens (1577–1640; Pinakothek, Munich), Poussin (1594–1665; Petit

Palais, Paris, and the Musée Condé, Chantilly), and Guido Reni (1575–1642; Pinacotheca, Bologna).

Popular Christian tradition relates that Herod suffered a terrible death: Eaten alive by worms, he finally committed suicide with his fruit knife. This was seen as a fitting punishment for the Massacre of the Innocents. The most striking depiction of Herod's agony is a painting by the Italian artist G. Archimboldo (c. 1530–1593) of a head of Herod formed out of interlacements of the little nude bodies of the "Holy Innocents," resembling the swarming of worms. In medieval representations of the subject, Herod is sometimes shown seeking relief in a bath or tub (some early printed *Haggadot* used this bathing scene as an illustration of Pharaoh's cruelty toward the Israelite infants). Other medieval artists portrayed him in the act of suicide, with a demon gathering his soul as it issues from his mouth.

In Music

Musical treatments of Herod were at first extremely dominated by the New Testament portrayal. The "Play of Herod," which had a distinct and important place in the religious drama of medieval Europe, was usually performed on the Feast of the Epiphany (January 6th) and, in its most extended form, included the confrontation with the Magi (or Three Kings from the Orient), the Massacre of the Innocents, and *Rachel's Lament. In most of the extant manuscripts, the musical notation is only fragmentary and the version found at Blois alone contains a complete and decipherable notation of the items sung. In later times, the New Testament Herod motive practically disappeared from the repertoire, except for motets (such as Palestrina's *Hostis Herodes impie*, 1589) and cantatas for the Feast of the Innocents, the subject lending itself too readily to political and religious exploitation. From the middle of the 17th century onward, the baroque "rediscovery" of Josephus brought the story of Herod and Mariamne to the attention of operatic librettists and composers. Two fragments of *Herodes und Mariamne*, an opera by G.F. Telemann (1681–1767), are known. It seems, however, that the unhappy ending of the story prevented its utilization: The ending could not be mitigated, since the New Testament associations obliged librettists to make Herod the blackest of villains. The subject thus became amenable to free stage treatment only in the 19th century, where its musical history begins with a parody: Siegfried August Mahlmann's successful *Herodes vor Bethlehem* (1803), for which the incidental music was written by Jacob Karl Wagner. In 1823, Isaac *Nathan published his setting of Lord Byron's poem about Herod and Mariamne. *Hérode*, a "lyrical and dramatic scene" on Herod and Mariamne, was composed by Georges Boyer (1885), and this was followed by Gabriel Pierné's cantata *Les Enfants de Bethléem* (1907). Hebbel's *Herodes und Mariamne* had meanwhile made its appearance on the stage and incidental music was written for its performances. The best known of such compositions was that by Karol *Rathaus. Michael *Gnessin's *Hebrew Songs* for voice and piano, opus 37 (published in 1930) contains a textless "Song of Mariamne," and is explicitly associated with Hebbel's drama.

[Bathja Bayer]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Derenbourg, Hist, 145–65; L.F.J.C. de Saulcy, *Histoire d'Herode* (1867); M. Brann, *Die Soehne des Herodes* (1873); F.W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (1881), 105–14; N.S. Leibowitz, *Hordos ve-Agrippas* (1898²); W. Otto, *Herodes* (Ger., 1913); British Museum, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine* (1914), xcvi–xcvii, 220–7; H. Willrich, *Das Haus des Herodes zwischen Jerusalem und Rom* (1929); *Cambridge Ancient History*, 10 (1934), index; A. Schalit, *Ha-Mishtar ha-Roma'i be-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1937), index; M. Narkiss, *Matbe'ot Ereẓ Yisrael* (1938), index; A.H.M. Jones, *The Herods of Judea* (1938); G. Baglio, *Ges – e re Erode* (It., 1938); A. Reifenberg, *Matbe'ot ha-Yehudim* (1947), 17f., 36f.; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 4 (1963), 9–169; S. Yeivin and M. Avi-Yonah, *Kadmoniyyot Arẓenu* (1955), 320–2; S. Perowne, *The Life and Times of Herod the Great* (1956); idem, *The Later Herods* (1958); Alon, Meḥkarim, 1 (1957), 26–47; F.O. Busch, *The Five Herods* (1958); Schuerer, Hist, index; A. Schalit, *Hordos ha-Melekh* (1964³); idem, *Koenig Herodes: Der Mann und sein Werk* (1969). IN THE ARTS: C.E.H. Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques du Moyen-Age* (1860); I. Sondheimer, *Die Herodes-Partien im lateinischen liturgischen Drama und in den franzoesischen Mysterien* (1912); M.J. Valency, *The Tragedies of Herod and Mariamne* (1940); W. Lipphardt, in: MGG, 8 (1960), 1023–24. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Zeitlin, "Herod: A Malevolent Maniac," in: JQR 56 (1963), 1–27; M. Stern, "The Reign of Herod," in: WHJP (1975), 71–123; D.M. Jacobson, "King Herod's 'Heroic' Public Image," *RB*, 95 (1988), 386–403; D.M. Jacobson, "King Herod, Roman Citizen and Benefactor of Kos," in: BAIAS, 13 (1993–94), 31–35; N. Kokkinos, *The Herodian Dynasty: Origins, Role in Society and Eclipse* (1998); N. Kokkinos, "Herod's Horrid Death," in; *Biblical Archaeology Review*, 28:2 (2002), 28–35.

HEROD II (d. 48 C.E.), grandson of *Herod the Great and Mariamne the Hasmonean; son of Aristobulus and brother of *Agrippa I; king of Chalcis 41–48 C.E. The emperor Claudius granted Herod the kingdom of *Chalcis in the Lebanon in 41 C.E. In 45 C.E. he and Agrippa were successful in procuring the revocation of an order by the procurator Fadus Cuspius who wanted to assume custody of the vestments of the high priest. After the death of Agrippa in 44 C.E. Herod was given charge of the Temple administration and the treasury and authorized to appoint the high priests. He deposed Elionaeus son of Cantheras, appointing instead Joseph son of Camei, and subsequently Ananias son of Nedebeus. In 50 C.E. Herod's kingdom and the right to appoint the high priests were transferred to his nephew, Agrippa II. Herod's son Aristobulus was king of Lesser Armenia and later of Chalcidice.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., index; Graetz, Hist, 2 (1893), 173, 190, 196ff.; Schuerer, Hist, 193, 195, 221, 238–9; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 4 (1950²), 290, 302, 304.

[Edna Elazary]

HERODIANS, a sect or party mentioned in the New Testament together with the *Pharisees as opponents of Jesus (Mark 3:6; 12:13; Matt. 22:16). There are differences of opinion as to their identity, and the Church Fathers already put forward various theories all connected in one form or another with the name of *Herod the Great. Some recent scholars identify

the Herodians with the "partisans of Herod" mentioned by Josephus (Ant., 14:479), though he mentions them as living at the beginning of Herod's rule in Judea. Others connect the name with Herod *Antipas, the son of Herod. In the absence of clear evidence, these must be regarded as mere conjectures. A. Schalit, who identifies the Herodians with the partisans of Herod, is of the opinion that they were his supporters among the Jewish community who urged the people to accept his sovereignty and spread messianic ideas which they applied to Herod and his rule.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bickerman, in: RB, 47 (1938), 184–97; Avi-Yonah, in: IEJ, 16 (1966), 264; A. Schalit, *Koenig Herodes* (1969), 479ff.

[Uriel Rappaport]

HERODIAS (first century C.E.), daughter of Aristobulus, the son of *Herod I and *Mariamne the Hasmonean. Herodias was married to Herod, son of Herod I and Mariamne II, to whom she bore a daughter, *Salome. After 31 C.E. Herodias was divorced from her first husband and married his brother, Herod Antipas. The marriage aroused the anger of the people, because Jewish law forbade a man to marry his brother's divorced wife (see Lev. 18:6). John the Baptist, leader of those who opposed the marriage (Mark 6: 17–18; Matt. 14: 34; Luke 3:18–20), was seized by Antipas, who imprisoned him in *Machaerus in Transjordan, and later ordered him to be executed. One cause apparently was his fear of the messianic movement which John had stirred up among the people. There is no historical foundation to the New Testament story according to which John was killed at the request of Salome the young daughter of Herodias by her first marriage after Antipas had undertaken to grant anything she requested as a reward for her dancing at his birthday celebration. After Agrippa I became king (c. 40 C.E.) Herodias persuaded her husband to go to Rome to request a royal crown for himself from Caligula. As a result of Agrippa's slanders, however, Antipas was exiled to Lugdunum (Lyons?) in Gaul and his fortune given to Agrippa, brother of Herodias. Although the emperor permitted Herodias to return to her home, she chose to accompany her husband into exile.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 18:240–55; Matt. 14:3ff.; Mark 6:17ff.; Luke 3:19ff.; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 4 (1950[2]), 193ff.; Schuerer, Hist, index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** N. Kokkinos, *The Herodian Dynasty: Origins, Role in Society and Eclipse* (1998); S. Gibson, *The Cave of John the Baptist* (2004), 242–44.

[Abraham Schalit]

HERODIUM, Judean fortress built during the Second Temple period, located 60 stadia (c. 7 mi.) S. of Jerusalem near Tekoa. It was built by Herod at the spot where he had routed his pursuers during his flight from Jerusalem to Masada in 40 B.C.E. It was also his burial place and he was interred there with great pomp (Jos., Ant., 17:199; Wars, 1:673). Josephus relates that the fortress was erected on a natural hill which was further heightened by debris heaped on it. A staircase, with 200 marble steps, led to the fortress wall which was a circular structure defended by round towers; within the wall were several palaces. At the foot of the mountain a settlement was established, the water supply for which was brought from Solomon's Pools by means of an aqueduct passing through Naḥal Taḥuna (Ant., 14:360; 15:323–5; Wars, 1:265, 419ff.; 4:518). Herodium is identified with Jebel Fureidis, an artificial hill 2½ mi. (4 km.) southeast of Bethlehem which looks like a truncated cone from afar. The site was partly excavated by V. Corbo on behalf of the Custodia di Terra Santa in 1962–67. The fortress was found to consist of a double circular curtain wall with four towers (three semicircular and one round). Within the wall was a colonnaded portico with two exedrae, a bath, and a hall with four pillars. Traces of pre-Herodian and post-Herodian occupation were found; the latter included remains (including a synagogue) from the time of the Jewish War (66–70/73), the Bar Kokhba War (132–35), a Roman garrison, and a Byzantine monastery. Herodium also served as the capital of a toparchy (Wars, 3:55; Pliny, *Natural History*, 5:15). During the Jewish War it was one of the last strongholds remaining in Zealot hands and was captured by the Romans (by the governor Lucius Bassus) a short time after the fall of Jerusalem (Wars, 4:555; 7:163). According to documents found in Wadi Murabba'at in the Judean Desert, it served as one of Simeon Bar Kokhba's district headquarters during 132–135 C.E. In Byzantine times a monastery was erected there. Clearance of the site was continued by G. Foerster in 1968–69. More extensive excavations at the foot of Herodium ("lower Herodium") were conducted at the site by E. Netzer in 1970–87 revealing a large pool surrounded by a garden with porticoes, a racecourse, and a rectangular hall built of ashlars as well as additional remains from the Byzantine period, notably the remains of churches.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schick, in: ZDPV, 3 (1880), 88ff.; Alt, in: PJB, 24 (1928), 18; P. Benoît et al., *Les Grottes de Murabba'at* (1961), 122 no. 24; Yadin, in: IEJ, 11 (1961), 51–52; V. Corbo, in: LA, 13 (1962–63), 219–77 (It.); 17 (1967), 65–121 (It.); idem, in: *Yerushalayim le-Doroteha* (1968), 42–47 (It.). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** V. Corbo, *Herodion*, vol. I (1989); E. Netzer, *Greater Herodium. Qedem*, 13 (1981).

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

°HERODOTUS (fifth century B.C.E.), Greek historian. He notes that the Phoenicians and the "Syrians of Palestine," have, on their own testimony, learned the practice of *circumcision from the Egyptians (*Historiae*, 2:104; cf. Jos., Ant., 8:262; Apion, 1:169). Herodotus mentions that these Syrians and Phoenicians furnished and manned 300 warships for the Persian navy (7:89). As Herodotus does not use the name *Ioudaioi* ("Judeans"), it is uncertain if the "Syrians of Palestine" are Jews or possibly Philistines who, although originally uncircumcised (Judg. 14:3), later adopted that rite from the Egyptians.

HEROD PHILIP I, tetrarch 4 B.C.E.–34 C.E.; son of *Herod the Great and Cleopatra of Jerusalem. Herod Philip was educated in Rome with his half brother *Archelaus. The portion of Herod's will that appointed Herod Philip tetrarch of Batanaea,

Trachonitis, Auranitis, and the east shore of the Sea of Galilee was confirmed by Augustus as far as is known. But the actual extent of his territory seems to have been even larger. A peace-loving man, a good administrator, and a just ruler, Herod Philip founded the city Caesarea Philippi at Paneas (*Banias) and the sources of the Jordan. A very large building complex, perhaps the palace of Herod Philip, comprising underground vaulted chambers, halls, and courts, dating from the first century C.E., has recently been excavated at Banias. Another city founded by him was Julias, named after Augustus' daughter Julia, on the site of the village of *Bethsaida, on the north of the Sea of Galilee. Herod Philip, who was considered a friend of the Romans, struck the first Jewish coins depicting Augustus and Tiberius. He was married to his niece Salome, granddaughter of Herod and Mariamne II, and died childless. After his death, his tetrarchy was incorporated into the province of Syria, but in 37 C.E. it was given to Agrippa *I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., index; Schuerer, Hist, 151, 156, 169; A.H.M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea* (1938), index, s.v. Philip, son of Herod; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 4 (1950^2), 188–9. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** N. Kokkinos, *The Herodian Dynasty: Origins, Role in Society and Eclipse* (1998); V. Tzaferis, "Banias, la Ville de Pan," in: *Le Monde de la Bible* 64 (1990), 50–53; J.F. Wilson, *Banias: The Lost City of Pan* (2004).

[Edna Elazary / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

HERRERA, ABRAHAM KOHEN DE (**Alonso Nunez De**; **Abraham Irira**; c. 1570?–1635 or 1639), philosopher of religion and kabbalist. Herrera, whose place of birth is unknown, was descended from a noble Marrano family. The biographical accounts of *Graetz and others should be corrected in accordance with Herrera's letter to Lord Essex, published in *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc* (1st series, *Angleterre*, vol. 2). According to this letter, Herrera and his family were the subjects of the duke of Tuscany and lived at Florence (later at Venice). According to Barbosa Machado, Rodriguez de Castro, and Antonio Ribeiro dos Santos, Herrera (who was also called Ferreira) was born in Lisbon. From Daniel Levi de *Barrios' account, which claims that the Spanish general Gonzalvo de Cordova, conqueror of Naples, was among Herrera's ancestors, it is to be understood that his family immigrated to Portugal or (later perhaps) to Italy. Herrera went from Florence to Morocco where his uncle, Judah de Marchena, acted as trading agent of Sultan Moulay Aḥmad al-Manṣur of Morocco. During the English conquest of Cadiz, where Herrera was staying on the sultan's orders, he was captured and taken to London. He was freed before 1600, after a diplomatic exchange between the Moroccan sultan and Queen Elizabeth of England. At the end of the 1590s it seems that Herrera was living as a Jew at Ragusa. There, according to his testimony, he studied Isaac *Luria's Kabbalah under the guidance of Israel *Sarug. It appears that he went to Holland after this period and was converted to Judaism. Little is known about Herrera's life in Amsterdam. *Morteira and Isaac *Aboab studied his opinions and teachings and it is certain that these strongly influenced the spiritual life of the Amsterdam community. The esteem in which he was held is shown, among other things, by his "Approbation" to *Manasseh Ben Israel's *Conciliador* (of Sept. 6, 1632). According to J.N. Jacobsen Jensen (*Reizigers te Amsterdam* (1919), p. 25), Herrera took part in the disputation with the Christian theologian and Hebrew scholar Hugh *Broughton, but this is unlikely (cf. L. Hirschel, in: *De Vrijdag-Avond* 6 (1929), p. 119).

The following works by Herrera, in Spanish, are known: (1) *Puerta del Cielo*, expounding kabbalistic doctrine about God and the cosmos. (2) *Casa de Dios*, which deals mainly with theories about angels and pneumatology. Both works remained unpublished in the original (manuscripts are to be found in the library Ez Ḥayyim at Amsterdam and in the Royal Library of Holland), but were translated into Hebrew by Isaac *Aboab da Fonseca and published under the title *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* (Amsterdam, 1655) and *Beit Elohim* (Amsterdam, 1655). The first appeared also with an introduction by Israel *Jaffe (Warsaw,1864; the translation differs considerably from the original). The works were translated, in an abridged form, from Hebrew into Latin and included in the famous anthology *Cabbala Denudata* (Sulzbach, 1677). (3) A Spanish treatise on logic, *Epitome y compendio dela logica o dialectica*, together with a glossary of philosophic and theological terms (*Libro de Diffinitiones*); the work was published in the original (probably in Amsterdam, when Herrera was converted to Judaism).

Herrera was the first to undertake a systematic philosophical interpretation of kabbalistic doctrines. He constantly attempted to prove that the theories of the Kabbalah were in accord with the ideas of the neoplatonist school, particularly in the form which these were given by the Florentine Academy, by Marsilio Ficino, and later Francisco Patricius. This interpretation draws on comprehensive knowledge of the whole of philosophical literature. Herrera develops his conception of God by depending on the doctrine of contingency (God as the only Necessary Being) which prevailed among the Jewish philosophers of the Middle Ages. At the same time, he accepts the utter indefinability of God's Being, which he understands at times in the manner of the doctrine of the "negative" attributes, but at times in the manner of the "*coincidentia oppositorum*" (the presence in God of opposite qualities at one time). The oneness and individuality (*ishiyyut*) of the Divine Being are reasoned by Herrera, particularly with reference to the potentiality of a concrete, individualized being (*Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* fol. 5). Herrera links his conception with the kabbalistic conceptions of God by using the concept of the infinite expansion (*hitpashetut*) of the Divine Being and through the use of the metaphor of light. Herrera diminishes the pantheistic character of these conceptions to the point that the comprehension of the Universe of God, Who enfolds in Himself, in an infinitely superior manner, all creation, does not mean its identification with the empiric totality of the world. God is thus conceived as the infinitely perfect and the absolute good. His explanation of the kabbalistic doctrine of *Adam Kadmon ("Primordial Man") is particularly interesting. Herrera adopted the neoplatonic thesis that only a sim-

ple being can emerge out of the absolute simplicity of God, and rejected the modifications (the doctrine of the spheres and their spirits) brought by the Arab and Jewish Peripatetics. He set up a specific correlation between God (**Ein Sof*) and the realm of *Adam Kadmon*, as the correlation between *principium* and *primum principium* ("First Cause" and "First Effect"). This relationship is to be understood in the sense of a particular Logos doctrine. Thus, *Adam Kadmon* is defined as the "highest thought," "the simple intelligence," and so on. This perfect being, the prototype of all creation, serves as the means of God's activity and has great similarity with the splendor of God. However, unlike God, it is finite (fol. 17a). The kabbalistic theory of God's willed "withdrawal" (*ẓimẓum*) is developed by Herrera in connection with the explanation of the theory of the "temporal" creation of the world, out of a free decision of God. Herrera's writings (in Latin translation) were considered by many to be the philosophical exposition of the Jewish Kabbalah. Because Johann Georg Wachter's *Der Spinozismus in Judentum* (1699) defended the theory of *Spinoza's pantheism and its dependence on Herrera, the latter's teachings were constantly referred to during the recurring controversies concerning pantheism in the 18th century. Herrera is quoted by Leibniz (cf. *Réfutation inédite de Spinoza par Leibniz*, ed. Foucher de Carell (1854), 17). Herrera's doctrines were also often discussed and exercised a certain influence at the beginning of the 19th century on works dealing with the history of philosophy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Freystadt, *Philosophia Cabbalistica et Pantheismus* (1832), viii, 54ff.; S.A. Horodezky, in: *Ha-Goren*, 10 (1928), 120ff.; H.A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of Spinoza*, (1934), index; M.A. Anath (Perlmutter), in: *Tarbiz*, 27 (1958), 322–33.

[Jacob Gordin]

HERRERA DE PISUEGRA, town in N. Castile, Spain. Although the first information about a community there dates from the 15th century, it is known that there were *Conversos living in Herrera after the persecutions of 1391. In the 15th century many Jews and Conversos lived there. The annual tax paid jointly by the communities of Herrera and nearby Osorno amounted to 3,000 maravedis in 1474 and 1482. The tax levied on the community during the war with Granada was raised to 35,000 maravedis in 1491. The dossiers of Conversos from Herrera sentenced by the Inquisition provide a diversified picture of a Jewish community after it had become a community of Conversos. Most of them were tried as followers of Inés of Herrera (known as the Maid of Herrera), the daughter of a cobbler, who had visions concerning the fate of the Conversos and the place they would be allotted in Heaven because of the sufferings they had undergone. Inés was 12 years old when she appeared as prophetess in 1498–1500. Her prophecies promised imminent deliverance with the advent of the Messiah who would lead the Conversos to the Promised Land. Over 100 of her followers – most of them women – were burned at two autos-da-fé in Toledo in February 1501. From the Inquisitorial files we know about the extensive and intensive crypto-Jewish life led by the Conversos in Herrera and its surroundings. According to the files, most couples seemed to have practiced Judaism together. Very often their children, too, were found guilty of Jewish practices. The Converso community was well organized and solidarity characterized the relations between its members. Most of the Conversos in Herrera began to practice Judaism in the middle of the 15th century. Many of the Conversos were initiated into their Jewish practices by their parents. Some studied Hebrew. Sabbath observance was the most widespread practice. They tried to keep track of the Jewish calendar so that they would be able to celebrate the festivals. The Conversos in Herrera gathered in the homes of some of the leading members for prayer. Circumcision was also practiced in some families. From the Inquisitorial files it is clear that women were active in fulfilling certain commandments, such as *hallah, kashrut* and ritual immersion. Until the expulsion, the Conversos obtained kosher food from their Jewish neighbors.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 2 (1966), 356, 496; Baer, Urkunden, 2 (1936), 305f., 309f., 322f.; idem, in: *Zion Me'assef*, 5 (1933), 66ff.; Suárez Fernández, Documentos, 59, 68, 75, 459, 465; León Tello, in: *Instituto Tello Téllez de Meneses*, 25 (1966), 109–11; H.C. Lea, *History of the Inquisition in Spain*, 1 (1922), 186; 2 (1922), 520. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** H. Beinart, in: *Proceedings of the 7th World Congress of Jewish Studies*, vol. 4 (1981), 53–85 (Hebrew section); idem, in: *Studies in Jewish Mysticism, Philosophy and Ethical Literature, Presented to Isaiah Tishby* (1986), 459–506 (Hebrew).

[Haim Beinart]

HERRMANN, BERNARD (1911–1975), U.S. composer and conductor. Born in New York City, Herrmann studied at New York University and the Juilliard School of Music with Percy Grainger, Philip James, and Bernard Wagenaar. He composed music for radio, and became one of the world's most famous composers of film scores (40 scores between 1941 and 1966), notably for Orson Welles (*Citizen Kane* and *The Magnificent Ambersons*) and Alfred Hitchcock, including *Psycho*, in which he displayed new sensitivity and dramatic understanding of the medium. His other works include *Moby Dick* (1937), a dramatic cantata for male chorus, soloists, speakers, and large orchestra; the operas *Wuthering Heights* (1951), *A Christmas Carol* (1954), and *A Child is Born* (1955); a musical, *The King of Schnorrers* (1970); many orchestral works; and a string quartet, *Echoes.* As a conductor, Herrmann took special interest in little-known works (his championship of Charles Ives is noteworthy in this respect) and made many recordings. He spent the last 10 years of his life in England, continuing conducting and composing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; E. Johnson: *Bernard Herrmann: Hollywood's Music-Dramatist* (1977); S.C. Smith: *A Heart at Fire's Center: The Life and Music of Bernard Herrmann* (1991)

[Max Loppert / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

HERRMANN, HUGO (1887–1940), Zionist author, editor, and propagandist. Born in Maehrisch-Truebau (Moravska Trebova), Moravia, Herrmann attended the German Univer-

sity in Prague and became a teacher. He also was a member of the editorial staff of *Selbstwehr*, the Prague Zionist weekly; his cousin Leo *Hermann was another member of the staff. In 1913–14 he was editor in chief of *Juedische Rundschau*, the central organ of the Zionist Organization in Germany. He served in the army in World War I and after his discharge became editor of the *Juedisches Volksblatt* in Maehrisch-Ostrau (Moravska Ostrava), a post he retained from 1919 to 1922. He also organized the work of the *Keren Hayesod in Czechoslovakia and edited the newspaper published at the Zionist Congresses. Eventually he became one of the chief propagandists of the Keren Hayesod and traveled extensively on behalf of the fund. In 1934 he settled in Jerusalem.

Herrmann was one of the founders of Bar Kochba, the Jewish students' organization in Prague and engaged in literary activities on Jewish and Zionist subjects for most of his life. His publications include books on his travels in Ereẓ Israel, on the Arab question, a children's book on Jewish holidays, a book on the geography of Ereẓ Israel (published in several editions), etc. Shortly before his death he published a part of his memoirs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bergman, in: BLBI, 7 (1964), 253–62; F. Weltsch (ed.), *Prag vi-Yrushalayim* (n.d.), 125–42.

[Getzel Kressel]

HERSCH, JEANNE (1910–2000), Swiss philosopher. The daughter of the Bundist Pesach Liebman *Hersch, who was a professor of statistics at the University of Geneva from 1921, she studied philosophy in her home city, then in Heidelberg, where she met Karl Jaspers, and in Freiburg. She belonged to a group of Jewish students influenced by Martin Heidegger, as were Hannah Arendt and Emmanuel Levinas. But in 1933, witnessing the negative role Heidegger played as rector of the university during the rise of Nazism, she immediately left Freiburg. Between 1956 and 1965 she was a professor of systematic philosophy in Geneva. Between 1966 and 1968 she presided over the philosophy section of UNESCO in Paris. A long time Social Democrat, she distanced herself from the party in 1992 when it declared the use of drugs legal. As an "intellectuelle engagée" she fought for human rights and criticized the student movement of 1968 for not having distanced itself sufficiently from Soviet Communism. Her philosophy was also grounded in Jewish ethics. She translated the work of Karl Jaspers into French. Hersch was a highly esteemed philosopher in Switzerland.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Penser dans le temps* (1977); *Éclairer l'obscur. Entretiens avec Gabrielle et A. Dufour* (1986), Kaufmann, Bibliographie, No. 1402f.

[Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

HERSCH, PESACH LIEBMAN (pseudonyms: **P. Liebman**; **P. Lemansky**; "**Academicus**"; 1882–1955), statistician and demographer, Bundist leader, and publicist. Born in Lithuania, Hersch moved to Warsaw when young and was active for some time in Zionist youth circles. In 1904, when studying at Warsaw University, he took part in the students' strike and was put under police supervision. He subsequently went to Geneva, where he spent most of his life. In 1909 he was appointed instructor in demography and statistics at Geneva University, becoming professor after World War I and gaining an international reputation. From 1905 Hersch was associated with the *Bund. He contributed to the Yiddish, Polish, and Russian press as a writer and editor, dealing with social and political issues, in particular emigration and problems of Jewish nationalism. Hersch was a member of the central bureau of the Bund's organization abroad. During 1912–13 he was in St. Petersburg, and wrote a polemic against Lenin concerning national autonomy. In 1915 Hersch represented the Bund at the international Socialist conference at Zimmerwald. After the war he contributed to the Bundist organ *Folkstsaytung*, published in Warsaw. He was also active in *YIVO and contributed to its publications. During World War II Hersch served as a representative of the American "Jewish Workers' Committee," and was active on behalf of the Jews in the Nazi-occupied countries and in facilitating the admission of Jewish refugees to Switzerland. He helped to establish centers of *ORT and *OSE in Geneva. After the war Hersch undertook manifold activities on behalf of the Bund and served as its representative at the Socialist International. The experience of the Holocaust and concern for the continuation of Jewish existence led Hersch to advocate a revision of Bund ideology. Although opposed to Zionism, as early as 1927 he had pointed out the importance of the deep emotional historical attachment of the Jewish people to Ereẓ Israel, which he visited in 1947 (where he also broadcast in Hebrew). Hersch appreciated the socialist achievements of the Histadrut in its various sectors of activity. He saw the establishment of the State of Israel as a major bulwark against assimilation and a factor for strengthening the national consciousness of the Jews throughout the world. Hersch published a collection of his articles on contemporary issues in *Oyf der Grenets fun Isaytn* (1952). In the field of scholarship Hersch already became known through his dissertation *Le Juif errant d'aujourd'hui* (1913), which was rewritten in Yiddish as *Di Yidishe Emigratsye* (1914). He subsequently published numerous studies in various languages, mainly French. In English these include "Jewish Migrations during the Last Hundred Years," in: *The Jewish People, Past and Present* (1 (1946), 407–30); "Jewish Population Trend in Europe," and "Jewish Population in Palestine," *ibid.* (2 (1948), 1–25, 40–50); and "Delinquency among Jews," in: *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* (27 (1936), 515–38). A member of many learned societies, in 1954 Hersch served as chairman of the United Nations International Conference for Demography and Statistics in Rome.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 3 (1960), 220–6 (includes bibliography); J.S. Hertz (ed.), *Doyres Bundistn*, 2 (1956), 32–40.

[Moshe Mishkinsky]

HERSCHBERG, ABRAHAM SAMUEL (1858–1943), Hebrew scholar and writer. Herschberg, who was born in Kolno, near Lomza, Poland, became a textile manufacturer in Bialys-

tok. There he was associated with S. Mohilever in the Ḥibbat Zion movement. In 1899–1900 he went to Ereẓ Israel with the intention of settling there. He described his impressions in *Mishpat ha-Yishuv he-Ḥadash be-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1901), in which he criticized Rothschild's officials, and in "*Be-Ereẓ ha-Mizraḥ*" (in *Ha-Zeman*, 1910). Herschberg also wrote articles about the state of the country's trade and commerce (in *Ha-Ẓefirah*, 1903–04); sketches on the early Ḥovevei Zion (in Sokolow's *Ha-Me'assef*, 1903); brochures on the development of modern Hebrew (1909) and on the Sephardim in Ereẓ Israel (*Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 1911); studies of socio-economic life in the talmudic period, including *Ḥayyei ha-Tarbut be-Yisrael* (1924); articles on proselytism and the unity of race and religion among Jews (*Ha-Tekufah*, 12–13, 1922); and a two-volume history of Bialystok Jewry, *Pinkas Bialystok* (Yiddish, 1949–50). He translated into Hebrew R. Kittel's *Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (1911) and J. Eschelbacher's *Judentum und das Wesen des Christentums* (1912). From 1913 to 1914 he edited the Yiddish daily *Bialistoker*. He was murdered by the Nazis in the Bialystok ghetto.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, Leksikon, 1 (1929), 880–2; I. Heilperin, in: *Tekufatenu*, 3–4 (1933), 499–501; idem, in: *Pinkes Bialystok*, 1 (1949), xxv–xxx; H. Herschberg, *ibid.*, xxi–xxiv.

HERSCHER, URI DAVID (1941–), U.S. rabbi, professor, founder and chief executive of the Skirball Cultural Center in Los Angeles. Born in Tel Aviv to parents who fled Germany in the mid-1930s, Herscher's childhood home was shadowed by the annihilation of his extended family in the Nazi scourge. His early youth witnessed the privations of the British Mandate period, relieved by summers in a kibbutz with an aunt and uncle. Religion was not part of his upbringing; the idealism of the infant Jewish state and the communitarian ethos of the kibbutz shaped his formative years. In 1954, he immigrated with his parents and brother to the U.S., joining relatives in San José, California. Speaking no English upon his arrival, he nonetheless thrived in his new home, befriended by neighbors, teachers, and classmates, few of whom were Jews. The hospitable welcome he and his family received was a decisive event in his life, defining his conviction that America was good to and for the Jews.

At the University of California at Berkeley in the early 1960s, Herscher and another student organized a summer camp for underprivileged youth. Seeking donated clothing for the children, he met Robert D. Haas, a classmate and scion of the Levi Strauss family, noted for its philanthropy. An enduring friendship ensued that would prove instrumental to his later endeavors.

He gained admission to Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion. Declining to seek a pulpit upon ordination, he accepted an administrative position at the College-Institute, at the same time pursuing a doctorate in American Jewish history under the guidance of Stanley F. Chyet. In 1975 he was appointed professor of American Jewish history and executive vice president and dean of the faculty of the College-Institute, overseeing its campuses in Cincinnati, Los Angeles, New York, and Jerusalem.

In 1979, Herscher moved from Cincinnati to Los Angeles. Recognizing that the vast majority of Jews were unaffiliated and increasingly indifferent to Jewish concerns, he envisioned a new strategy of communal outreach and engagement: the creation of a cultural center that would focus on the American Jewish experience. The center housed the College-Institute's Skirball Museum, whose collection of artifacts would tell the story of the Jewish people from antiquity to America. The center also included venues for public lectures, performing arts, and educational activities.

Over the next decade, with help from key supporters such as Jack H. Skirball, Los Angeles Times Chairman Franklin Murphy, and the Levi Strauss family of San Francisco, Herscher garnered major contributions from both Jewish and non-Jewish benefactors. A fifteen-acre site was acquired in the Santa Monica mountains, and renowned Israeli-American architect Moshe Safdie was engaged to design the campus. In 1996 the Skirball Cultural Center, separately incorporated, opened to the public, with Herscher as founding president and chief executive. An immediate success, the Center attracted some 300,000 visitors in its first year, leading to an ambitious expansion of its facilities, programs, and endowment. By 2005, the Center had become one of the world's major Jewish cultural institutions.

Herscher's conceptual vision broadened as well. Underlining his commitment to the welfare of the wider community, in 2001 he accepted appointment to the Ethics Commission of Los Angeles. At his instigation, the Skirball's mission statement was expanded to address "people of every ethnic and cultural identity."

[Robert Kirschner (2nd ed.)]

HERSCHMAN, MORDECHAI (1888–1940), *ḥazzan*. Born in the Ukrainian town of Chernigov, Herschman, a lyric tenor, sang in a number of synagogue choirs before obtaining his first post as a *ḥazzan* in the "choral" synagogue of Zhitomir. In 1913, after only five months at Zhitomir, he was appointed chief *ḥazzan* of Vilna. During World War I he was conscripted into the Russian army reserve, but a senior officer was so impressed by his voice that he exempted him from duty so that he could continue to officiate as a *ḥazzan*. In 1920, he emigrated to the United States, where he was appointed *ḥazzan* of the Beth El Temple of Brooklyn, New York, a position he held for 10 years. Afterward he made many concert tours in Europe, Palestine, and the U.S. Herschman was notable for the warmth of his singing as well as for his ḥazzanic style, which was deeply influenced by the melodic elements of biblical cantillation and the traditional cantillation of Talmud study. His cantorial and folk song records were very popular, and it was his rendering that made P. *Jassinowsky's *Ve-Hayyah be-Aḥarit ha-Yamim* ("And it shall come to pass at the End of Days") famous.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sendrey, Music, no. 9970; A. Rozen, *Di Geshikhte fun Khazones* (1924), 122.

[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

HERSCHORN, JOSHUA (**Sheea**) **HALEVY** (1893–1969), Canadian rabbi and halakhic scholar. Herschorn was born in Muranovanye-Kurilovtsy, Ukraine, and received his main rabbinic training from his father. He also acquired a secular education and briefly attended the University of Odessa. The anti-Jewish violence which swept the Ukraine in the aftermath of World War I, as well as the repression of the Jewish religion in the Soviet Union, influenced his decision to emigrate to North America.

In 1921 he arrived in Montreal, where he had relatives, and began to function as a rabbi. His supervision of a group of kosher slaughterers gained him the enmity of several prominent local rabbis, who initially attempted to portray him as an interloper and a charlatan. Nonetheless, he was soon accepted by the Montreal Orthodox rabbinate as a valuable colleague. He became a member of the Rabbinic Council (Vaad ha-Rabbanim) of the Montreal Jewish Community Council (Va'ad ha-Ir) from its inception in 1923. In 1936, he became vice president, and in 1951 he succeeded Rabbi Hirsh *Cohen as president of the Rabbinic Council. He was thus widely recognized as Montreal's "chief rabbi." He actively served in this capacity until 1961, when he was incapacitated by illness. He also served for many years as Canadian vice president of the Agudath ha-Rabbonim (Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada).

His major publication is *Mi-Ma'ayanei Yeshu'ah* (1959), a collection of responsa, reflecting the halakhic concerns of North American Orthodox Judaism from the 1920s to the 1950s. They include several dealing with the halakhic implications of technological innovations. He published numerous articles in journals of rabbinic scholarship, as well as a number of articles and sermons in Montreal's Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish newspapers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Ginzberg, *Keneder Adler* (Dec. 30, 1951); I. Robinson, *Canadian Ethnic Studies* (1990), 41–53.

[Ira Robinson (2nd ed.)]

HERSH, SEYMOUR (1937–), U.S. journalist. Born in Chicago and a graduate of the University of Chicago, Seymour (Sy) Myron Hersh began his career in journalism as a police reporter for the City New Bureau in Chicago in 1959. After stints with United Press International and the Associated Press, Hersh joined the little-known Pacific News Service and went to Vietnam. In 1969 Hersh gained worldwide recognition for exposing the massacre at My Lai, where United States soldiers tortured and killed nearly 500 civilians, and its cover-up. He also covered the court martial of Lt. William Calley, the commanding officer at My Lai. Hersh received the Pulitzer Prize for international reporting and published two books on the subject: *My Lai 4: A Report on the Massacre and Its Aftermath* and *Cover-up: the Army's Secret Investigation of the Massacre at My Lai 4*.

In 1972 Hersh joined the Washington bureau of *The New York Times* and also became a regular contributor to the *New Yorker* magazine. His disclosures about the covert operations of the Central Intelligence Agency created a swarm of controversy. So did his book on Henry A. *Kissinger, *The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House*, in 1983, which detailed the secret bombing of Cambodia while the administration was ostensibly pursuing an end to the war in Vietnam. The book won the National Book Critics Circle award. Hersh worked for *The Times* from 1972 to 1975 and again in 1979.

In his 1991 book *The Sampson Option*, about Israel's secret nuclear weapons program, Hersh revealed that in 1986 Nicholas Davies, the foreign editor of the London *Daily Mirror*, tipped off the Israeli Embassy in London that the Israeli whistleblower Mordechai Vanunu had given information about the country's nuclear capability to the *Sunday Times* and later the *Sunday Mirror*, both owned by the British media magnate Robert *Maxwell, who was thought to have had extensive contacts with Israeli intelligence services. According to Hersh, Davies and Maxwell published an anti-Vanunu story as part of a disinformation campaign on behalf of the Israeli government.

Hersh wrote a number of investigative articles for the *New Yorker* detailing military and security matters surrounding the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 and the subsequent occupation. In a 2004 article, he examined how Vice President Dick Cheney and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld circumvented the normal intelligence analysis function of the CIA in their quest to make a case for the invasion. His coverage of Richard Perle, a pro-Iraq war advisor to the Bush White House, in another article led Perle to say that Hersh was the "closest thing American journalism has to a terrorist." In 2004 Hersh published a series of articles describing, and showing photographs, of the torture by U.S. military police of prisoners in the Iraqi prison of Abu Ghraib. Hersh asserted that the abuses were part of a secret interrogation program, known as Copper Green, expanded from prisoner treatment in Afghanistan and Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, with the direct approval of Defense Secretary Rumsfeld, in an attempt to deal with a growing insurgency in Iraq. In 2005 Hersh disclosed that the U.S. was conducting covert operations in Iran to identify targets for possible strikes. This was dismissed by both the U.S. government and by Iran.

Hersh published eight books, including *The Dark Side of Camelot* (1997), which looked at John F. Kennedy's relationship with Lyndon B. Johnson and scandals surrounding Kennedy. His other books include *The Target Is Destroyed*: *What Really Happened to Flight 007 and What America Knew About It* (1986), *Against All Enemies: Gulf War Syndrome*: *The War Between America's Ailing Veterans and Their Government* (1998), and *Chain of Command: The Road from 9/11 to Abu Ghraib* (2004).

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

HERSHELE (pseudonym of **Hersh Danielevitz**; 1882–1941), Yiddish poet, essayist, short story writer, translator, and folklorist. Born in Lipno, Poland, Hershele received a traditional Jewish education and taught himself secular subjects. He

joined the revolutionary movement early, fled to Zurich, and then returned to Poland. During the German occupation of 1915–18 he was one of the founders of the Lodz literary circle and of various periodicals. He contributed to the Yiddish dailies in Poland, *Haynt, Moment*, and the Buenos Aires Yiddish daily *Di Prese*, and translated Polish, Russian, and German poetry into Yiddish. Primarily a folk poet, his books are *Hersheles Lider* ("Hershele's Poems," 1907) and *Zun Feygelekh* ("Sun Birds," 1918). Throughout his life he collected Yiddish folk songs, hundreds of which he sent to Ḥ.N. *Bialik, and folk stories and sayings. Hershele's charming and rhythmic poems described the lives, loves, and thoughts of simple Jewish coachmen, housemaids, and cooks in Poland. He published poems in *Dror, Yedies*, and *Payn un Gvure* in the Warsaw ghetto, where he died.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, Leksikon, 1 (1928), 668f.; LNYL, 3 (1960), 229–31. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Ravitch, *Mayn Leksikon*, 1 (1945), 77–79; Y. Papernikov, *Heymishe un Noente* (1958), 217–21.

[Israel Ch. Biletzky]

HERSHEY, BARBARA (**Barbara Herzstein**; 1948–), U.S. actress. Born in Hollywood, California, Hershey made her professional debut as a teenager in 1965 on the television series *Gidget,* then starred on the TV series *The Monroes* (1966–67). From the late 1960s on, she acted in such feature films as *Last Summer* (1969), *The Liberation of L.B. Jones* (1970), *Dealing* (1972), *Boxcar Bertha* (1972), *The Stunt Man* (1980), *The Right Stuff* (1983), *The Natural* (1984), *Hannah and Her Sisters* (1986), *Hoosiers* (1986), *Tin Men* (1987), *Shy People* (Cannes Film Festival award for Best Actress, 1987), *A World Apart* (Cannes Film Festival award for Best Actress, 1988), *The Last Temptation of Christ* (Golden Globe nomination, 1988), *Beaches* (1988), *Falling Down* (1993), *A Dangerous Woman* (1993), *The Pallbearer* (1996), *The Portrait of a Lady* (Oscar nomination for Best Supporting Actress, 1996), *Breakfast of Champions* (1999), *Passion* (1999), *Lantana* (2001), and *Riding the Bullet* (2004).

Hershey has appeared in a number of television movies, such as *A Man Called Intrepid* (1979), *Angel on My Shoulder* (1980), *A Killing in a Small Town* (Emmy Award and Golden Globe for Best Actress, 1990), *Paris Trout* (Emmy nomination for Best Actress, 1991), *Hunger Point* (2003), and *Paradise* (2004). She has also appeared in such TV series as *From Here to Eternity* (1980), *Twilight Theater* (1982), *Return to Lonesome Dove* (1993), *Chicago Hope* (1999–2000), and *The Mountain* (2004).

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HERSHKO, AVRAM (1937–), Israeli biochemist and Nobel laureate. Hershko was born in Karcag, Hungary, and immigrated with his family to Israel in 1950. He gained his M.D. (1965) and Ph.D. (1969) from the Hadassah Medical School of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, a period which included service as a physician in the Israel Defense Forces (1965–67). After a postdoctoral fellowship with Gordon Tomkins at the University of San Francisco (1969–72), he joined the faculty of the Haifa Technion, becoming professor in 1980 and subsequently distinguished professor in the Unit of Biochemistry in the Rappaport Faculty of Medicine of the Technion. His main research interests concern the mechanisms by which cell proteins are normally degraded and replaced by newly synthesized proteins, a formerly neglected field of study. Hershko and his colleagues showed that, contrary to previous ideas, cellular proteins are degraded by a highly selective proteolytic system. This system tags proteins for destruction by linkage to a protein called ubiquitin, which had previously been identified in many tissues, as the name suggests, but whose function was hitherto unknown. Subsequent work in Hershko's and many other laboratories has shown that the ubiquitin system has a vital role in controlling the survival of a wide range of proteins which regulate cell division and replacement and are involved in the repair of damaged DNA. The medical importance of these observations has been established. Inherited abnormalities in the ubiquitin system result in a degenerative disease of the nervous system and other diseases including cancer. Acquired abnormalities of the system, possibly following certain viral infections, may also lead to cancer and disorders of the immune system. The full range of functions of the ubiquitin system in health and disease was still to be elucidated, as were the implications for designing anti-cancer drugs. Hershko was awarded the Nobel Prize in chemistry (2004) jointly with his former Ph.D. student Aaron *Ciechanover and their colleague Irwin *Rose. His many honors include the Weizmann Prize for Science (1987), the Israel Prize for biochemistry and medicine (1994), the Gairdner Award (1999), the Lasker Prize for basic medical research (2000), and the Wolf Prize for medicine (2001). Hershko was a passionate advocate of proper support for scientific education and research in Israel.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

HERSHKOWITZ, VICTOR ("**Vic**"; 1918–), U.S. handball player, considered the greatest all-around player in handball history; winner of over 40 handball titles, including nine straight Three-Wall Singles Championships, and member of Handball Hall of Fame. Hershkowitz was born in Williamsburg, New York, the eighth of nine children, to Beila (Gelb) and Shmuel (Sam) from Ugocsa, Hungary. Hershkowitz went to Alexander Hamilton and Eastern District high schools, but was not a member of the school's handball club, which included Red *Auerbach. After graduating in 1936, and with few jobs available during the Depression, the stocky 5 ft. 8 in., 173 lb. Hershkowitz started playing handball in neighborhood parks. In 1942 he won the men's doubles One-Wall Championship, and then after the war he started a streak of winning at least one national championship every year from 1947 to 1967, except for 1959. "I had a good instinct as to where the ball would be most of the time. I was born with that, probably," he said, reflecting on his career. Hershkowitz, who played and practiced part time between his hours working as a fireman, won three of the national singles trophies on three different-

sized courts. His crowning achievement was in 1952, when he captured the National Singles One-Wall, Three-Wall and Four-Wall titles. Hershkowitz continued playing into his eighties, accumulating a dozen Masters titles as well, beginning in 1966. He was elected to the USHA Hall of Fame in 1957.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

HERSHMAN, ABRAHAM M. (1880–1959), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Hershman was born in Neustadt, Poland, immigrating to the U.S. in 1896. Ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (1906), he served in Syracuse, New York, and then went to Detroit's Congregation Shaarey Zedek (1907), which he led until 1946, when he became rabbi emeritus. Founder and president of the Detroit Zionist Organization, Hershman was also principal of the Division Street Talmud Torah, Detroit's first Jewish communal school; delegate to the first American Jewish Congress, and a founder of the Jewish Community Council. His *Rabbi Isaac ben Sheshet Perfet and his Times* (1943) dealt with the history of the Jews in Spain in the 14th century. Hershman translated Book 14 of the Code of Maimonides as *Book of Judges* (1949), and wrote *Israel's Fate and Faith* (1952) and *Religion of the Age and of the Ages* (1953).

[Irving I. Katz]

HERSKOVITS, BELA (1920–1974), cantor and concert artist. A graduate of the leading music conservatories of Hungary, Herskovits was professor of Jewish liturgical music at the Goldmark Karoly College. When Hungary was invaded by the Nazis in 1942 he was imprisoned, but released, and succeeded in reaching the U.S. in 1942. Appointed cantor of the Ocean Parkway Jewish Center in Brooklyn, he was "discovered" by Eddie Cantor who introduced him to Hollywood. He co-starred in *Servant of God* and was musical consultant to Cecil B. De Mille's film *The Ten Commandments.* In 1966 he was appointed chief cantor of the Beth Shalom synagogue in Toronto, but later resigned on account of ill-health.

HERSKOVITS, MELVILLE JEAN (1895–1963), U.S. anthropologist. Born in Bellefontaine, Ohio, Herskovits became a lecturer in anthropology at Columbia University in 1924. In 1927 he moved to Northwestern University, where he directed the program of African studies. In 1935 he became professor of African Affairs. He made Northwestern University virtually the center of African studies in the U.S., and when the African Studies Association was established in 1957 he became its first president.

In the 1920s Herskovits undertook a series of anthropometric studies of the blacks in the United States and then widened his research to cover the blacks in the New World and in Africa. He carried out fieldwork among the bush peoples of Surinam, Dutch Guiana, and in Haiti, West Africa, Brazil, and sub-Saharan Africa. In his classic work, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941), he presented a masterly study of the African heritage of the American black. His studies of the New World black opened up a whole new field of research and prepared the way for a more positive and objective appreciation of the black, both individually and collectively, in American society. One of Herskovits' great interests was the study of race crossing and inheritance, and one of his earliest books was on this subject: *The American Negro: A Study in Racial Crossing* (1928). Like his teacher, Franz *Boas, he did not regard physical man apart from cultural man, and was concerned to combat the confusions between innate physical and acquired cultural traits.

In addition to his general study of anthropology, *Man and his Works* (1948), Herskovits published studies in ethnomusicology and economic anthropology. In 1959 he produced an important survey on Africa for the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate. His final major book, *The Human Factor in Changing Africa* (1962), dealt with the conflict between established custom and innovation among the peoples of Africa.

He discussed the problem "Who are the Jews?" in the essay that he and his wife Frances – who collaborated with him in much of his research and writing – contributed to *The Jews, Their History and Their Culture* (ed. by L. Finkelstein, 2 (1960), 1489–1509).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *American Anthropologist*, 66 (1964), 83–109, includes bibliography.

HERSKOVITZ, MARSHALL (1952–) and **ZWICK, EDWARD** (1952–), U.S. writers-directors-producers. Born Marshall Schreiber to Alexander Herskovitz and Frieda (née Schreiber), Herskovitz grew up in Philadelphia, where his maternal grandfather was president of Har Zion Conservative Synagogue. In 1973, Herskovitz adapted *Beowulf* as a screenplay for his senior thesis at Brandeis University. Herskovitz earned an MFA from the American Film Institute in 1978. He went on to write and direct television programs such as *Family* (1979), *The White Shadow* (1979–80), and *Chips* (1980). Zwick was born in Chicago, Ill., to Allen Zwick and Ruth (née Reich). After graduating from Harvard, he studied theater in Europe on a Rockefeller fellowship before graduating from the American Film Institute in 1975. He took first place in a student film competition at the 1976 Chicago Film Festival and was offered the job of story editor on *Family.* In 1983, Herskovitz and Zwick teamed up for the made-for-television film *Special Bulletin,* which won two Emmy Awards. In 1985, they created The Bedford Falls Company, which was named after the town in *It's a Wonderful Life*. In 1986, Zwick directed his first feature film, *About Last Night*, followed by such projects as *Glory* (1989), which won 1989 Academy Awards for acting, cinematography, and sound; *Courage Under Fire* (1996); and *The Siege* (1998). Their first television project was the Emmy- and Golden Globe-winning series *thirtysomething* (1987–91). Herskovitz followed this with the film *Jack the Bear* (1993). Then came the duo's *Legends of the Fall* (1994), which Zwick directed. In 1994, they also produced the short-lived but highly acclaimed television series *My So-Called Life*, which was fol-

lowed by another short-lived series, *Relativity* (1996). In 2000, Herskovitz and Zwick produced the Oscar-winning film *Traffic*, and Zwick received an Oscar as producer with Bob and Harvey Weinstein of Miramax for *Shakespeare in Love* (1998). Later, the two tackled a 40-something-themed television show, *Once and Again* (1999), as well as the films *I Am Sam* (2001) and *The Last Samurai* (2003).

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

HERSTEIN, LILLIAN (1886–1983), education advocate, union organizer, and life-long activist for social justice. Herstein was the youngest of six children in a Lithuanian-Jewish immigrant family. Her father, Wolf, worked as the sextant of a synagogue, while her mother, Cipe, owned and managed a Hebrew bookstore. Herstein's mother and siblings struggled to keep her in school after Wolf's death in 1898, and she graduated from Northwestern University in 1907.

The reluctance of the Chicago school system to hire Jews forced Herstein to teach in small rural schools before securing a position in Chicago in 1912. She immediately joined the Federation of Women High School Teachers union, and soon became its delegate to the Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL). When the Chicago Teachers' Union was created in 1937, Herstein became its representative to the CFL, where she was the only woman on the executive board for 25 years.

Herstein's activism soon expanded beyond the world of education. She worked in close conjunction with the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), helping to organize workers, from newspaper reporters to coalminers, into unions. A powerful speaker, Herstein often expressed her views on the radio and on speakers' circuits. It was through the WTUL that Herstein became involved in a workers' education movement that gained momentum in the interwar years. She taught English and public speaking at the Chicago Labor College, a joint venture of the WTUL and CFL, as well as in workers' summer-school programs at both Bryn Mawr College and the University of Wisconsin. Herstein also taught at Chicago's Crane Junior College, where she inspired future Supreme Court Justice Arthur *Goldberg to become a labor lawyer. Herstein successfully fought to keep the free junior college system open during the Depression. Less successful were several bids for both state and federal offices, including a 1932 campaign for the U.S. Congress.

After her retirement from teaching in 1952, Herstein's activism turned towards civil rights and race relations. Her work with the Jewish Labor Committee on integrating the building trades earned her an award from the Chicago Commission on Human Relations in 1953. An active member of the American Civil Liberties Union, Herstein was also involved in Jewish workers' and women's organizations, including the *Histadrut, *Hadassah, and the *National Council of Jewish Women.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Spungen. "Herstein, Lillian," in: P.E. Hyman and D. Dash Moore, *Jewish Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (1997), 624–25; J.L. Kornbluh, *A New Deal for Workers' Education: The Workers' Service Program, 1933–1942.* (1987); R.H. Zieger and G.J. Gall. *American Workers, American Unions: The Twentieth Century* (2002).

[Nadia Malinovich (2nd ed.)]

HERSTIK, NAFTALI (1947–), *ḥazzan*. Herstik was born in Hungary but was brought to Israel as a child. His first teacher was his father, Cantor Moshe Menaḥem Herstik. Together with his brother Ḥayyim Eliezer (*ḥazzan* at the Oxford Synagogue, Johannesburg) he appeared as a child prodigy and continued his studies in *ḥazzanut* under Shelomo *Ravitz in Tel Aviv and with Prof. L. Bryll in London, where he studied inter alia at the Royal Academy of Music. After serving as *ḥazzan* in synagogues in Tel Aviv, Acre, Haifa, and the Finchley Synagogue in London (1972–79), he returned to Israel and was appointed *ḥazzan* to the Heichal Shelomo synagogue in Jerusalem in 1979. When the new sanctuary that became the Great Synagogue was completed in 1982, Herstik was appointed its *ḥazzan*. Herstik is also director of the Tel Aviv Cantorial Institute and he himself is highly regarded as a teacher of *nusaḥ l'tefillah*. As a superb artist, he has a worldwide reputation, and he sings with rare elegance and class. His rich and heart-warming tenor voice has been heard with the top Israeli and European orchestras worldwide. His discography includes a series of recordings for Beit Hatefutzot, namely the Danzig and Koenigsberg traditions; other CDs include performances with the London Male Choir, Jerusalem Great Synagogue Choir, and the Brno Symphony.

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)

HERTZ, BENEDYKT (1872–1952), Polish author. Transposing social and political themes into the animal kingdom, Hertz published allegorical works that display keen observation and a gift for comedy. These include *Bajki* (1903), *Bajki i satyry* (1911), and *Bajki minionych dni* (1919), collections of fables; and plays such as *Szkice dramatyczne* (1910).

HERTZ, EMANUEL (1870–1940), U.S. lawyer and historian. Hertz, born in Bukta, Austria, brother of Rabbi Joseph Herman *Hertz, arrived in the United States when he was 14. He was admitted to the bar in 1894. Hertz became well known as an authority on Abraham Lincoln. He assembled the largest private collection of material relating to Lincoln, and was said to have gathered 4,000 items previously unknown. He wrote many pamphlets on various aspects of the life of Lincoln, and his books included: *Abraham Lincoln, New Portrait* (1931), *Abraham Lincoln, the Tribute of the Synagogue* (1936), and *Hidden Lincoln* (1938). He was a substantial benefactor of the Library of Congress and the National and Hebrew University Library, Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (May 24, 1940).

[Sefton D. Temkin]

HERTZ, GUSTAV (1887–1975), German physicist and Nobel Prize winner, son of a Jewish father. Born in Hamburg, he became an assistant in the Physical Institute at Berlin in 1913.

He was severely wounded in World War I, and subsequently worked at Eindhoven in the Netherlands. In 1925 he became professor of physics and director of the Physical Institute at Halle, and in 1928 at the Technische Hochschule. He resigned "for political reasons" in 1934, and became director of the Siemens Research Laboratory II. He remained in Germany throughout World War II and subsequently became professor of physics at the University of Leipzig in the German Democratic Republic. He and James *Franck were awarded jointly the Nobel Prize for physics in 1925 for their discovery of the laws governing impact between an electron and an atom. Hertz converted to Christianity. He was a nephew of Heinrich Rudolph Hertz (1857–1894), the discoverer of electromagnetic waves, who was the son of a baptized Jewish father and a Christian mother.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N.H. Heathcote, *Nobel Prize Winners in Physics* (1953), 230–48.

[J. Edwin Holmstrom]

HERTZ, HENRI (1875–1966), French poet, novelist, and critic. Hertz, the son of an army officer of Alsatian descent, was born in Norgent-sur-Seine. Like Max *Jacob, Apollinaire, and Jean Cocteau, whom he is said to have influenced, Hertz was a poet of revolt whose writing ranged from excessive sensitivity to biting sarcasm. Of his 12 published works, the most important are *Sorties* (1921), *Vers un monde volage* (1924), and *Enlèvement sans amant* (1929). Hertz was a distinguished journalist, his enormous output covering politics as well as articles in avant-garde periodicals on literary and artistic figures. He also wrote much in the press on Jewish problems. In 1925 he became general secretary of France-Palestine, an early French Zionist organization. He fought in the Resistance during World War II. Hertz's *Tragédies des temps volages* (1955), a collection of his verse and prose, contains the short story "Ceux de Job," which expresses the grandeur and anguish, the aspirations, and the despair of the Jewish people.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Spire, *Souvenirs à bâtons rompus* (1962), 239–47.

[Sidney D. Braun]

HERTZ, HENRIK (originally **Heyman**; 1798–1870), Danish playwright and poet. Orphaned as a child, Hertz was brought up by a wealthy relative, in whose Copenhagen home he met many prominent people. He graduated in law but chose to become a writer. A member of the new school of Danish romantics, Hertz in 1830 drew up a program for them in elegant verse reflecting the movement's concern with beauty of form. His poetry reveals a sensual temperament, combined with humor and deep pathos. Hertz's principal interest was the theater. He skillfully copied all the fashionable dramatic forms and created roles for the leading Danish actors and actresses, writing about 50 comedies and romantic or historical dramas. His plays include the comedy *Sparekassen* ("The Savings Bank," 1836), which still retains its period charm; the highly successful *Svend Dyrings Huus* ("Svend Dyring's House," 1837), a romantic verse play inspired by medieval Danish ballads; *Kong Renés Datter* (1845, *King René's Daughter*, 1850), also of medieval inspiration; and *Ninon* (1848), a historical melodrama written in the style of Victor Hugo. The collected plays appeared in 18 volumes (1854–73). Hertz was baptized in 1832.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Kyrre, *Henrik Hertz* (Danish, 1916); *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, 10 (1936).

[Frederik Julius Billeskov-Jansen]

HERTZ, JOSEPH HERMAN (1872–1946), chief rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Commonwealth. Hertz, who was born in Slovakia, was taken in 1884 to New York. He was the first graduate of the *Jewish Theological Seminary of America (1894). After acting as rabbi in Syracuse, New York (1894–96), he was appointed rabbi of Johannesburg, South Africa. His outspoken opposition to Boer discrimination against the *uitlanders* (aliens) and religious minorities resulted in his deportation (1899–1901) but he returned to office on the conclusion of the Boer War. He went to the U.S. in 1911 as rabbi of the Orthodox congregation Oraḥ Ḥayyim in New York and in 1913 was elected chief rabbi of England. Here, he threw himself into the duties of his office with courage and energy, showing his profound sympathies with the recently arrived foreign elements. He publicly criticized Russian anti-Jewish policy, fought against Liberal Judaism, and his powerful advocacy of Zionism in the name of religious Jewry was partly responsible for the successful outcome of the negotiations which led to the *Balfour Declaration in 1917. Later, he fought courageously against Nazism and its echoes in England and strongly criticized the policies adopted by the Mandatory government in Palestine, which he visited frequently. In 1925 he attended the opening of the Hebrew University and later was a member of its board of governors. His works (apart from his doctoral thesis on the philosophy of Martineau) were principally of a popularizing nature, but filled a greatly felt gap, e.g., his *Book of Jewish Thoughts* (1917), of which hundreds of thousands of copies were printed, and his commentaries on the Pentateuch (1929–36) and on the prayer book (1942–45). A three-volume collection of his minor writings was issued under the title *Sermons, Addresses and Studies* (1938).

His appearances on the public platform were usually exceptionally impressive. He showed courage, and his brief occasional letters to the London *Times*, in times of emergency, the product sometimes of days of hard work, could influence public opinion. Characteristic was his letter published on May 28, 1917, in which he effectively and indignantly denied that the attack on Zionism by the two "official" leaders of the Anglo-Jewish community, C.G. *Montefiore and D.L. Alexander, represented "the views held by Anglo-Jewry as a whole or by the Jewries of the overseas dominions." He was no respecter of persons. The authoritative article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* quotes what was said of him: that he never despaired of finding a peaceful solution to any problem when all other possibilities had failed. He was made a Companion of Honour (C.H.) in 1943, the first British rabbi

to receive an award of this kind. Probably no British Chief Rabbi in history was faced with so many unprecedented and insoluble challenges and crises.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Levine, in: *Essays… J.H. Hertz* (1942), 1–14; P. Paneth, *Guardian of the Law: Chief Rabbi J.H. Hertz* (1943); I. Epstein (ed.), *Joseph Herman Hertz, 1872–1946, in memoriam* (1947). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online.

[Cecil Roth]

HERTZBERG, ARTHUR (1921–2006), U.S. Conservative rabbi, author, and intellectual. Hertzberg was born into a ḥasidic family in Lubaczow, Poland. He came to the U.S. in 1926 and grew up in Baltimore, where his father, a strong influence on his life and thought, was the rabbi of a small Orthodox synagogue. Hertzberg graduated from John Hopkins University. During his time on campus, he became a fervent Zionist. Breaking partially from his Orthodox background, he was ordained as a Conservative rabbi at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1943. Hertzberg served as Hillel director at Smith College for one year, then was rabbi in congregations in Philadelphia and Nashville. In 1949, Hertzberg made the first of many visits to the fledging State of Israel. After spending a few years as an Air Force chaplain, he became rabbi of Temple Emanu-El in Englewood, N.J., a pulpit he held for nearly 30 years. During his time in Englewood Hertzberg earned a doctorate in history from Columbia University, and he joined its faculty in 1961. From 1985 to 1991 he was professor of religion at Dartmouth College and from 1991 he was Bronfman Visiting Professor of the Humanities at New York University. He was president of the Conference on Jewish Social Studies and served as consulting editor to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

Hertzberg was president of the American Jewish Congress from 1972 to 1978 and a member of the executive of the World Zionist Congress from 1969 to 1978. In the late 1960s he became the first president of the newly formed International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultation, the body that represented Jews in dialogue with Christian leaders. In 1975 Hertzberg was elected vice president of the World Jewish Congress, and he was president of the newly established American Jewish Policy Foundation, a nonpartisan group engaged in research in the field of American Jewish policy, both foreign and domestic.

Hertzberg's books include *The Zionist Idea* (1959), an anthology about the intellectual history of the Zionist movement that is still used in college classrooms; *Judaism* (1961), which brings selections from the Jewish literary tradition; *French Enlightenment and the Jews* (1968), a groundbreaking work that traces the roots of modern antisemitism to the French Enlightenment; *Being Jewish in America* (1978); *The Jews in America* (1989); *A Jew in America* (2002), a memoir; and *The Fate of Zionism: A Secular Future for Israel and Palestine* (2003).

Hertzberg was a fiercely contrarian, profoundly American old-school rabbi. His deep Jewish learning was matched by his equally deep secular knowledge; both were guided by a blindingly original mind that can make the obscure seem immediately obvious. His passionate moderation on such subjects as Israel, which he loved deeply but not blindly, and American Jewry, whose future he thought was shaded by most American Jews' inadequate Jewish education, often divided him from others, whose opinions he felt were insufficiently realistic or not rooted firmly enough in Jewish tradition. An importance force and strong believer in the improved relationship between Catholics and Jews, Hertzberg also spoke out on such issues as the Church's refusal to allow historians access to its wartime archives. A profoundly creative thinker, Hertzberg influenced the way American Jews think about Judaism, Israel, and American Jews.

[Victor A. Mirelman / Joanne Palmer (2nd ed.)]

HERTZKA, EMIL (1869–1932), music publisher, born in Budapest. In 1901 he joined the newly founded Universal Edition in Vienna which he directed from 1907 until his death. By purchasing the rights of several older firms and actively encouraging the avant-garde composers – on whom few other publishers dared risk their resources and reputation – he became the publisher of the works of Bruckner, Mahler, and the publisher and champion of Béla Bartok, Arnold Schoenberg, Alban Berg, Kurt Weill, Jaromir Weinberger, Leos Janacek, Ernst Krenek, and others. He also founded the periodical *Musikblaetter des Anbruch*.

HERTZKA, THEODOR (1845–1924), Hungarian economist and journalist. Hertzka, who was born in Budapest, edited the economics section of the *Neue Freie Presse* from 1872 until 1879, when he founded and became editor of the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*. In 1889 he established and became editor of the weekly *Zeitschrift fuer Staats- und Volkswirtschaft* and in 1901 was appointed editor in chief of the Budapest daily, *Magyar Hirlap*. Hertzka became known mainly through two novels, *Freiland, ein sociales Zukunftsbild* (1890; *Freeland; a Social Anticipation*, 1891) and *Eine Reise nach Freiland* (1893; *A Visit to Freeland, or the New Paradise Regained*, 1894). In these, he proposed a solution to the problems of society by the establishment in Central Africa of a model state, comprising a series of farming communes, which would be so organized as to avoid the drawbacks of both the capitalist and the communist systems. Hertzka established an international movement to carry out his plan and in 1893 a mission went to Africa to secure land for settlement. But the mission failed and the project was abandoned. Hertzka was influenced in his ideas by the U.S. economist and land reformer, Henry George, and in his turn influenced Franz *Oppenheimer, particularly in the areas of liberal socialism and cooperation. Theodor *Herzl was familiar with Hertzka's *Freiland* when he wrote *Der Judenstaat*. In a letter to Moritz Guedemann (Aug. 22, 1895), and in a reference in the introduction to *Der Judenstaat*, Herzl emphasized the difference between his plan and *Freiland*, which he described as a well-assembled machine, but one incapable of being set in motion. Hertzka's other writings include *Die*

Gesetze der socialen Entwicklung (1885), *Das Wesen des Geldes* (1887), and *Das Sociale Problem* (1912).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Herzl, *Complete Diaries*, ed. by R. Patai, 1 (1960), 237; idem, *Zionist Writings*, 1 (1955); idem, *Letters*, 2 (1958); J.O. Hertzler, *History of Utopian Thought* (1926); F. Oppenheimer, *Erlebtes, Erstrebtes, Erreichtes: Errinerungen* (1931, 1964²); H. Ross, *Utopias Old and New* (1938), 159–75; R. Ruyer, *L'Utopie et les Utopies* (1950); G. Negley and J.M. Patrick, *Quest for Utopia* (1952).

[Isa Perlis-Kressel]

HERTZVELD-HIJMANS, ESTHELLA (1837–1881), Dutch poet. Esthella Hertzveld was the eldest of six children in the family of Salomon Hartog Hertzveld (1806–1904) and Devora Halberstamm (1814–1904). She received an excellent education, focusing primarily on the study of literature, Jewish history, Hebrew, and modern languages. At the age of 15 she made her literary debut as a poet with the publication of "Elias in de Woestijn" ("Elias in the Desert") and of "Sauls Dood" ("Saul's Death"), which soon made her famous in Dutch literary circles. Because of her reputation, the baptized Portuguese Jew Abraham Capadose dedicated to her his translation of a story on conversion in 1853. In readers' letters to the Jewish press the poet and her father distanced themselves from Capadose's dedication and beliefs.

In 1863 Hertzveld married Jacobus Hijmans (1816–1896), who was her senior by 21 years. Chief Rabbi Berenstein of The Hague consecrated the marriage in Delft. A report of the event was published in the December 18 issue of the *Delftse Courant*.

Hertzveld was also involved in social work and became an active member of the women's Arbeid Adelt movement that was emerging under the wings of Betsy Perk and later Aletta Jacobs.

A mother of six children, Esthella Herzveld died at the age of 44 from a lung disease.

Jozef *Israels painted her portrait, which is now part of the collection in the municipal museum in The Hague.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Wijnberg-Stroz and M. van Lunteren-Spanjaard, *Blijvers en Voortgangers. Joden in Delft 1850–1960* (1998); J. Wijnberg-Stroz, in: *Misjpoge*, 8 (1995) 2, 37–47; N. Mayer-Hirsch, "Esthella Hijmans-Herztveld," at: www.geocities.com/athens/oracle/9784/estel.html.

[Monika Saelemaekers (2nd ed.)]

ḤERUT (Heb. חֵרוּת; also known as **Bet Ḥerut**), moshav in central Israel, in the southern Sharon near Tel Mond, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, founded in 1930 by experienced agricultural workers. After 1948, the moshav was enlarged and joined by new settlers from Romania. Its economy was based mainly on citrus groves, dairy farming, poultry, flowers for export, and vegetables. In 1968 it had 372 inhabitants, in the mid-1990s the population was approximately 480, and in 2002 it jumped to 616 as a result of new expansion. The moshav's name means "Freedom."

[Efraim Orni / Shulamit Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HERUT MOVEMENT, Israeli political party, established in June 1948, soon after the establishment of the State, by members of the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi on the basis of Ze'ev *Jabotinsky's ideology. In 1949, the Revisionist Party of Israel, which had run independently in the elections to the First Knesset but had failed to pass the qualifying threshold, merged with the Ḥerut movement. At the same time, the Ḥerut Ha-Ẓohar Alliance was established by the Ḥerut and Ha-Ẓohar organizations in the Diaspora as their representative body in the World Zionist Organization.

In the elections to the first five Knessets the Ḥerut movement (Ḥerut for short) ran in an independent list. In the elections to the First and Second Knessets it came in fourth, with 14 and 8 seats respectively, but in the Third to Fifth Knessets it came in second after Mapai, with 15, 17, and 17 seats respectively. In 1958 there were early exploratory talks about a possible alignment with the Liberal Party, but it was only in 1965, before the elections to the Sixth Knesset, that such an alignment was realized in the form of *Gaḥal, which ran as a list in the elections to the Sixth and Seventh Knessets. In the elections to the Eighth to Eleventh Knessets the Ḥerut movement ran within the framework of the *Likud, together with the Liberal Party and others. In 1988 Ḥerut ceased to exist as a separate party upon the formation of the Likud party.

Until 1979 the Ḥerut Movement held national conferences every two or three years to elect its leaders, receive reports, and determine policy. Due to internal strife no conference was held until 1986, but when it finally met it was once again dispersed, meeting again the following year, and then disbanding after the Likud formally turned into a party in 1988.

Until the establishment of Gaḥal, Ḥerut was viewed as a right-wing party which maintained that the State of Israel should contain both banks of the River Jordan, and it would characteristically refer to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan as "the so-called Hashemite Kingdom." It accused the Mapai-led government of following a defeatist policy vis-à-vis its neighbors, strongly criticized the policy of large-scale government intervention in the economy, but at the same time called for the institution of a national health insurance system and free schooling. Though it was highly critical of the Histadrut, in 1963 it established its own faction within the Labor-led trade union association, called Tekhelet-Lavan (Blue-White), which was the breeding ground for several future Likud politicians, including David *Levy. Ḥerut strongly objected to the Restitution Agreement signed with the Federal Republic of Germany in 1952, while also objecting to the special Military Administration for Israeli Arabs based on Mandatory emergency regulations.

David *Ben-Gurion refused to consider bringing Ḥerut (and the Communists) into the government, asserting that both were anti-democratic political movements, though it may be argued that in many senses Ḥerut played the role of a democratic watchdog over Mapai in the Knesset. The attitude to the Ḥerut movement in Mapai, and later in the Alignment,

changed after Levi *Eshkol became prime minister in 1963, and especially after the establishment of Gaḥal.

Except for a brief period after 1966, Menaḥem *Begin was chairman of the Ḥerut movement from 1948 until 1983. After Begin's resignation he was replaced by Yitzhak *Shamir, who presided over Ḥerut's complete merger with the Liberal Party in 1988. Other prominent leaders of the Herut movement included Yoḥanan Bader, Ḥayyim Landau, Shemuel Katz, Ya'akov Meridor, Shemuel *Tamir, and Ezer *Weizman. Closely associated with the Ḥerut movement was the *Betar youth movement, the Ḥerut Women's Alliance, and the National Workers' Federation. The organ of the movement until 1966 was the daily *Ḥerut*.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

HERXHEIMER, SALOMON (1801–1884), German rabbi. Born in Dotzheim, Herxheimer attended the yeshivah of R. Herz Scheyer in Mainz, studied secular subjects under Michael *Creizenach, and later graduated from the University of Goettingen. While teaching in Eschwege, he wrote *Yesodei ha-Torah* (1831), a popular work on religious and moral instruction, which was translated into English and reached 36 editions by 1916. Later he became the rabbi of Anhalt-Bernburg. At the rabbinical conferences of the 1840s Herxheimer, an exponent of moderate Reform, especially supported the idea of confirmation (see *Bar Mitzvah). His singular achievement was the publication of a translation of the Bible into German with commentary (1841–48), a third edition of which appeared in 1863. He also published a book on Hebrew grammar (1834) and an edition of his sermons (1838, 1857).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Salfeld, *Dr. Salomon Herxheimer* (Ger., 1885).

HERZ, HENRI (**Heinrich**; 1802–1888), Austrian pianist and composer. Born in Vienna, he belonged to the group of elegant European virtuosos preceding the generation of Liszt. Though disdained by Schumann and by the "new German School," he enjoyed fashionable popularity in France both as a pianist and as a composer of "salon" piano pieces, more than 200 in number. He taught in Paris, founded a piano factory there, organized concerts, and had interests in various financial enterprises. He toured the U.S. three times and during a visit to Mexico composed the Mexican national anthem. His travels are described in *Mes voyages en Amérique* (1866).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove's Dict, s.v.; MGG, s.v.

[Judith Cohen]

HERZ, HENRIETTE (1764–1847), Berlin salonnière. The beautiful and highly educated daughter of Benjamin de Lemos, a Portuguese Jewish physician, she married the physician and philosopher Marcus *Herz, 17 years her senior, in 1779. In the 1780s their home became a center of Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment learning, attracting young Prussian nobility and reform-minded Jews interested in Marcus Herz's lectures and demonstrations in chemistry and physics and in discussing the new Romantic literature with his beautiful wife. Henriette Herz and her friend Dorothea (Brendel) *Mendelssohn Veit Schlegel, the daughter of Moses *Mendelssohn, formed a *Tugendbund* (Society of Virtue) with Wilhelm and Alexander von *Humboldt, Karl Laroche, and others to promote friendship and learning. Wilhelm von Humboldt's later efforts on behalf of Jewish emancipation stem in part from his youthful infatuation with Herz. Some of their correspondence is composed in Hebrew script. In the 1790s Herz developed a lifelong friendship with the philosopher and Protestant theologian Friedrich *Schleiermacher. Reading groups among intellectual circles developed into the famous Berlin salons hosted almost exclusively by women such as Herz, Rahel Levin *Varnhagen von Ense, and Sara Levi. Among those who frequented Herz's salon were Friedrich Schlegel, Karl Gustav von Brinkmann, Friedrich Genz, Madame de Genlis, and Jean Paul Richter. Herz's beauty was captured in portraits painted by Anna Dorothea Therbusch (1778) and Anton Graff (1792), and in a bust sculpted by Gottfried Shadow (1783). She knew many languages, including ancient Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, and English and in 1799 and 1800 she translated two English travel books into German. Following Marcus Herz's death in 1803, her salon activity tapered off and ended by 1806 with Napoleon's occupation of Berlin. Herz lost her pension and was forced to seek work as a governess; in 1817 she became a Protestant and traveled to Rome (1818–19). Herz spent her later years in reduced circumstances teaching languages and needlework to young women and offering hospitality to Schleiermacher's students. In the 1820s she began a memoir focusing on her youth; wishing to control her posthumous reputation, she burned some of her correspondence. At the end of her life, Herz she gave J. Fuerst access to her remaining papers and spoke with him about her life. Following her death, he published her reminiscences (J. Fuerst, *Henriette Herz. Ihr Leben und ihre Erinnerungen* (1858)).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Davies, *Identity or History? Marcus Herz and the End of the Enlightenment* (1995); M.E. Goozé, "Posing for Posterity: The Representations and Portrayals of Henriette Herz as 'Beautiful Jewess,'" in: M. Henn and H.A. Pausch (eds.), *Body Dialectics in the Age of Goethe.* (2003), 67–95; D. Hertz, *Jewish High Society in Old Regime Berlin* (1988); P. Seibert. *Der literarische Salon: Literatur und Geselligkeit zwischen Aufklaerung und Vormaerz* (1993).

[Marjanne E. Goozé (2nd ed.)]

HERZ, LEOPOLD EDLER VON (1767–1828), Austrian financier and nobleman. His father, Salomon Lefmann (1743–1825), went to Vienna from Hamburg in 1770, married the sister of Nathan von *Arnstein, and was raised to the nobility in 1797 for financial services to the crown. At the same time he was active in Jewish communal affairs. Leopold (Lippold) married Charlotte von Arnstein. Talented, ambitious, and sophisticated, he rapidly distinguished himself in financial affairs. Through his greatest achievement, arranging the subsidy promised by England to Austria after the Battle of Leipzig (1813), he acquired the friendship of Metternich and caused

a minor sensation when Wellington and Castlereagh dined at his home immediately on their arrival for the Congress of Vienna (1815). In 1815 Leopold joined Nathan von Arnstein and other notables in signing the petition to Francis I for Jewish rights. However, he and five of his children embraced Christianity in the summer of the *Hep! Hep! riots (1819).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Wachstein, *Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Wien*, 2 (1917), 461; Pribram, *Urkunden und Akten zur Geschichte der Juden in Wien* (1918), index; S. Baron, *Die Judenfrage auf dem Wiener Kongress* (1920), 211; Ružička, in: *Adler*, 11 (1931–34), 17–31; H. Spiel, *Fanny von Arnstein* (1962), index; H. Schnee, *Die Hoffinanz und der moderne Staat*, 4 (1963), 25; 5 (1965), 235–6.

HERZ, MARCUS (1747–1803), German physician and philosopher. Herz was born in Berlin, where his father was a Torah scribe. At the age of 15, Herz left for Koenigsberg, where he worked as a clerk. He attended lectures at the University of Koenigsberg from 1766 but had to stop in 1770 because of his financial situation. He became friendly with Immanuel *Kant, who asked him to serve as his "advocate" on the occasion of his submitting his dissertation. In his book *Betrachtungen aus der spekulativen Weltweishei* (1771) Herz formulated his interpretation of Kant's views. In 1770 Herz returned to Berlin, where he joined Moses *Mendelssohn's circle. Supported by David *Friedlander, he completed his medical studies at Halle. In 1774 he was appointed physician at the Berlin Jewish Hospital and was reputed to be one of the best doctors of his time. He married Henriette De Lemons from a Portuguese Jewish family from Hamburg. She was a social leader who gathered at her salon some of the most prominent intellectual figures in Berlin of her time and was known for her intellect (see Henriette *Herz). In 1777 Herz started lecturing in his home on philosophy and experimental physics. These lectures were attended by important persons, including members of the royal family, among them the future Frederick William III. In 1787 the king of Prussia bestowed the title of "professor" on Herz with the right to receive an income for life. Kant corresponded with Herz for many years, and these letters are of great importance for understanding both the development of Kant's views before the publication of *Critique of Pure Reason* in 1781 and the relationship between Kant and Salomon *Maimon. Herz published several essays on philosophy and on the human soul. His *Versuch ueber den Geschmack und die Ursachen seiner Verschiedenheit* (1776) developed the conception of perfect beauty (in the spirit of Winckelmanns). In 1786 Herz published his *Versuch der Kuenste*. In 1786 he published his *Versuch ueber den Schwindel*, and in 1777–84 his *Briefe an Aerzte*. At Mendelsshon's request he translated from English into German *Vindiciae Juaeorum*, a defense of Judaism by Manasseh Ben Israel. In his work *Freimuetige Kaffeegesprache zweier juedischer Zuschauerinnen ueber Juden Pinkus* (1772), Herz criticized the self-hatred found among Jews. He also wrote, at the request of the editor of *Ha-Me'assef*, a pamphlet in which he argued against quick burial, the traditional custom among Jews. He was for a long time the unknown translator of the so-called "Prayer of the Jewish Physician," attributed to Maimonides, from Hebrew into German.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.L. Davies, *Identity or History? Marcus Herz and the End of the Enlightenment* (1995), incl. full bibl.; D. Borurel, "Die verweigerte Aufnahme des Markus Herz in die Berliner Akademie des Wissenschaften," in: *Buelletin des Leo Baeck Instituts*, 67 (1984), 3–13.

[Samuel Hugo Bergman / Suessmann Muntner and Yehoyada Amir (2nd ed.)]

HERZBERG, ABEL JACOB (1893–1989), Dutch author. Herzberg was born in Amsterdam into a Russian immigrant family. A lawyer by profession, he became an enthusiastic Zionist in his youth and made his mark as a powerful speaker and outstanding writer on Jewish affairs. Deported with his family to Bergen-Belsen during the Nazi occupation of Holland, Herzberg recorded his experiences in *Amor Fati* (1946) and *Tweestroomenland* ("Country Between Two Streams," 1950). His *Kroniek der Jodenvervolging* ("Chronicle of the Persecution of the Jews," 1956) is a factual and comprehensive survey of Dutch Jewry during the Hitler era. Herzberg's other works include three plays: *Vaderland* ("Homeland," 1934), an account of the sufferings of German Jewry; *Herodes* (1955); and *Sauls dood* ("Saul's Death," 1959). He also wrote *Eichmann in Jeruzalem* (1962), a study of the *Eichmann trial which he attended as a reporter for a Dutch daily, and *Brieven aan mijn kleinzoon* ("Letters to My Grandson," 1964), a series of childhood recollections.

[Henriette Boas]

HERZBERG, WILHELM (Ze'ev; 1827–1897), German author and communal worker in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Stettin into an assimilated family, Herzberg was familiar with Judaism from non-Jewish sources only, but became deeply impressed by its cultural and humanitarian values. In 1868 his work *Juedische Familienpapiere* (*Jewish Family Papers*, 1875) was published in Hamburg under the pen name Gustav Meinhardt. Its framework is fictional, and in it Herzberg expresses his admiration for Judaism through a daring attack on Christianity. The work made a strong impression on Jewish scholars in the West, and Peretz *Smolenskin wrote an article on it entitled "La-Kol Zeman" ("To Everything There is a Season" in *Ha-Shaḥar*, 1873) in which he emphasized Herzberg's liberation from the inner bondage that was characteristic of Jewish apologists at the time. In 1877, on the recommendation of Heinrich *Graetz, Herzberg was appointed director of the Mikveh Israel Agricultural School. Two years later he became director of the first Jewish orphanage in Jerusalem, which was founded that year through the initiative of Graetz and his friend M.G. Levi. In 1887 Herzberg combined the orphanage with the Laemel School. In the following year the first chapter of *B'nai B'rith, the "Jerusalem" lodge, was founded in Ereẓ Israel under his initiative; it established the Midrash Abrabanel Library (which became a nucleus for the Hebrew National and University Library) and the village of Moẓa. In 1891 Herzberg moved to Brussels.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rabbi Binyamin, in: W. Herzberg, *Kitvei Mishpaḥah Ivriyyim* (1930), 7–25; I. Trivaks and E. Steinman, *Sefer Me'ah Shanah* (1938), 229–38.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

HERZBERG-FRAENKEL, LEO (1827–1915), Galician author and functionary. As a result of his political activities during the 1848 revolution he was compelled to leave his native Brody; from 1850 to 1852 he was a journalist in Vienna. He then returned to Brody, where he was secretary of the Chamber of Commerce for the next 40 years. Active both in general and Jewish life, Herzberg-Fraenkel served as deputy of Brody for many years. He published novels dealing with East European Jewish life (which were translated into several languages), including *Ghettogeschichten* (1885), tales of the ghetto; *Geheime Wege* (1897), on the clandestine activities of Jewish youth in Russia; and several novels on non-Jewish themes. His essay on Polish Jewry appeared in *Oesterreich-Ungarn in Wort und Bild*. Although he welcomed the idea of Herzl's *Judenstaat*, he did not believe that the Zionist ideal could be realized. However, he stressed the need for a speedy exodus of Jews from Eastern Europe, no matter where and without political aim. He was among the supporters of plans to settle the Jews of Galicia on the land in an attempt to make them economically productive. His son *SIGMUND (1857–1913) taught German and Austrian history at the universities of Vienna and Czernowitz.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N.M. Gelber, *Toledot Yehudei Brody* (1955), index; Kohut, in: AZJ, 80 (1916), 65–68; J. Moses (ed.), *Die Loesung der Judenfrage* (1907), 294–8.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

HERZENSTEIN, MIKHAIL YAKOVLEVICH (1859–1906), Russian economist. Herzenstein, who was born in Odessa, studied law and political economy. Despite his conversion to Christianity and his considerable professional competence, his appointment as a teacher at the Moscow Agricultural Institute was deferred for 15 years, presumably because of his liberal views. In 1903 he was named lecturer in political economy and statistics at the University of Moscow. In 1905 he was elected a deputy to the First Duma, where he became known as an expert on agrarian questions and called for the expropriation of the lands of the Russian nobility. The expropriated land would be distributed among the peasants, while the nobles would receive reasonable compensation. Herzenstein was bitterly hated by the reactionaries, both for his liberal agrarian views and for his Jewish origin. Ten days after the Duma was dissolved, Herzenstein was murdered by an agent of the "Black Hundred" at a Finnish summer resort.

His writings, principally on agrarian economics, include *Kredit dlya zemstv i gorodov* (1892; Credit to the Local Councils and the Cities), which is considered a major contribution to the subject of rural credit, and his highly regarded *Noveyshiye techeniya v uchenii o pozemel'nom kredite v Germanii* (1905; Recent Tendencies in the Theory of Agricultural Credit in Germany).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Mikhail Yakovlevich Gertsenshteyn* (Rus., 1906).

HERZFELD, ERNST EMIL (1879–1948), archaeologist and Orientalist. Herzfeld, born in Celle, Germany, became director of the Seminar fuer Landes und Altertumskunde des Orients in Berlin, and was professor at the University of Berlin from 1920 to 1935. He took part in many excavations, and directed several of them, including those at Ashur (1903–05), Mariamlik, and Coricos in Cilicia (1907); Samarra in Iraq (1910–13; 1931); Pasargadae (1928); Kukh-i-khawaja in Sistan (1929); and Persepolis (1931–35). In the mid-1930s he emigrated to the United States, where he became professor at the Institute of Advanced Studies at Princeton. Herzfeld laid the foundations for Arab archaeological research in Iraq and the archaeology of Persia of all periods. He was also among the planners and editors of *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* (1903). His publications include *Iranische Felsreliefs* (with F. Sarre, 1910), *Archaeologische Reise im Euphrat-und Tigris-Gebiet* (4 vols., 1911–20), *Die Aufnahme des Sasanidischen Denkmals von Paikuli* (with F. Sarre, 1924), *Die Keramik von Samarra* (with F. Sarre, 1925), *A New Inscription of Xerxes* (1932), *Iranische Denkmaeler* (4 pts., 1932–33), *Archaeological History of Iran* (1935), *Imām Zāde Karrār at Buzun, a Dated Seldjuk Ruin* (with M.B. Smith, 1935), *Altpersische Inschriften* (1938), *Zoroaster and his World* (2 vols., 1947), *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra* (1948), *Monuments et inscriptions d'Alep* (1947), and *The Persian Empire…* (1968).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G.C. Miles, in: *Ars Islamica*, 7 (1940), 82–92; R. Ettinghausen, *ibid.*, 15–16 (1951), 261–6; C.R. Morey, in: NDB, 8 (1969), 733–4; idem, in: G.C. Miles (ed.), *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld* (1952), 1–4.

HERZFELD, LEVI (1810–1884), rabbi and historian. Herzfeld, who was born in Ellrich, Germany, studied Talmud under Abraham *Bing in Wuerzburg and Samuel *Eger at Braunschweig and at Berlin University. He first served as *dayyan* under Eger, whose successor as the chief rabbi of the duchy of Braunschweig he became in 1842. As a spokesman of moderate Reform, Herzfeld, in association with L. *Philippson, convened the first Rabbinical Conference in Braunschweig (1844) and also took a leading part in the two following conferences of 1845 and 1846. He and Philippson headed the Institut zur Foerderung der israelitischen Literatur (1860–73). Herzfeld's main importance as a writer of Jewish history lies in that he was the first to pay attention to its economic aspects, particularly in his *Metrologische Voruntersuchungen zu einer Geschichte des… altjuedischen Handels* (1863–65) and his *Handelsgeschichte der Juden des Altertums* (1879, 1894^2). While the latter work's apologetic intent to disprove the antisemitic image of the Jews as a parasitic people of middlemen is evident, the *Handelsgeschichte* is distinguished by its meticulous analysis of the sources and has not been superseded by any other comprehensive work of its type. Herzfeld also wrote on art in Jewish history (*Zwei Vortraege ueber die Kunstleistungen der Hebraeer und alten Juden*, 1864). In his three-volume *Geschichte des Volkes Israel von der Zerstoerung des ersten Tempels bis zur Einsetzung des Makkabaeers Schimon zum hohen*

Priester und Fuersten (1847–57), he stressed the connection between political and religious history. Herzfeld also published Ecclesiastes, with a German translation and commentary (1838); proposals for a reform of Jewish matrimonial law (*Vorschlaege*, 1846); and a Reform prayer book (1874[3]), with some studies on its preparation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Karpeles, in: L. Herzfeld, *Handelsgeschichte…* (1894[2]), introduction; S.W. Baron, *History and Jewish Historians* (1964), 322ff.; Wilhelm, in: BLBI, 12 (1960), 259ff.; M. Eschelbacher, in: *AJR-information* (Feb. 1961), 10.

HERZL, THEODOR (**Binyamin Ze'ev**; 1860–1904), founder of political Zionism and the World Zionist Organization. Herzl was born in Budapest, Hungary, to an affluent family and educated in the spirit of German-Jewish enlightenment. In 1878 he entered the law faculty of the University of Vienna, where his family had moved. In 1881 he joined a German students association, Albina, but, encountering antisemitism, resigned two years later. In 1884 he completed his studies but soon afterwards left the legal profession and dedicated himself to literature. His essays were characterized by his superb style and penetrating observations on human problems in modern times. In addition, he also wrote a number of plays, some of which were staged in Vienna, Prague, Berlin, and New York.

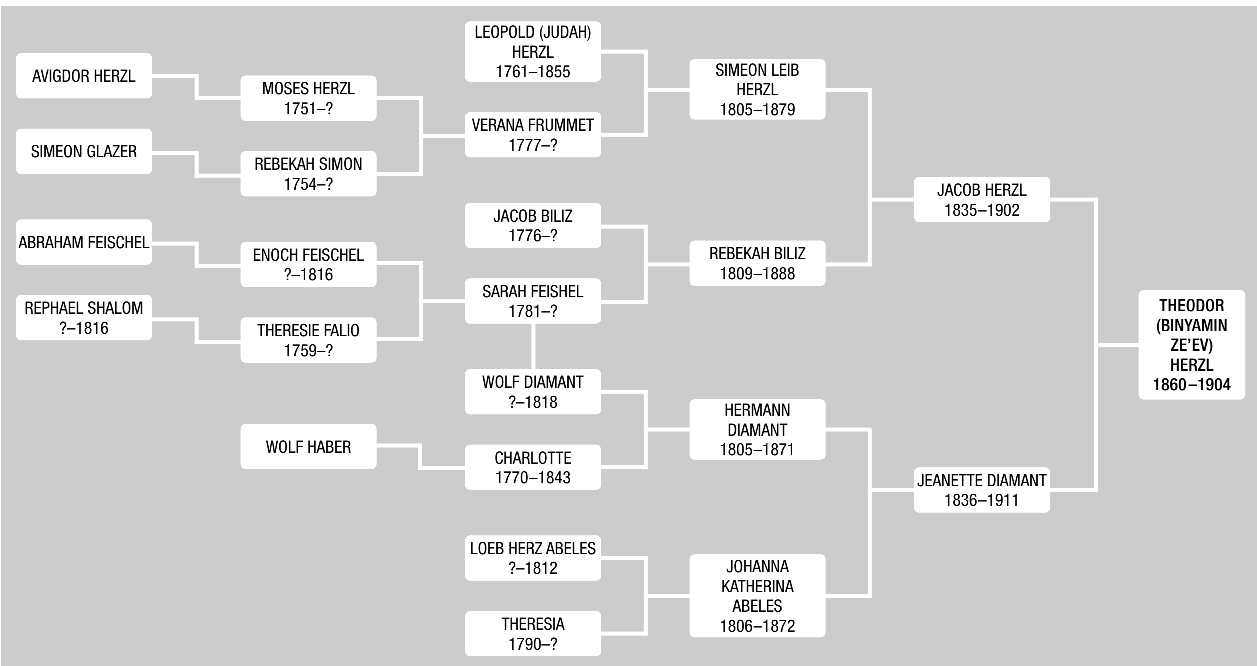
In 1889 Herzl married Julie Naschauer. She failed to appreciate his ideas and aspirations and the relationship was not a happy one. They had three children: Pauline, Hans, and Margarethe.

From October 1891 until July 1895 Herzl served as the Paris correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse*, a liberal-oriented and prestigious Viennese daily. Herzl took particular interest in the social and political problems of France. Excerpts from his articles appeared in a book titled *Das Palais Bourbon* (1895). The resurgence of antisemitism in France awakened his interest in the Jewish problem. His article, entitled "French Antisemites," which appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse* (1892), was followed by his play *Das neue Ghetto* (1895) in which he rejected assimilation, and certainly conversion, as a way to make Jews acceptable to gentile society.

It was, however, the Dreyfus trial (January 1895) that shattered Herzl's illusions. The humiliation of an innocent Jewish captain at the Ecole Militaire, and particularly the cries of the mob, "Death to the Jews," convinced him that the only solution to the Jewish problem would be a massive exodus of the Jews from countries afflicted with antisemitism and the concentration of the Jews in a territory of their own, preferably in the Land of their Forefathers.

He tried first to interest Baron Maurice de *Hirsch, a prominent Jewish philanthropist. The meeting was a failure. Nor was Herzl successful in winning over Dr. Moritz Guedemann, the chief rabbi of Vienna, where Herzl had returned in 1895 to serve as a feuilleton editor of the *Neue Freie Presse*. His attempts to convince a number of other Jewish leaders and intellectuals to support his scheme were also unsuccessful. A notable exception was the celebrated author Max *Nordau, who lent his brilliant pen and oratorial talents to Herzl's service, as well as to Zionism.

Undeterred by his initial setbacks, Herzl published in 1896 his epoch-making treatise *Der Judenstaat* (*The Jewish State*). Translations into Hebrew, English, French, Russian, and Romanian soon followed. In his book Herzl analyzed the Jewish problem and saw the establishment of a Jewish State as



Ancestry of Theodor Herzl, from P. J. Diamant, Theodor Herzl's vaeterliche und muetterliche Vorfahren, *Jerusalem, 1934.*

the only solution. Responses to his book were mixed. Predictably, the assimilationists in Western Europe rejected his thesis and regarded it as a hindrance to their struggle for emancipation. In contrast, David *Wolfsohn, Max *Bodenheimer, and other Zionist-oriented individuals were enchanted and found in Herzl their natural leader. Particularly enthusiastic were Jewish students in Germany and in Austria. The Zionist Movement had come into being. It was, however, the mass of Jews in Eastern Europe that constituted the backbone of the Movement. They regarded Herzl almost as a savior.

Henceforth, Herzl dedicated all his energy and resources to his Zionist cause. His premature death on July 3, 1904, at the age of 44, deprived the movement of a leader of international caliber. He had become a legendary figure in Jewish history, even in his own lifetime.

Political Activity

It was antisemitism that made Herzl and Max Nordau, his close collaborator, conscious Jews. Both were steeped in European culture, but the resurgence of modern antisemitism wounded their dignity. Herzl was particularly stirred by Eugen Duehring's book *Die Judenfrage als Frage des Rassencharakters und seiner Schädlichkeit fuer Existenz und Kultur des Volkes* ("The Jewish Problem as a Problem of Race and the Harm It Is Causing to the Existence and to the Culture of the People"). As the years went by, the feeling of disenchantment grew stronger, but it was not until the Dreyfus trial in 1894 that Herzl's hopes of emancipation were irreparably shattered. He realized that the civilized nations could not cope with the "Jewish Question," which was a legacy from the Middle Ages. "They have tried it through emancipation, but it came too late." The belief of the doctrinaire libertarians that "men can be made equal by publishing an edict was erroneous." The Jews themselves were not yet accustomed to freedom, and the people around them had "neither magnanimity nor patience." In those places where the Jews had been liberated, the nations saw only their bad characteristics. Lacking historical perspective, they failed to realize that some of the anti-social qualities they attributed to Jews were the product of oppression in earlier times. In vain did Jews endeavor to show their loyalty, sometimes even exaggerated patriotism, toward their countries of domicile. Their sacrifices, their achievements in science, and their contributions to commerce were in vain. In the "fatherlands" in which they had lived for centuries, they were denounced as "strangers."

Herzl appreciated that antisemitism was a complex phenomenon. In some countries, it did occasionally reveal a religious bias, but its virulent character was primarily a consequence of emancipation. Contrary to the general belief that hostility to the Jews would disappear, Herzl feared that it would worsen. Hence, he believed that it was futile to combat antisemitism. Assimilation had failed, since in any genuine sense it could be effected only by intermarriage, and the nations would not tolerate members of an unassimilable group becoming their leaders, although, he allowed, perhaps they were "fully within their rights." He predicted that in Russia and Romania persecution would be inspired officially; in Germany, discrimination would be legalized, and in Austria, people would allow themselves to be intimidated by the mob into initiating a "new St. Bartholomew's Night." Hungary, Herzl's country of birth, would be no exception. The calamity would come in a "most brutal form; the longer it is postponed, the more severe it will be; the more powerful the Jews become the fiercer the retribution. There is no escape from it."

He hoped that, in the long run, antisemitism would not harm the Jews and that educationally it might even prove useful. "It forces us," he concluded, "to close ranks, unites us through pressure, and through our unity will make us free." It was this feeling of freedom that made Herzl declare: "We are a people, one people. We recognize ourselves as a nation by our faith." Henceforth, he no longer regarded the "Jewish Question" as a social or religious problem, but as a national one, which should be solved politically by the council of the civilized nations. Sovereignty over a portion of land, "large enough to justify the rightful requirements of a nation," to which the Jewish masses would emigrate, would provide the right solution. Pondering the choice between the Argentine and Palestine, the "ever memorable historic home" seemed preferable. Its very name would attract the people "with a force of marvelous potency."

Herzl wanted to give the Jews "a corner… where they can live in peace, no longer hounded, outcast, and despised… a country that will be their own," to rid them of the faults that centuries of persecution and ostracism had fostered in them and to allow their intellectual and moral gifts free play, so that finally they might no longer be "the dirty Jews, but the people of light." There they would regain self-esteem and dignity, and "the derisive cry 'Jews!' may become an honorable appellation, like 'German, "Englishman," Frenchman.'"

The solution to the problem, however, should not be left to Jews alone. "The Jewish State is a world necessity!" Those civilized nations who were trying "to exorcise a ghost out of their past" must also shoulder responsibility. He believed that a potential community of interests did exist between the antisemites and the Zionists. "The antisemites will become our most dependable friends, the antisemitic countries our allies. We want to emigrate as respected people," parting as "friends from our foes… The solution of the Jewish Question must be a mighty final chord of reconciliation." Eventually it would place relationships between Jew and Gentile on a normal footing. If the Powers, with the concurrence of the sultan, would recognize Jewish sovereignty over Palestine, the Jews in return could undertake to regulate Turkish finances; they would form there "a portion of Europe … an outpost of civilization." The Jewish State would become "something remarkable… a model country for social experiments and a treasure house for works of art… a destination for the civilized world."

Relations with Germany

Herzl was primarily a man of action who wished to translate his ideas into reality. His basic premise, that Zionism consti-

tuted an effective antidote to antisemitism, led him to the conviction that the countries most plagued by this problem were his potential allies. As early as June 9, 1895, he jotted down in his diary, "First I shall negotiate with the Czar regarding permission for the Russian Jews to leave the country … Then I shall negotiate with the German kaiser, then with Austria, then with France regarding the Algerian Jews, then as need dictates." That Herzl should have expected Germany to support him is not surprising, since it was there that modern antisemitism originated. In an interview with Baron de Hirsch in 1895 he exclaimed, "I shall go to the German kaiser, he will understand me…. I shall say: Let our people go! We are strangers here; we are not permitted to assimilate with the people, nor are we able to do so. Let us go!" He was confident that one day the kaiser would be grateful to him for leading the "unassimilable people out."

In this assumption Herzl was basically correct, but it was rather the philosemites who first gave him support. When a long-awaited reply from ex-Chancellor Bismarck was not forthcoming, and the German press appeared to be critical of his *Judenstaat*, a savior from an unexpected quarter called on him. It was the Reverend William Hechler, chaplain to the British Embassy in Vienna. Hechler impressed Herzl as a likable, sensitive, and enthusiastic man. He believed that in 1897–98, the years of "prophetic crisis," Palestine would be returned to the Jews, a prediction that was backed by abstruse computations. Having read the *Judenstaat*, he no longer doubted that the "foreordained movement" had come into being. In Herzl's quizzical eyes, Hechler appeared "a naïve visionary," but it is undeniable that it was he who raised Herzl's cause to the diplomatic plane by introducing him to the Grand Duke of Baden, at whose court Hechler had been a tutor. Hechler also knew the kaiser and thought it possible to arrange an audience for Herzl.

On March 26, 1896, Hechler wrote to the duke about Herzl's project, noting with satisfaction that the antisemitic movement had made the Jews see that they were "Jews first and [only] secondly Germans, Englishmen, etc." It reawakened in them a longing to return "as a nation to the Land of Promise … Palestine belongs to them by right." Should Germany and England give their support and take the Jewish State, declared neutral, under their protection, the Return of the Jews would be a great blessing and would put an end to antisemitism, which was detrimental to the welfare of European nations. He also suggested that the issue be laid before the kaiser, the duke's nephew.

The duke took the opportunity of the kaiser's visit to Karlsruhe to brief him on the subject. The kaiser was not fully acquainted with the matter and did not take it seriously. Nor, it appears was Grand Duke Frederick truly convinced of Herzl's cause. Herzl did his best to dispel the duke's misgivings. On April 22, 1898, when they first met at Karlsruhe, he explained that the establishment of the Jewish State would be an act of goodwill, not a consequence of persecution, that emigration would be voluntary, and that it concerned chiefly the Jews of Austria, Russia, and Romania. German Jews would welcome it; it would divert the migration of their East European coreligionists away from Germany. Moreover, it would reduce the number of Jewish proletarians and, by the same token, the number of revolutionaries. Herzl argued that Jewish enterprise would restore to health "the plague-spot of the Orient."

The grand duke was won over and remained Herzl's staunch supporter. Verdy du Vernois, the former Prussian minister of war and an expert on the Orient, was also convinced that the Zionist project would benefit Turkey, while Hechler continued untiringly to win new converts, particularly in British and German clerical circles. Grand Duke Frederick advised Hechler to win over Count Philipp zu Eulenburg, the German ambassador in Vienna, a gifted politician, whose influence on the kaiser was profound. Hechler was instructed to tell the ambassador that, in the duke's opinion, "something was involved that might prove to be important for German policy in the Orient."

Briefed by Hechler, Herzl was now confident that his movement would receive help. He hoped to persuade the grand duke that settlement by a neutral national element along the shortest route to Asia could be of value to Germany. He also prepared a draft letter to the kaiser, explaining that the Jews were the only people who could colonize Palestine; the land was too poor to attract others. For the Jews, it was rich in memories and hopes. Settlement by other European nationals would engender jealousy among the Powers, while settlement by the Jews, as a neutral element, would create fewer complications.

On Hechler's advice, the letters were not dispatched, but they reflect the working of Herzl's mind. He attempted to strike a balance between the principle of neutrality, embodied in the Basle Program, and an endeavor to solicit the support of a European Power – in this case, Germany – for his cause. The two elements were complementary. The Zionists, he hoped, would be regarded as the lesser evil, since no Power would let any other have Palestine.

During the summer and autumn of 1898, everything seemed, at least superficially, to be going well for Herzl. When Hechler failed to meet Count Eulenburg in Vienna, the duke wrote directly to the kaiser. Earlier he had hesitated to introduce Herzl to Wilhelm, but now that the Zionist movement had made substantial progress, it warranted a certain amount of attention, especially on the eve of the imperial visit to Palestine. Jewish colonization had proved successful, and consistent efforts were being made to lay the foundations of a Jewish state.

It took Wilhelm a month to reply to his uncle's letter. The Zionist aspirations appealed to him, and he instructed Eulenburg to examine the material, but he doubted whether the movement was ripe enough to justify official support. He noted also that Zionism was meeting with strong opposition from influential sections of Jewry, but the duke remained optimistic. On September 2, 1898, he received Herzl in Mainau Castle and, as if to demonstrate his confidence, discussed se-

cret political matters with him. Originally, the kaiser's trip was to be strictly religious, but subsequently it was decided to give it a political character. En route to Palestine, the emperor would pay an official visit to the sultan. Through Ambassador Marschall, the German Government had made inquiries in Constantinople and, the duke said, had learned that the sultan viewed the Zionist cause with favor. Since the Cretan affair, the kaiser had been on excellent terms with the sultan, and the duke was confident that the kaiser's word would certainly be heeded by his host. This was important, because legal security was necessary for the foundation of a state; he thought a formula could be found for preserving the Ottoman overlordship on the pattern of the former Danube principalities.

Shortly after, on September 16, Herzl was invited to meet Count Eulenburg in Vienna. The ambassador was not yet fully acquainted with the project and nourished some misgivings: the soil of Palestine was poor and the Turks would view the immigration of "two million people" with disfavor and suspicion; the sultan was obsessed by fear. However, after listening to Herzl, the ambassador grew "perceptibly warmer." The project was new and visibly fascinated him. But the strongest impression made on him was Herzl's statement that, since Zionism existed, one Power or another would sooner or later espouse it. "Originally, I thought that it would be England. It lay in the nature of things" – but now Germany would be even more welcome. The mention of England, as Herzl observed, was conclusive for Eulenburg. He promised Herzl that he would try to persuade the emperor to intercede with the sultan in order to obtain the country for the Zionists on "the basis of autonomy." He also suggested that Herzl should meet the foreign minister, Bernhard von Buelow.

Herzl impressed Eulenburg as "an unusually gifted man" of striking appearance: "a tall gentleman, with a head like that of King David, the type of valiant leading Jews from the time of the Jewish kingdom, without any trace of a *Handelsjude*." This reaction was typical of Eulenburg's romantic nature. His deeper reasons for so fervently supporting Herzl can only be surmised, for there is little documentary evidence. He believed that Herzl could collect "absolutely unlimited sums" to offer the sultan as a quid pro quo for the concession of Palestine. Since Eulenburg was the first German statesman to commit himself, at least by implication, to the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire, it is possible that Herzl's offer to straighten out the sultan's finances made a strong appeal to him.

Buelow had other ideas. He received Herzl with "captivating kindness," impressing him as a gentleman of the *vieux jeu* of diplomacy rather than the iron type of the Bismarck era. He complimented Herzl profusely on his writing, but his conversation was more in the nature of a chat than a serious political discussion. He doubted whether many German Jews would emigrate; in any case, their departure seemed to him undesirable. He was pleased to learn from Herzl that in Vienna the Zionists had won students away from socialism. Herzl's projected state, however, he dismissed as a "*polis* of Plato." He expected that the main difficulty would be to convince the sultan to enter into negotiations with the Zionists, adding ironically that "it would make a big impression on him should the kaiser give him such advice." Yet Herzl felt intuitively that Buelow was not in favor of the kaiser granting him an audience.

Buelow was a cultured and subtle diplomat and an expert in manipulating people. "He liked to play with ideas and with human beings [but] had no taste for pathos or for lofty trains of thought," but "beneath the charming façade was a narrowness of vision." That the anti-Socialist aspect of Zionism should have attracted his attention is hardly surprising, since "the most important domestic question for him was the fight against the Socialists." His biographer notes that, while recognizing Herzl's great literary talents, he was unable to work up any enthusiasm for his political ideas. Buelow was well aware of the hardships which the Jews in Eastern Europe had to endure but was not convinced that mass emigration to Palestine would improve their lot. He also doubted whether Herzl's project could be applied to German Jews, who were strongly attached to Germany and felt no need "to rush into an undefined venture in Palestine." Zionism, in Buelow's opinion, could at best attract the destitute, not the prosperous and educated among the Jews of Europe; but beggars were not capable of founding a state or even of colonizing it.

Buelow was largely influenced by Professor Ludwig Stein. In a memorandum prepared at Buelow's request, Stein dismissed the Zionist project as "not worthy of consideration," a conclusion he had reached during a fact-finding mission to Palestine in 1895 on behalf of the *Esra Verein*. The *Verein* was investigating the possibilities of Jewish migration from Russia to Palestine, but Stein, though impressed by the existing colonies, discounted them as "mere oases in the desert. The stony soil, the lack of humus, the dearth of fauna, and the scanty flora" were "insurmountable obstacles to any considerable colonization." Moreover, in his opinion, Abdul Hamid's opposition to the settlement of aliens made the *Verein*'s project impracticable.

In 1929, Stein admitted that he had been mistaken:

> In justice to the memory of Herzl, I must confess that in his visionary ecstasy he foresaw many things which logical rationalism considered Utopian. Herzl and Nordau had prevailed. They brought to life a movement that grew far beyond the limits of my wildest dreams. Had I possessed prophetic vision then my judgment as recorded in my diary [memorandum?] would have been different. But being a philosopher by profession, I could not assume the role of seer.

Buelow, too, in October 1914 (by then no longer a minister) admitted to Bodenheimer that reports from Jewish quarters had misled him into adopting a negative attitude toward Zionism.

Unable to rely on Buelow, Herzl wrote to Eulenburg to request an audience with the emperor before the latter's departure for Constantinople. He made five points:

1. In various countries, Zionism might lessen the danger

of socialism, since it was often dissatisfied Jews who provided the revolutionary parties with leaders and ideas.

2. A reduction in Jewish numbers would weaken antisemitism.

3. Turkey stood to gain from the influx of an intelligent and energetic element into Palestine. Large sums of money injected into her economy and the increase in trade would improve her finances.

4. The Jews would bring civilization and order back to a neglected corner of the Orient.

5. A railroad from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf was a European necessity. The Jews could and must build this great road of the nations which, if undertaken otherwise, might call forth the most serious rivalries.

This memorandum had a remarkable success. In less than a week, the kaiser, in consultation with Eulenburg, whose counsel he valued, made up his mind to give full support to Herzl's cause. In a letter to his uncle, the grand duke, thanking him for providing the stimulus and guidance in a matter of which hitherto he had had only superficial knowledge, the kaiser wrote:

> The fundamental idea of Zionism has always interested me and even aroused my sympathy. I have come to the conclusion that here we have to deal with a question of the most far-reaching importance. Therefore I have requested that cautious contact should be made with the promoters of this idea. I am willing to grant an audience to a Zionist deputation in Jerusalem on the occasion of our presence there. I am convinced that the settlement of the Holy Land by the wealthy and industrious people of Israel [*Volk Israel*] will bring unprecedented prosperity and blessings to the Holy Land, which may do much to revive and develop Asia Minor. Such a settlement would bring millions into the purse of the Turks and so gradually help to save the "Sick Man" from bankruptcy. In this way the disagreeable Eastern question would be imperceptibly separated from the Mediterranean…. The Turk will recover, getting his money without borrowing, and will be able to build his own highways and railways without foreign companies and then it would not be so easy to dismember Turkey.
>
> In addition, the energy and creative powers and abilities of the tribe of Shem would be directed to more dignified purposes than the exploitation of Christians, and many Semites of the Social Democratic Party, who are stirring up opposition, will move eastwards, where more rewarding work will present itself…. I know very well that nine-tenths of all Germans will be deeply shocked when they hear, at a later time, that I sympathize with the Zionists or even that I place them under my protection when they appeal to me.

Moreover, Kaiser Wilhelm added:

> From the point of view of secular *Realpolitik*, the question cannot be ignored. In view of the gigantic power (very dangerous in a way) of international Jewish capital, would it not be an immense achievement for Germany if the world of the Hebrews looked to her with gratitude? Everywhere the hydra of the most awful antisemitism raises its terrible and brutal head, and the Jews, full of anxiety, are ready to leave the countries where they are threatened in order to return to the Holy Land and seek protection and security. I shall intercede with the Sultan.

Wilhelm was certainly not free from religious prejudices but here his reaction to antisemitism was unusual. By proposing a constructive solution to the "Jewish Problem," he seemed to stand out from most of his contemporaries, though obviously, without the impact of Herzl's memorandum (re-echoed partly in his letter), it is doubtful whether his conclusions would have been so far-reaching. However, it is evident that it was Eulenburg who had kindled his interest. The count understood the emperor and, in serious matters, knew how to make his counsel effective. "Only by consistently rational and timely advice was it possible to confine the … temperamentally exuberant Emperor within limits." The kaiser "has to be greatly interested in a matter," Eulenburg told Herzl during his second interview on October 8, "as otherwise he soon loses sight of it. My standing with the Kaiser is such that I am able to speak to him differently from, and more than, many others. Very few people can go as far as I … I have been able to bring the matter up again and again and I have succeeded."

On September 27, Eulenburg advised Herzl that the kaiser would be pleased to receive a Zionist deputation in Palestine, which would give Herzl an excellent opportunity to present his case. On the next day, September 28, Eulenburg sent Herzl a highly confidential postscript: "His Majesty would discuss the matter with the Sultan in a most emphatic manner and will be pleased to hear more from you in Jerusalem. The Kaiser has already issued orders to the effect that no obstacle is to be placed in the way of the [Zionist] delegation. In conclusion, H.M. wishes to tell you that he is very much *prepared* to undertake the protectorate in question."

The duke also assured Herzl of the emperor's "warm and lively interest"; he would suggest his protection of the Zionist project when he met the sultan; thereafter he would receive a Zionist deputation in Jerusalem in order to demonstrate his sympathy.

The meeting with Eulenburg on October 8 was even more encouraging and made Herzl confident that Germany's intervention and protection were a foregone conclusion.

A subsequent conversation with the grand duke in Potsdam on October 9 fortified Herzl's conviction. "The Kaiser has been thoroughly informed … and is full of enthusiasm. That word is not too strong. He has taken to your idea quite warmly. He speaks of it in the liveliest terms. He would also have received you by now, for he has confidence in you; but it is now deemed better to receive you at Constantinople and Jerusalem." He added that a good report had come from Marschall and that the kaiser believed that the sultan would consider his advice favorably.

Ambassador Marschall had made his name as a diplomat by initiating the era of German-Turkish friendship, which became one of the chief *leitmotifs* of Germany's foreign policy. There is hardly any evidence about his attitude toward Zionism; the "favorable report" to which both Eulenburg and the grand duke of Baden referred has not so far come to light. It is not among the documents of the German Foreign Ministry, nor can it be traced in the *Nachlass Eulenburg*, or

among the emperor's papers. We can only surmise why it was too risky for him to support such a venture.

His first objective was to cement relations with Turkey; the second, to facilitate Germany's peaceful penetration of the Ottoman Empire without arousing suspicion. This was not an easy task, since the Russian press was giving much prominence to the alleged German plans to colonize Asia Minor, and even Petersburg made known its displeasure with Berlin's *Drang nach Osten*. It was the French who were responsible for feeding the Russians with this kind of information, which Marschall dismissed as "terrible nonsense, such as only Frenchmen, when speaking about Germans, are able to produce." But German protection of Jewish colonization would have substantiated the Russian and French allegations and, in the given circumstances, caution was imperative.

Moreover, Marschall was aware that the sultan's objection to foreign colonization was based on religious grounds and that the Muslim clergy were particularly sensitive on this issue. In 1905, Marschall asked a representative of the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden* to advise the Zionists to moderate their political aspirations. Yet the question still arises: why, if Marschall was aware of the pitfalls entailed in support of Zionism, did he not warn the emperor in the autumn of 1898?

Soon after the Zionist delegation arrived in Constrantinople, it experienced a bitter foretaste of its future disappointments. Marschall declined to grant Herzl an audience on the pretext that he did not know him. Max Bodenheimer's explanation that Dr. Herzl was the Zionist leader who had been in touch with Count Eulenburg and that the matter concerned the reception of a deputation by His Majesty the Kaiser had no effect. To the Zionists' regret, Eulenburg did not join the Near Eastern tour. Buelow was unreliable and Marschall enigmatic. To bring matters to a head, Herzl wrote to Wilhelm requesting a confidential audience. He assured the kaiser that France, weakened internally, would not be able to make a move, that "to Russia, the Zionist solution of the Jewish question meant enormous relief," and that no effective objection was to be feared from England, since the English Church was known to favor the Zionist cause. "Everything depends on the form of the *fait accompli*." As for the sultan, even if he did not immediately realize what aid the Zionists would bring to his impoverished state, it was unlikely that he would decline to accept the kaiser's advice. Once personal contact between the two sovereigns was established, they could ignore the intrigues of the other Powers. Herzl's request boiled down to a concession for a "Jewish Land Company for Syria and Palestine" under German protection.

The long-awaited audience with the emperor took place on October 18 in Buelow's presence. The kaiser listened attentively to Herzl's exposition and expressed confidence that the Zionists, with the financial and human resources at their disposal, would be successful in their venture. That the word "Zionism" was used by the German emperor as an accepted term was a source of pride to Herzl, but other utterances were less pleasant. "There are elements among your people whom it would be a good thing to settle in Palestine," the kaiser stated. "I am thinking of Hesse, for example, where there are usurers at work among the rural population. If these people took their possessions and went to settle in the colonies, they could be more useful." Herzl was taken by surprise, because earlier he had been assured by both Eulenburg and Buelow that Wilhelm II was by no means antisemitic. Herzl soon regained his confidence and launched an attack on antisemitism, only to be parried by Buelow, who commented that the Jews, by flocking to the opposition and even to the anti-monarchical parties, showed their ingratitude to the House of Hohenzollern. Herzl replied that Zionism would take the Jews away from the revolutionary parties. Buelow stuck to his guns and, when Wilhelm expressed confidence that the Jews would support the colonization of Palestine once they knew it was under his protection, the foreign minister interjected that the rich Jews were not in favor of it, nor were the big newspapers. At every opportunity, he contradicted the emperor, only stopping short of using "the little word No … since the *voluntas regis* [royal will] is Yes." On one occasion, the kaiser had laid it down that "*suprema lex regis voluntas est*."

However, the emperor, who often allowed himself to be guided by his minister, in this case supported Herzl and agreed that Zionism was a "completely natural" solution. Buelow again raised a doubt as to the attitude of the Porte, although individual Turkish ministers might prove more amenable if offered sufficient bribes. But the kaiser brushed aside Buelow's misgivings, confident that it would make an impression if he showed interest. "After all, I am the only one who still sticks by the Sultan." Throughout the conversation, the kaiser looked at Herzl directly. Only when the latter spoke of the new overland route to Asia and the Persian Gulf did he stare into space, and his thoughtful expression revealed that Herzl's words had made an impact. The interview was concluded by the kaiser's undertaking to ask the sultan for a "chartered company under German protection." He shook Herzl's hand vigorously, promising to work the details out with Buelow. Events showed that he gravely misjudged the attitude of the Porte and his own minister.

Though flattering his sovereign as "a monarch of genius!" Buelow remained unconvinced. He told Herzl (after the kaiser had left) that in his opinion the Turks were unfavorably disposed and advised him to see Marschall, who possessed "exact information." Soon after, Herzl drove to the German Embassy, only to find that Marschall had left to attend the dinner in the kaiser's honor. It was there that the emperor made his diplomatic overture to the sultan and failed.

Wilhelm's account of his encounter with Abdul Hamid, quoted already, is too sketchy to enlighten us. In 1902, the Grand Duke of Baden told Dr. Bodenheimer that at the dinner the kaiser twice attempted to discuss the matter of Palestine with the sultan, but the latter displayed a "complete and ostentatious lack of understanding." Earlier, in 1901, Herzl was told by Count Eulenburg that he had been unable to discover what the difficulty had been. The sultan rejected the kaiser's sugges-

tion so brusquely that it was not possible to pursue it further; "we are anxious to remain on good terms with him. As a guest, the Kaiser could not, of course, press the subject."

If the circumstantial evidence adduced above is correct, the kaiser's diplomatic venture was clumsy. Wilhelm II has been described as quick, versatile, and responsive to ideas, but also as a man without depth; impulsive by nature, he scarcely penetrated the problems that he studied. In personal relations, he was benevolent and amiable; yet, on some occasions, he was inclined to act in a most erratic and tactless manner. Despite his intellectual gifts, there was much of the irresponsible dilettante in him. He undoubtedly had an instinct for politics, but he was no master of diplomacy. "What he needed most – and never had – was someone in authority over him." It was unfortunate that Eulenburg was not present, because Buelow's reliability was still to be tested.

Unaware of the emperor's failure, Herzl drafted the official address he was to deliver in Jerusalem:

> We are bound to this sacred soil through no valid title of ownership. Many generations have come and gone since this earth was Jewish. If we talk about it, it is only about a dream of very ancient days. But the dream is still alive, lives in many hundreds of thousands of hearts; it was and is a wonderful comfort in many an hour of pain for our poor people. Whenever foes oppressed us with accusations and persecutions, whenever we were begrudged that little bit of right to live, whenever we were excluded from the society of our fellow citizens – whose destinies we have been ready to share loyally – the thought of Zion arose in our oppressed hearts.
>
> There is something eternal about that thought, whose form, to be sure, has undergone multifarious changes with people, institutions, and times.

Herzl stressed that Zionism was a political expression of an old idea. It aimed at solving the "Jewish Question" by modern means, but its essence was to realize the centuries-old dream of returning to Zion. "This is the land of our fathers, a land suitable for colonization and cultivation," he said, "It cries out for the people to work. And we have among our brethren a frightful [*sic*] proletariat. These people cry out for a land to cultivate." He argued that Zionism was a cause so worthy of sympathy that it would fully justify the emperor's protection. The sultan, too, should be persuaded of the usefulness of the Jewish Land Company.

> We are honestly convinced that the implementation of the Zionist plan must mean welfare for Turkey … Energies and material resources will be brought to the country; a magnificent fructification of desolate areas may easily be foreseen; and from all this there will arise more happiness and more culture for many human beings. Our idea offends no-one's rights or religious feelings; it breathes long-desired reconciliation. We understand and respect the devotion of all faiths to the soil on which, after all, the faith of our fathers, too, arose.

Moreover, Herzl added that Jewish aspirations transcended their purely national context. They were part of the human endeavor.

> This is the fatherland of ideas which do not belong to one people or to one creed alone. The farther men advance in their morality, the more clearly do they recognize the common elements in these ideas. And thus the actual city of Jerusalem, with its fateful walls, has long since become a symbolic city sacred to all civilized men.

The exalted note echoed the messianic hope of the Hebrew prophets, who believed that the redemption of the Jewish people would coincide with the redemption of mankind. Lofty as its content was, it brought no definite result. Circumstances were against Herzl; it does not require much imagination to realize why "German protection of a Jewish chartered company" could not commend itself to the sultan. For years, Turkey had been struggling against the system of *Capitulations, which provided the European Powers with an instrument for meddling in her internal affairs. "The spectre of a second Franco-Lebanon [in the form of a Judeo-]German Palestine" was alarming. Ahmed Tewfik, the Turkish foreign minister, who accompanied the kaiser on his tour of Palestine, made it clear that "the Sultan would have nothing to do with Zionism and an independent Jewish kingdom." As a result, Wilhelm lost his enthusiasm for Zionism.

Herzl may have been flattered when the kaiser stopped for a while and chatted with him at the gates of Mikveh Israel, to the astonishment of the spectators watching the imperial procession on its way to Jerusalem. "Water is what it needs, a lot of water … It is a land of the future," the kaiser told Herzl, but the interview that Herzl had with the Legation counselor Klehmet, whom Buelow had brought with him from Berlin as his secretary, was discouraging. He objected to a number of passages in Herzl's draft address and insisted on the deletion of the passages requesting the emperor to take the Land Company under his protection. It was noticeable, Bodenheimer observed, that the Foreign Ministry took great care to ensure that the kaiser would not, in a moment of enthusiasm, announce his protection of Zionist colonization.

The official audience with the emperor took place on November 2, 1898, in Jerusalem, again in Buelow's presence. The emperor welcomed Herzl affably and displayed interest in his address, but then stated that the matter required "thorough study and further discussion." The German and Jewish colonies had impressed him and served as an indication of "what could be done. The country has room for everyone"; the work of the Jewish colonists "will also serve as a stimulating example to the native population. Your movement, with which I am thoroughly acquainted, contains a sound idea." He assured the deputation of his continued interest, but the conclusive statement that Herzl was so eagerly awaiting was not forthcoming, and the political aspect of the scheme was passed over. The kaiser said "neither yes nor no," and Herzl inferred that his stock had depreciated. On the day itself, he still clung to the belief that the reception might have some "historic consequences," but disillusion was soon to follow. The colorless official communiqué issued by the German news agency (of which Herzl learned on his return journey) dispelled earlier hopes. It read:

> Kaiser Wilhelm has received a Jewish deputation… Replying to an address by its leader, Kaiser Wilhelm said that all those efforts which aimed at the improvement of agriculture in Palestine, and which furthered the welfare of the Ottoman Empire, commanded his benevolent interest, with due respect for the sovereignty of the Sultan.

The substitution of "Jewish" for "Zionist" was significant. Moreover, the emphasis on respect for Ottoman sovereignty also reflected the caution employed by German officials, but such an emasculated formula was hardly what Herzl expected. A month earlier he had asked Eulenburg whether it would not be wiser for the kaiser to receive the Zionist deputation privately. Unaware of the fiasco in Constantinople, he felt he had been misled. However, unlike his colleagues, he remained undaunted; the protectorate was not an end in itself, but only a means to achieve his objective. Herzl returned to Berlin empty-handed.

The ever sympathetic Grand Duke of Baden was willing to help and Count Eulenburg invited Herzl to meet him, but the attitude in Berlin remained negative. The duke admired Herzl's perseverance and suggested that, since Germany was in no position to recommend the Zionists in Constantinople, Austria might well be able to do so. Eulenburg also explained why it was impossible for Germany to sponsor Herzl's cause, but encouraged him and thought that the support of the British Parliament, where Herzl had managed to enlist 40 sympathizers, was "very important."

Relations with Turkey

Turkey was Herzl's main stumbling-block; to win her over was one of his main objectives. As early as 1895 (the year of his Zionist awakening), when the Eastern question had gained renewed prominence in diplomatic circles, he hoped that a favorable opportunity might arise for the Jews to claim Palestine as a "neutral land." But when prospects of Turkey's dismemberment faded, he veered in the opposite direction: "We shall bestow enormous benefits upon Turkey." If Palestine were ceded as "an independent country," the Jews would undertake to straighten out Turkish finances. If Jewish capital could be raised for the most exotic undertakings, would none be found for "the most immediate, the direst need of the Jews themselves?" he wrote to Baron Hirsch in 1895.

Briefed by Moritz Reichenfeld, director of the Union Bank of Vienna, he calculated that a sum of 18 million Turkish pounds would suffice to relieve the Porte of foreign debt; this he hoped to supplement with an additional 2 million. These calculations were, however, based on a misconception. The Turks were disinclined to grant even minor concessions, while the rich Jews were in no mood to raise the money. Dionys Rosenfeld, editor of the *Osmanische Post* in Constantinople, told Herzl on May 3, 1896 that, despite her financial straits and diplomatic weakness, Turkey would not relinquish sovereignty over any of her provinces, an opinion that Philip de Newlinski, a Polish agent, confirmed: the sultan would never part with Jerusalem.

To Newlinski's astonishment, Herzl did not betray any sign of despair. His instinct told him that not every statement should be taken at face value. Herzl's sympathetic presentation of Turkey's problems in the formerly hostile *Neue Freie Press* earned him the sultan's goodwill. Although Palestine remained out of the question, Herzl inferred from Newlinski that the Ottoman sovereign might accept some kind of arrangement. The only opponent was the grand vizier. He received Herzl in his capacity as a journalist and discussed current affairs, but Palestine was not mentioned. Herzl still hoped that once the benefits became more tangible opposition at the Yildiz Kiosk would melt away. Moreover, to dispel any lingering suspicions he modified his terminology. "Independent Jewish State" and "republic" were replaced by "autonomous vassal state … under the suzerainty of the Sultan"; Jewish immigrants were to embrace Ottoman nationality and settle in Palestine at the express invitation of the sultan; they were to pay a tribute of 100,000 pounds, a sum which would rise to 1 million annually, *pari passu* with the increase in immigration. In return they would be granted autonomy and be allowed to maintain an army.

On his return from Constantinople (July 1896) Herzl's first priority was to raise the necessary funds. In London the idea of a Jewish state had an electrifying effect on the poor Jews of the East End, but the rich Jews remained aloof. A notable exception was Sir Samuel *Montagu, MP (later the first Lord Swaythling), a prominent banker and a Ḥovevei Zion leader. Even so Montagu made his support conditional on that of Baron de Hirsch and Baron Edmond de *Rothschild of Paris, but, as neither was moved by Herzl's appeal, Sir Samuel's sympathy had little practical value. Rothschild had no faith in Turkish promises and doubted the feasibility of the project. Warm as his patronage of the Jewish colonies in Palestine was, he was not prepared to accept the risk of having to maintain hundreds of thousands of immigrants. Moreover, his experience convinced him that a politically motivated project would not be favored in Constantinople. Rothschild's rejection was a bitter blow to Herzl, but despair was a luxury he could not afford. A year earlier he had written to Zadoc Khan, the chief rabbi in France, "I believe that we are at a great turning point of our history." If the big capitalists refused, perhaps the little Jews would band together and raise the money. A national movement had to be shouldered by the people themselves, not by single individuals. It was this reasoning, among other things, that prompted him to convene a World Zionist Congress.

It was in deference to Turkish susceptibilities that references to the idea of Jewish statehood were dropped. In the June 1897 issue of *Die Welt*, the Zionist organ, Herzl introduced for the first time the term *Heimstaette*, which means homestead, and prevailed upon the First Zionist Congress to incorporate it in its official program: "Der Zionismus erstrebt fuer das juedische Volk die Schaffung einer oeffentlich-rechtlich gesicherten Heimstaette in Palestina." He insisted on the wording "oeffentlich-rechtlich" (under public law) as against one of the alternative suggestions "voelker-rechtilich" (under

international law) which implied intervention by the foreign Powers in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. He dismissed the term "rechtlich" (under private law) since in the given context it was too weak. By contrast, "oeffentlich-rechtlich gesicherte Heimstaette" (secured by public law) was flexible enough to be interpreted in Constantinople as meaning by public Ottoman law, whereas, in London, Paris, and Berlin it could be read as international law, enabling the European Powers to guarantee the Jewish home. Like the Delphic utterances, it could be interpreted either way, but to Herzl it could have had only one meaning:

> At Basel I founded the Jewish State. If I said this out loud today, I would be answered by universal laughter. Perhaps in five years, and certainly in fifty, everyone will know it. The foundation of a State lies in the will of the people…. Territory is only the material basis; the State, even when it possesses territory, is always something abstract … At Basel I created this abstraction … I gradually worked the people into the mood for a State and made them feel that they were its National Assembly.

The Turks, however, were not deceived, and on February 4, 1898, Tewfik Pasha told Herzl that he welcomed Jewish immigrants to Turkey but would not grant them any specific territory or autonomy. To Herzl such a solution, tantamount to a "settlement of new Armenians in Turkey," was totally unacceptable. Nor did Wilhelm II prove to be Herzl's savior; as it turned out, the kaiser's *démarche* with Abdul Hamid did more harm than good. Strangely, it never occurred to Herzl that the intervention of a foreign Power would prejudice his case with the Ottoman ruler. Newlinski's sudden death was an additional misfortune. Rejected by the German government and aware of the poor state of Zionist finances, Herzl almost reached breaking point. The big question mark inserted on April 17, 1899, in his diary reflected his state of mind.

However, it was Arminius Vámbéry, a Hungarian-Jewish Orientalist and traveler, who procured an audience with the sultan for Herzl. Vámbéry was fluent in 12 languages and changed his religion as lightly as his coat. As a young man in Constantinople he had embraced Islam and later, when appointed professor of Oriental languages at the University of Budapest, had adopted Protestantism. A personal friend of Abdul Hamid II and of King Edward VII, and an authority on Central Asia, he had carried out several diplomatic missions for both the British and Turkish governments. When Herzl met him on June 16, 1900, he was 70 years old, not clear about his own identity, whether he was a Turk or an Englishman, but his study of religions had made him an atheist. Herzl's personality attracted him strongly, and, as events showed, his help to the Zionists was genuine. Beneath his cosmopolitan veneer lurked Jewish sentiments, and Herzl played on them well. "You and I belong to a race who can do everything but fail," and on December 23, 1900 Herzl urged him on: "Your true mission is to help your people."

Vámbéry kept his word. On May 8, 1901, on his return from Constantinople, he brought good news: the sultan would receive Herzl as a Jewish leader and an influential journalist, though not as a Zionist. "You must not talk to him about Zionism. That is a phantasmagoria. Jerusalem is as holy to these people as Mecca is."

However weighty the religious motives, what made the Turks so obdurate was the fear of intervention by the Powers. Should the Jews be allowed to immigrate freely, the Powers would seize an early excuse to occupy Palestine by military force. Ahmed Tewfik made little effort to conceal from David Wolffsohn how annoyed his government was with Herzl's *The Jewish State* and reiterated the standard Turkish position.

That the sultan nonetheless did receive Herzl warmly is not surprising since with Zionism deliberately excluded there was nothing to sour the occasion. The meeting took place on May 17, 1901. Before the audience Herzl was presented with the Grand Cordon of the Order of Mejidiye, the highest Turkish decoration, and, after they had met, the sultan gave him a diamond tie pin as a token of personal friendship. For Herzl the gifts had only a symbolic value. His impression of Abdul Hamid was of "a weak, cowardly, but thoroughly good-natured, man," neither crafty nor cruel, but "a profoundly unhappy prisoner in whose name a rapacious, infamous, seedy camarilla perpetuates the vilest abominations." In contrast, Herzl impressed his host as "a leader" and "a prophet." The audience lasted for two hours. Herzl thanked Abdul Hamid for his benevolence toward the Jews, which the latter accepted as confirmation of an established fact: his Empire was wide open to Jewish refugees and, among the non-Muslims, they were the most reliable subjects. This gave Herzl an opening to proffer certain services, quoting the story of Androcles and the lion. "His Majesty is the lion, perhaps I am Androcles, and maybe there is a thorn that has to be pulled out." The thorn, Herzl disclosed, was the public debt; if eliminated, Turkey would be given a new lease on life. Herzl put his finger on the sorest spot of Turkey's body politic and, noting how amused his host was by the parable, asked for permission to make the sultan's pro-Jewish sentiments public from whatever platform and on whatever occasion he deemed fit. Abdul Hamid, unaware that Herzl had in mind the Zionist Congress, agreed and said that what Turkey needed most was the industrial skill of the Jewish people. He asked Herzl to recommend a financial adviser and promised "permanent protection" to those Jews who sought refuge in his lands.

Vámbéry, whom Herzl met on his return journey, thought that his achievement in Constantinople was "tremendous" and hoped that the concession for the charter company would be granted within a year. The press, too, presented the audience in rosy colors. Elated, Herzl hoped to be more successful with Jewish financiers, but was again disappointed. The Rothschilds remained unconvinced. Herzl complained to a friend that had it not been for this "miserable money" he would have been "almost through with the Sultan."

In mid-July 1902, Herzl called at the Yildiz Kiosk for the fifth and last time. Believing the moment propitious, he asked that the Porte should reject French financial assistance and grant a concession for the Jewish colonization of

Mesopotamia and Haifa and its environs. Mesopotamia was merely camouflage for his real ambitions, and Haifa was only a stepping stone. He was careful not to disclose the identity of his "friends" in the world of high finance, and warned that the consolidation of the Ottoman public debt would be a "slow and complicated" process. The fees paid by the Company would be proportionate to the number of immigrants allowed to enter the regions concerned. Should the sultan make a special declaration, a favorable response throughout the world would follow. It would attract Jewish intelligence, capital, and enterprise, from which the Ottoman Empire as a whole would benefit.

Mehmed Said Pasha, the grand vizier, complimenting Herzl on his "humanitarian and commendable" aspirations, assured him that, in principle, the sultan was prepared to negotiate. But when the actual situation was considered, Said was decidedly negative: Turkey feared complications with the Great Powers, and even Haifa could not be conceded, since it was strategically important. Before leaving, Herzl obtained a warm letter from Abdul Hamid ("*Le Sionisme est très noble*"), but on matters of substance, the deadlock remained unresolved.

Turkey was Herzl's main stumbling block. His policy toward it was based on give and take, but this principle proved unworkable, since the funds with which he hoped to restore Turkish solvency were denied him, and the sultan refused to issue a declaration that could have stirred the Jewish masses and warmed the hearts of Jewish financiers. Nor was it likely that Herzl would have been more successful had the necessary resources been placed at his disposal. The sultan was not in the habit of selling his land and limiting his sovereignty voluntarily. Fear of political complications, real and imaginary, should the Jews be allowed to establish themselves in Palestine, weighed far more heavily with the Turks than financial benefits, however alluring. In the circumstances, it was only the combined pressure of the Powers that could have forced Turkey to make certain concessions. It was therefore an illusion to expect that friendly advice by the kaiser to the sultan would be sufficient to put Herzl's charter company into operation.

In Search of International Support – The Uganda Controversy

Herzl did not lose hope. Some day, when the Turks were in dire need, they would become more amenable. In the meantime, he shifted his efforts to Britain in the expectation that it would allow him to establish a Jewish colony under its protection somewhere in the neighborhood of Palestine. His eyes had been turned to England since 1895. Initial reactions to his ideas reinforced his belief that London should be one of his main bases. Gladstone, the former prime minister, liked Herzl's *The Jewish State*, while Bishop Wilkinson thought that Zionism was a practical proposition. Also the press reported sympathetically on the First Zionist Congress; the Conservative *Pall Mall Gazette* and the radical *Daily Chronicle* advocated a European conference for the settlement of the "Jewish Question." The Fourth Zionist Congress, which met in London (August 13–16, 1900), also attracted favorable comment, and friendly sentiments were expressed at Westminster and elsewhere. Yet, for all the sympathy that Herzl gained, no practical results ensued.

It was not until 1902 that negotiations with the British government began in earnest. With Palestine barred, Herzl hoped to acquire at least a staging post in its neighborhood; a foothold in Cyprus, in the Sinai Peninsula, or in the El-Arish area. Joseph Chamberlain, the colonial secretary, who met him on October 22 and again on October 23, 1902, thought Cyprus impracticable, but agreed that in the El-Arish area, or in Sinai, which was uninhabited, a self-governing Jewish colony could be founded, provided Lord Cromer, the British agent in Cairo, approved. To Herzl this was no mean achievement, and two days later he told Lord Rothschild enthusiastically that, should the plan materialize, "a refuge" and "a home for the hard-pressed Jews" would be created, while England would increase her influence in the southeastern corner of the Mediterranean and rally "ten million" friends to her side.

The plan did not materialize. The sultan, who exercised at least nominal sovereignty over Sinai, objected; so did the Egyptian government. The difficulty of providing irrigation was another factor weighing heavily against the plan in official calculations, and Cromer, by no means personally hostile, gave it the *coup de grâce*. In the spring of 1903, Chamberlain offered instead the Guas Ngishu plateau near Nairobi in East Africa – not "Uganda," as Chamberlain and others later inaccurately called it – for a Jewish settlement under the British flag. Herzl thought it politically imprudent to reject it, since the very fact that a Great Power was negotiating with him amounted to a *de facto* recognition of his movement. He considered the offer primarily in *political* terms. Rather than impede, it might bring the realization of his ultimate goal nearer. For him it was merely a ploy to obtain British recognition of the Zionist movement and recognition of the Jews as a people, and to bring Britain gradually to the conclusion that only in Palestine would the "Jewish Problem" be solved.

This strategy is evident from the correspondence between Herzl and Leopold Greenberg, the editor of the *Jewish World* and the *Jewish Chronicle*, his representative *vis-à-vis* the Foreign Office. In a letter dated June 7, 1903, Greenberg wrote:

> It seems to me intrinsically there is no great value in East Africa. It will not form a great attraction to our people for it has no moral or historical claim. But the value of the proposal of Chamberlain is politically immense *if we use it to its full*. An essential of this is, I submit, that the Agreement that we get from the British government should be as well a definite declaration of its desire to assist our people.… That will be of infinite value to you both within our Movement and outside. It matters not if East Africa is afterwards refused by us – we shall have obtained from the British government a recognition that it cannot go back on and which no other British government will ever be able to upset. Everything after that will have to start from that point – the point of recognition of us as a Nation. It also follows

naturally that if it is found that East Africa is not good, they will have to make a further suggestion and this will … gradually and surely lead us to Palestine.

Responding, Herzl insisted: "We must obtain from the British government recognition of us as a nation [*eine nationale Anerkennung*], and the Charter should include the following phrase: *'Bildung einer Colonialgesellschaft fuer die juedische Nation'* [creation of a Colonization Company of the Jewish People]."

Greenberg was sorry to hear that the East Africa plan provoked some opposition. He ascribed it to misunderstanding. "Had it really been an alternative plan to Palestine, I would have opposed it myself most vehemently. At the moment, the most pressing problem is recognition of Jews as a people by one of the Great Powers.… This should be achieved before our march toward Eretz Israel. We shall thereafter be able to rally our people and unite them under your banner."

The opposition to whom Greenberg referred included Max Nordau, Herzl's close friend and collaborator. Nordau had claimed that the area in East Africa was unsuitable for colonization and Jewish refugees would prefer to migrate to America or Europe instead. The Zionist Movement would lose its *raison d'être* and die a natural death.

Herzl had no difficulty in convincing Nordau. "This British East African beginning," he wrote to Nordau, "is politically a *Rishon le-Zion*." If the Zionists gratefully acknowledged Chamberlain's offer, it would enhance his sympathy and commit him to do something for them, should a Zionist fact-finding mission disqualify East Africa as a suitable place for settlement. Negotiations with the British government, Herzl elucidated, were tactical; they would bring the realization of Zionism sooner than all Baron Edmond de Rothschild's colonies. Moses also reached the Land of Canaan in a roundabout way. Nordau was converted and henceforth supported Herzl wholeheartedly.

It was at that time that Herzl received a letter from Vyachelslav Plehve, the Russian minister of the interior, with whom he had been negotiating. The letter is dated August 12, 1903 and is of outstanding importance. Plehve promised, on behalf of the czarist government, that Russia would intervene with the sultan in favor of the Zionists and would assist them in the organization of massive Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine with the ultimate objective of creating there a Jewish state.

Both in its phrasing and in its implications, Plehve's letter was of far greater moment than the British one. Sir Clement Hill of the Foreign Office referred to "the establishment of a Jewish colony" in East Africa, which would enable the settlers to observe "their National customs." Plehve favored the creation of "an independent state in Palestine," a term that Herzl himself was reluctant to use. The British document is tentative and guarded in its language, while the Russian one refers clearly to "moral and material support" on practical issues. The motives are also different. That of the British government was primarily humanitarian, while that of the Russian government was shaped by domestic considerations. It reflected also the general line of Russian foreign policy aimed at the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. By fostering the separatist aspirations of the non-Turkish nationalities, Russia hoped not only to weaken Turkey from within, but also to emerge as the champion of those struggling for liberation.

Plehve's letter served as the cornerstone of Herzl's diplomacy. With such a diplomatic breakthrough, was there any point in continuing negotiations about East Africa? Considering Herzl's political *Weltanschauung*, it should not be too difficult to answer the question. The reason was that the British letter contained the key phrase that was missing from the Russian one; i.e., recognition of the Jews as a nation. This was important not only as a matter of principle, but also out of regard for practical politics. Herzl realized, long before the principle of self-determination became standard currency in international relations, that only nations were entitled to claim a territory. Moreover, support by only one Power was insufficient; only pressure by a Concert of Powers would have the desired effect on Turkey. Such a combination did in fact emerge during the conferences in London in 1912–13 following the Balkan Wars. However, by then Herzl was no longer alive. Moreover, Herzl's basic concept was that the "Jewish Problem" was an international problem which should be solved internationally, not by one single Power. Hence, the importance of bringing England into the picture.

The storm that erupted during the Sixth Zionist Congress was unforeseen. The response of the Zionist Executive, to whom Herzl brought Sir Clement Hill's letter of August 14, 1903, for approval, was positive, even enthusiastic. Jehiel *Tschlenow, the Russian Zionist leader, gave it his unqualified blessing, remarking that a Great Power had recognized the Jews as a nation and acknowledged their creative talents. When one of the few skeptics pointed out that Palestine had not been mentioned in the British letter, Herzl replied that it was written in "invisible ink," which, within several months, would become readable.

In his opening address to the Congress on August 23, 1903, Herzl assured the delegates that he had no other objective in mind than Palestine. "There is no change and there will be no change in our attitude toward the Land of our Forefathers," he declared. The speech was greeted with great enthusiasm. Years later, Weizmann acknowledged in his *Trial and Error* that the British letter had reestablished the national and juridical identity of the Jewish people.

The acrimonious controversy that ensued was largely due to a misunderstanding. Partly it was Nordau's fault for coining, in his otherwise brilliant speech, the term *ein Nachtasyl* (a night shelter). This made some of the delegates, like Shmarya *Levin, initially a fervent supporter, suspect that the *Nachtasyl* was merely the thin end of a permanent shelter to the detriment of the idea of a return to Zion. The atmosphere became explosive, laden with emotion. The exchange turned into a debate among the deaf. Diplomatically discreet, Herzl was wary of revealing his true motives. There was also another

reason for his reticence. Suffering from a serious heart condition, he was unable to take an active part in the discussions. The Congress thus resembled a boat rocked in high seas deprived of its navigator.

The opponents, the *Neinsagers* (Nay sayers), were under a misapprehension. It was not the choice between "Zion or Uganda" that had been put on the agenda. What had been proposed was the dispatch of a Commission of Inquiry to East Africa. The Commission was to report back to the Congress, the Organization's sovereign body, for further reflection. Herzl anticipated that the report would be negative, as it was crystal clear to him that the Jews would not go to Africa in any case. The purpose of the exercise was to elicit from the British government yet another area of settlement and bring it gradually to the conclusion that there was no alternative to Palestine.

In retrospect, all the controversy was irrelevant, because the subject matter became unreal. After Chamberlain's resignation as colonial secretary in mid-September 1903, there was an appreciable diminution in interest in the Uganda project. Alfred Lyttleton, his successor, showed no enthusiasm for it, while the Foreign Office, largely on account of strong objections raised by the British governor in Kenya, became decidedly reserved. As soon as rumors spread of a possible influx of Jews, the white settlers in Kenya protested against the very idea of Jewish settlement. Embarrassed, the Foreign Office offered Leopold Greenberg another territory for settlement in Somali or in Tanaland, which, on all counts, was unsuitable for Europeans.

Herzl did not shed any tears, but greeted the news with undisguised satisfaction. In a circular letter to the members of the Zionist Executive, he declared that the East Africa project was dead. Simultaneously, he advised Greenberg to continue his pourparler with the Foreign Office. This Greenberg did with consummate skill. The results were spectacular.

On December 14, 1903, Greenberg met Lord Percy, the newly appointed under-secretary of state. Percy was a humanist and a philosemite. Sensing that settlement in Africa would not attract Jews, he asked Greenberg pointedly: "Was there any serious attempt to acquire Palestine? On the basis of what you told me, it ought to be the most desirable goal." He added that he wished to meet Herzl.

In spite of ill health, Herzl continued his diplomatic *tour de force*. On September 5, 1903, briefing Plehve on the proceedings of the Congress, he reiterated his argument that a massive and continuous emigration of Jews from Russia – "an emigration without the right of return" – would be possible only in the direction of Palestine. East Africa would attract only a few thousand proletarians. Hence, it lay in Russia's interest to support Zionist aspirations. And to Count zu Eulenburg, the German ambassador in Vienna and the kaiser's confidant, he confessed, "I will gladly let Wilhelm II have the glory of placing himself at the head" of the Concert of Powers on the Zionist question. Although Sir Clement Hill's letter was as generous as it [was] wise we stubborn Jews are more attached to the sand and chalk of Palestine" than to East Africa.

This line of reasoning dispels any lingering suspicion that Herzl had abandoned Palestine in favor of East Africa, for it appears that his main purpose was not necessarily to obtain the East Africa concession, but to ease Germany's (or any other Power's) task in gaining Palestine for the Zionists. East Africa was only the diplomatic stepping stone to the main goal. That there was no substitute for Palestine is also clear from Herzl's letter to Izzet Bey, which was his last contact with the Sublime Porte:

> A territory we can find elsewhere. We have found it. You have undoubtedly read in the papers that the English government has offered me a territory of 60,000–90,000 square leagues in Africa, a rich, fertile country, excellent for our colonization. But nevertheless, I come back once more to my plan for finding the salvation of the Jewish people among the brothers of our race and our coreligionists who live under the scepter of the Caliph, bringing to them what we have … the spirit of enterprise, industry, economic progress.

With no satisfactory response from Constantinople forthcoming, Herzl continued to consolidate his position among the Powers in the hope that they would exert concerted pressure on Turkey. His achievements in the Italian and Austrian capitals were noteworthy.

Victor Emmanuel III of Italy received Herzl graciously on January 23, 1904. Italy had no "Jewish Problem," but Zionism had its positive attractions. Palestine "will and must get into your hands," the king told Herzl. "It is only a question of time. Wait until you have half a million Jews there!" He thought that the partition of Turkey was inevitable, but that the Zionists in the meantime should refrain from using the term "autonomy"; the sultan disliked this word. Plehve's letter, in the king's opinion, represented "a great success." Herzl was able to witness the effect of the royal goodwill when he met Tommaso Tittoni, the foreign minister. The conversation was short but productive. The minister promised Herzl that he would write to the Italian ambassador at Constantinople and ask him to proceed jointly with the Russians.

Herzl was an Austro-Hungarian citizen and also enjoyed the confidence of successive prime ministers, Count Kazimierz Badeni (1895–97) and Ernst von Koerber (1900–4), but it was not before the autumn of 1903 that he could rely on his own government's support. Koerber was impressed by Herzl's achievements in Russia and assured him of his interest. On April 30, 1904, Herzl met Count Agenor von Goluchowski, the foreign minister. Initially, the latter was skeptical, but Plehve's letter made all the difference. Since Russia was in favor, he too could reach agreement with Herzl. Though strongly critical of antisemitism, he thought Herzl's project so praiseworthy that every government should support it financially. When the question was discussed on an international plane, "there must be no petty or half-way measures. If it were a question of only one or two hundred thousand Jews, the Great Powers could not be stirred into action. But they could if [they] asked Turkey for land and legal rights for 5–6 million Jews."

This was more than Herzl had dared to hope. However, Goluchowski declined Herzl's suggestion to take the lead in the matter; the moment was inopportune. It would be better if England took the initiative.

The foreign minister's reluctance to take the initiative arose from the need to keep in step with Russia. Since 1897, the two countries had had a secret agreement under which they undertook to maintain the *status quo* in the Balkans. This was qualified by Article III, which specified that, should circumstances change, the contracting parties would act together. The Turkish provinces in Asia were not mentioned in the text, but it could be assumed that the principle in Article III applied there as well. This explains the change in Austria's attitude toward Herzl following the revelation of Plehve's letter.

But, in spite of the professed status quo principle, the long-term policy of the two Powers was aimed at the gradual dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. A Jewish Palestine, with a Jewish population of five to six million, could have fit well within this pattern. The sultan's suzerainty over Palestine (a formula advanced by Herzl) did not matter, since it was meant to be only nominal. Moreover, Goluchowski hoped that, if London committed itself to the Zionist cause (as the Italians had already done), this might revive the 1887 tripartite Mediterranean Agreement.

It would be safe to say that had Herzl remained alive, he would have traveled to London, not in connection with the East Africa project but to disclose to Lord Percy the Goluchowski proposal for creating a Concert of Powers in support of the Zionist aspiration.

Criticism, nonetheless, did not abate. It was not until mid-April 1904 (two and a half months before Herzl's death) that the leading opponents, the *Neinsagers*, admitted during the meeting of the Executive that they were mistaken and expressed their unswerving confidence in Herzl.

An Assessment

The shifts of emphasis in Herzl's diplomatic activity from one capital to another gave the impression at the time that his policy was inconsistent, if not contradictory; but this was not so. His strategy was multilateral, though evolving in response to opportunities rather than by design. His basic principle was that the "Jewish Question" was an international one and should therefore be tackled within the framework of international law. He strove to gain recognition and support from all the Powers concerned; which one was to take the lead was of secondary importance. As Israel Zangwill stated, Herzl was not German, English, or Turkish, but the "first Jewish statesman since the destruction of Jerusalem."

Herzl died on July 3, 1904, at the age of 44. His premature death robbed the Zionist movement of a leader of international caliber. He had become a legendary figure in Jewish history, even in his own lifetime; what he accomplished did not make Zionism poorer, but rather made Jewry richer.

Herzl was a statesman without a state, a leader without a people to support him. If he impressed monarchs, ministers, and intellectuals, it was thanks to his own qualities. He aroused both admiration and opposition, but nobody could ignore the magnetism of his personality, his intelligence, his sincerity, and his idealism. A visionary who sometimes naïvely believed that because an idea was good and just it must necessarily prevail, he was also a shrewd and down-to-earth politician with no illusions about human nature. A liberal and a great European, he became the foremost exponent of Jewish nationalism, which was neither chauvinist nor escapist, but an endeavor to restore Jewish honor within a normal national environment. "We shall enter the Promised Land … under the banner of labor.… We must be a people of inventors, warriors, artists, scholars, honest merchants … workmen." Though the *Judennot* was the primordial force which fired Herzl, he never lost sight of the universal aspect of the Jewish renaissance.

Herzl was the founder of political Zionism. He turned a mystique, a dream, into a political factor. The movement that he brought into being became the most dynamic force in modern Jewish history. He founded its organ, *Die Welt*, its financial arm, the Jewish Colonial Trust, and the Zionist Congress, which became the embodiment of Zionist parliamentarianism. Like any great man of history, he foresaw what was going to happen. His prediction of a Jewish catastrophe was fulfilled, tragically, during the Nazi Holocaust and, exactly 50 years and 8 months after he had recorded its creation in his diary, the State of Israel was proclaimed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, 5 vols., ed. R. Patai, tr. H. Zohn (1960); *Iggerot Herzl*, ed. A. Bein et al. (1957–8); A. Bein, *Theodor Herzl: A Biography*, tran. M. Samuel (1962); W. Laqueur, *A History of Zionism* (1972), 84–135; A. Elon, *Herzl* (1975); I. Friedman, *Germany Turkey and Zionism, 1897–1918* (1977), 17–19, 53–119; G. Shimoni and R.S. Wistrich (eds.), *Theodor Herzl: Visionary of the Jewish State* (1999).

[Isaiah Friedman (2nd ed.)]

HERZLIAH HEBREW TEACHERS' INSTITUTE. Hebrew educational institution in the U.S. founded in New York in 1921 by Moses *Feinstein as an afternoon high school. It was expanded into a teachers' seminary in 1923 and the high school was discontinued in 1966. Its aims were "the training of teachers in the … Hebrew Language, Bible, Religion, Art, Drama, History, Tradition and general culture." In 1967 it merged with the Jewish Teachers' Seminary and People's University.

Prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, Herzliah was the chief instrument for Hebraism and Zionism in American Jewish education, with hundreds of alumni serving Jewish communities throughout North America. Its educational philosophy was based on the cultivation of Hebrew as a living language and a medium for cultural creativity and it was dedicated to national revival and the rebuilding of Israel, and a communal (non-denominational) approach to Jewish education and maximalist requirements in Hebrew schools. For a number of years Herzliah sponsored a young people's Hebrew theater (Habima Haktana). Leading exponents of Hebraism in

America served on the faculty, among them Daniel *Persky, Abraham *Epstein, and A.Z. Halevi.

With the American Zionist movement confining itself to political activities, support for Herzliah diminished, although it received some assistance from the Zionist Organization of America for a short period in the 1960s. Enrollment fell sharply from its one-time peak of 500 and, with the conflict of languages between Hebrew and Yiddish in American Jewish life settled in favor of English, Herzliah merged with the Jewish Teachers' Seminary to establish a sounder basis for further operations. Hebrew and Yiddish sectors maintain separate identities in the combined school, though some Yiddish courses were added to the requirements for the Hebrew Teachers Diploma. The merger was unsuccessful as the proliferation of universities teaching Judaic studies, the Hebrew language and Yiddish, and the strength of the seminaries in the New York area made it ever more difficult to recruit students and to garner support for Herzliah, and the institution folded.

[Gershon Winer]

HERZLIYYAH (Heb. הֶרְצְלִיָּה), town in the southern Sharon, Israel, 10½ mi. (17 km.) N. of Tel Aviv, Herzliyyah was first founded as a moshavah in 1924 on land acquired by the *American Zion Commonwealth Corporation (a land purchasing agency organized by the Zionist Organization of America). The settlers, second-generation farmers, members of *Benei Binyamin, soon developed a flourishing agricultural center principally based on citriculture. The discontinuation of citrus exports during World War II brought about the development of other agricultural branches and industrial enterprises. By 1948, Herzliyyah's population was 5,300. After the *War of Independence (1948), the municipal area was greatly enlarged, expanding mainly to the seashore. In 1960, Herzliyyah was accorded city status. In 1969 the city boundaries included two separate urban zones: the older, eastern part, mainly a residential area; the dune-and-sandstone-hill area along the coast, comprising three quarters: a bathing and recreation area on the seashore proper, where some of Israel's largest hotels are located; an industrial area in the south; and a middle-class residential area in the north. Over the years, the physical structure of city changed owing to expansion. In the 21st century, the city can be divided into three main areas: Herzliyyah Pitu'aḥ, an upscale residential area; the industrial area with numerous high-tech firms, well known for its cafés and restaurants; and the eastern belt, including the city center and residential neighborhoods. The city's area runs to 10 sq. mi. (26 sq. km.). It has a number of parks and recreation grounds and the municipality has been developing the city's marina, which already accommodates 800 sailboats. The Herzliyyah Interdisciplinary Center, a private college, is located in the city.

Tel Aviv's proximity was among the factors accelerating its growth, from 16,000 in 1954, and 35,600 in 1968 to 83,300 in 2002, including 7,000 new immigrants, mainly from the former Soviet Union. The city falls within the Tel Aviv conurbation, a factor in regional and countrywide planning. Herzliyyah is named after Theodor *Herzl.

WEBSITE: www.herzliya.muni.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HERZOG, CHAIM (1918–1997), Israeli military commander, attorney, politician, and sixth president of the State of Israel. Member of the Tenth Knesset. Herzog was born in Belfast in Northern Ireland, to Rabbi Isaac *Herzog, who was the chief rabbi of the Jewish community of Ireland in the years 1921–36, after he moved his family to Dublin in 1919. Rabbi Herzog immigrated to Palestine with his family in 1936 and served as Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Palestine and then Israel in 1936–59. Chaim Herzog studied at the Hebron and Merkaz ha-Rav yeshivot and studied at the Government of Palestine Law School. He then continued his studies in London and at Cambridge and received his law degree in Britain. Herzog served in the *Haganah during the Arab Revolt of 1936–38 and in the British army in World War II. He crossed to Normandy and was stationed in northwest Germany, participating in the liberation of some of the concentration camps. Toward the end of the war he served as head of British Intelligence in northern Germany. After the war Herzog graduated from the Royal Military College and returned to Palestine. In 1948 he ran the Defense Section in the Jewish Agency, and after the establishment of the State he fought in the War of Independence, serving as operations officer in the battle of Latrun in 1948–50. In 1959–62 he served as head of the Intelligence Department (later Section) of the IDF. In 1950–54 Herzog served as military attaché at the Israel Embassy in Washington, later serving as commander of the Jerusalem District and as commander of the Southern Command in 1957–59, after receiving the rank of major general. He retired from active service in 1962.

In 1962–72 Herzog managed an industrial development group, and in 1972–83 had a law firm in Tel Aviv that specialized in the representation of large industrial firms. In 1965 he joined the *Rafi Party and was secretary of its Tel Aviv branch. In the course of the Six-Day War he became Israel's best-known military commentator, and after the war he was appointed as the first military governor of Jerusalem and the West Bank. During the Yom Kippur War he once again became a military commentator. From 1975 to 1978 he served as Israel's ambassador to the United Nations, where in November 1975 he led the fight against General Assembly Resolution 3379 that equated Zionism with racism. At the conclusion of his speech in the General Assembly he tore up the document containing the resolution. He was president of the World ORT Union and was awarded an honorary British knighthood in 1970. From 1981 to 1983, he was a Labor member of the Knesset.

In 1983 Herzog was elected president of Israel, serving for ten years. In that period he paid official visits to some 30 countries and addressed 15 parliaments, including both

houses of the U.S. Congress, both houses of the Canadian Parliament, the Argentine Congress, and the Polish Sejm as well as the Bulgarian Parliament, being the first foreigner in history to do so.

He also wrote prolifically in the press in Israel and abroad. Among his books are *Israel's Finest Hour* (1967), *Days of Awe* (1967), *The War of Atonement* (1975), and *The Arab-Israeli Wars* (1982).

Herzog's wife, AURA, established the Council for a Beautiful Israel. His son YITZHAK was elected to the Sixteenth and Seventeenth (2006) Knesset on the Labor Party List, and in January 2005 became minister of construction and housing.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

HERZOG, DAVID (1869–1946), Austrian rabbi and scholar. Herzog was born in Tyrnau (Trnava) and studied in Vienna. In 1900 he was appointed rabbi in Smichov, a suburb of Prague. Later, as rabbi of Graz, Austria, he also taught Semitic languages at the University of Graz. In 1938 the Nazis raided his home and threw him into the Mur River. He was rescued and escaped to Oxford, England. His scholarly interests were two-fold: medieval Jewish Literature, especially Judeo-Arabic writings, and the history of the Jews in Austria, especially in Steiermark. In the first field he published *Die Abhandlung des Abu Bekr ibn Al-Saig "Vom Verhalten des Einsiedlers," nach Mose Narbonis Auszug* (1896); *Maimonides Commentar zum Tractat Peah* (1899), the text in the original Arabic with an introduction and notes; and Joseph b. Eliezer Bonfils' supercommentary to Abraham ibn Ezra's commentary to the Pentateuch (*Josef Bonfils und sein "Tzofnat Paaneach,"* 2 vols., 1911–30, repr. 1966–67). In Jewish history he published, under the influence of J.E. Scherer, a number of important articles and studies. His works are based on archival material and other primary sources, such as tombstone inscriptions. Herzog wrote *Urkunden und Registen zur Geschichte der Juden in der Steiermark* (1935), and "Die juedischen Friedhoefe in Graz" (in *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden in der Steiermark*, vol. 2, 1937). Some of Herzog's sermons also appeared in print.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Kisch, in: *Historia Judaica*, 8 (1946), 105–6.

HERZOG, GEORGE (1901–1983), musicologist. Born in Budapest, Herzog studied at the Royal Academy of Music, Budapest (1917–19), at the Berlin Hochschule fuer Musik (1920–22), with Egon Petri (piano) in 1921, and became assistant to Hornbostel at the Phonogramm-Archiv in Berlin University (1922–4). In 1925 he immigrated to the United States and took a postgraduate course in anthropology at Columbia University. He held academic posts and was a research associate in anthropology at the University of Chicago (1929–31) and at Yale University (1932–5). He completed his doctorate at Columbia University in 1938 with a dissertation on the musical styles of Pueblo and Pima tribes and was an assistant professor of anthropology there (1939–48). In 1948 he became professor of anthropology at Indiana University, bringing with him the Archives of Folk and Primitive Music he had established in 1936, which became the Indiana University Archives of Traditional Music. Herzog was a founder of ethnomusicological studies at American academic institutions and introduced courses in primitive and folk music and comparative musicology. As one of the leading authorities on North Amerindian music, he conducted field research among such tribes as the Apache, Comanche, Dakota, Maricopa, Navaho, Pima, Pueblo, Yuma and Zuni. He was also interested in European folk music (Greek, Irish, Spanish and south Slav) and Jewish (Babylonian, Yemenite and Judeo-Spanish which he recorded among the immigrants in New York, 1939–1941). In 1935 and 1947 he was awarded Guggenheim Fellowships. His writings include *Research in Primitive and Folk Music in the U.S.* (1936), many articles such as "Speech – Melody and Primitive Music," in: *Musical Quarterly,* 20 (1934), 452–66; "Musical Typology in Folksong," in: *Southern Folklore Quarterly,* 1 (1937), 49–55), and contributions to leading encyclopedias.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online; MGG².

[Gila Flam and Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

HERZOG, ISAAC (1888–1959), rabbinic scholar; chief rabbi of Israel. Born in Lomza, Poland, Herzog was nine years old when his father R. Joel Herzog immigrated to Leeds, England, to be the rabbi there. Though Isaac never attended a yeshivah, he achieved the highest standards in rabbinic scholarship, receiving *semikhah* from Jacob David Wilkowsky (Ridbaz) of Safed. Herzog was awarded his doctorate of literature by the London University for a thesis on *The Dyeing of Purple in Ancient Israel* (1919), which deals with the coloring of one of the threads of the **ẓiẓit* (see Num. 15:38). As part of his dissertation, he proved that the process used by the Radzyner ḥasidim to create the blue dye for *ẓiẓit* was incorrect. The Radzyner Rebbe had been misled by an unscrupulous chemist who had added iron filings to the mixture. During World War II, the Radzyner blue dyeing factories and their process were lost. Ironically, after the war, the surviving Radzyn ḥasidim approached Herzog, who gave them the correspondence between him and the Radzyner dyemakers. Thus, they were able to reestablish their dyeing business in Israel, where it still functions to this day.

Endowed with a brilliant analytical mind and a phenomenal memory, Herzog was soon recognized as one of the great rabbinical scholars of his time, besides being a linguist and jurist and at home in mathematics and natural sciences. The charm of his personality, which combined ascetic innocence with conversational wit and diplomatic talents, made a great impression.

Herzog served as rabbi in Belfast (Northern Ireland), 1916–19, and in Dublin until 1936, receiving the title of chief rabbi of the Irish Free State after 1921. He maintained excellent relations with political and ecclesiastical figures, and established a life-long friendship with Eamon de Valera, the

Irish prime minister. By testifying before a committee of the Irish senate he succeeded in safeguarding *sheḥitah* against the provisions of a Slaughter of Animals Act (1935). Herzog was an ardent Zionist and a founder of the Mizrachi Federation of Great Britain and Ireland.

In 1932 Herzog declined an invitation to the rabbinate of Salonika. In 1936 he accepted the invitation to become chief rabbi of Palestine in succession to A.I. *Kook and assumed office in 1937. With the exception of a few die-hard fanatics, who sporadically challenged him, Herzog enjoyed the respect of the vast majority, including the non-religious elements, particularly in the kibbutzim. In the winter of 1938, in reaction to the British Peel Commission and in anticipation to the eventual emergence of an independent Jewish State, Herzog convened a rabbinic conference to discuss the halakhic issues that would arise with Jewish sovereignty. They included *kashrut* and Sabbath observance, laws of marriage and divorce, as well as the incorporation of *halakhah* into the civil and criminal codes. The discussions took into account the fact of non-Jewish citizens and that the majority of the Jewish citizens would not be observant. Herzog was particularly innovative in dealing with the issue of cooperation between a Jewish state and non-Jewish countries. He resorted to the halakhic concept of partnership. He used the same idea as the basis for citizen rights and obligations of non-Jews within the Jewish state. Another area of special concern was the equal status of women and the repercussions on the laws of inheritance. According to Jewish law, women do not inherit their husbands' or parents' property. Herzog grappled with ways to reconcile Jewish law with modern values and practice. As chief rabbi, he was president of the Rabbinical Court of Appeal and of the Chief Rabbinate Council, and thus, through the enactment of *takkanot* in matters of personal status, he was responsible for significant advances, reconciling the necessities of modern living with the demands of *halakhah*. These *takkanot* include the acceptance of non-observant Jews as witnesses before the rabbinic court, the payment of alimony and the coercion of recalcitrant husbands who refuse to give their wives a *get* (decree of divorce). He was also responsible for formulating the statutory regulations governing the rabbinic courts. These were first implemented in 1943. Along with the Sephardi Chief Rabbi, Ben-Zion Ḥai *Ouziel, he did away with the separation of Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews in the rabbinic courts. He also served as president of the Va'ad ha-Yeshivot, established in 1940 to solicit financial support for the country's talmudic colleges. It was his initiative that led to Isaac *Wolfson's building Hechal Shlomo, the seat of the chief rabbinate, and other important religious organizations and services. From the time of his arrival in Israel in 1937, Herzog became the champion of all the Jews arrested by the British Mandate authorities. He actively intervened on behalf of all those sentenced to death. Unfortunately, his efforts were not always successful.

Before, during, and after World War II Herzog was one of the representatives of Palestinian and world Jewry to the various conferences and commissions organized to find a solution to the Arab-Jewish conflict over Palestine. He set forth the Jewish spiritual claims to the Holy Land and stressed the need of a refuge for the survivors of the Holocaust. Herzog, deeply stirred by the tragedy of the Holocaust, traveled to London (1940), the United States (1941), South Africa (1941), Turkey (1943), and Cairo (1944) trying to rescue Jews. Thus, in 1940 he received from Soviet Russia permits for staff and students of Lithuanian and Polish yeshivot stranded in Vilna to cross Russia to the Far East. In 1946 he traveled throughout Europe for six months in an attempt to find and rescue the many Jewish children, mostly orphans, who were hidden in monasteries and convents and with non-Jewish families during the years of Nazi persecution (see *Massa Haẓẓalah*, 1947). In the course of these travels he was received by the pope and many leading statesmen. Herzog fought unsuccessfully to have the laws of the new State of Israel based on Torah law. He was especially disappointed that the vast majority of rabbis in Israel did not assist him in his efforts to base the laws of inheritance on *halakhah*. In responding to another of the challenges made by the new State of Israel to *halakhah*, Herzog took a stance that was different from his predecessor, Rabbi Abraham Isaac ha-Kohen *Kook. Rabbi Kook opposed granting women the right to vote or to hold public office. Herzog, on the other hand, felt that modern democratic standards and the positive impact of the votes cast by religious women demanded that Jewish law find a way to allow women's suffrage. In the end, he did find the right combination of halakhic precedent to support the right of women to vote and to hold office. Indeed, Herzog worked constantly to reconcile Torah, the State, and democracy.

Among Herzog's published works are the first two volumes of the planned five of *Main Institutions of Jewish Law 1936–39* (1965–67^2). His talmudic research is contained in *Divrei Yiẓḥak*, partly published in his father J. Herzog's *Imrei Yo'el* (v. 1, 1921) and partly in his father-in-law S.I. *Hillman's *Or ha-Yashar* (1921), and *Torat ha-Ohel* (1948). Two volumes of responsa, *Heikhal Yiẓḥak*, appeared in 1960 and 1967. His son, Chaim, edited *Judaism: Law & Ethics*, a selection of his father's essays in 1974. *The Royal Purple and the Biblical Blue Argaman and Tekhelet*, Herzog's Ph.D. dissertation, was published in 1987. *Pesakim u-Khetavim*, nine volumes of responsa and letters, were published between 1989 and 1996. *Torat ha-Ohel*, containing novellae on the Rambam and the Talmud, appeared in 1993. The digest of responsa *Oẓar ha-Posekim* (11 vols. to 1969) was founded by Herzog in 1940, as was the Harry Fischel Institute for Research in Jewish Law, one of the functions of which was to train *dayyanim* for the rabbinical courts of Israel. *Massu'ot Yiẓḥak, a religious settlement named after Herzog, located first in the Eẓyon group in the Hebron hills and destroyed in 1948, was rebuilt near Ashkelon.

His wife, SARAH (1899–1979), daughter of Samuel Isaac Hillman, was the president of the Mizrachi Women's Organization and chairman of the Ezrat Nashim hospital in Jerusalem in which capacity she was mainly responsible for the erection of its new facilities (1968).

His son Chaim *Herzog (1918–1997) was Israel's sixth president.

Herzog's second son, JACOB (1921–1972), was a lawyer and doctor of international law in addition to having been ordained as a rabbi. He published a translation and commentary in English of certain tractates of the Mishnah. Before the State of Israel, he was in Haganah intelligence. In the Foreign Ministry of the State he was successively counselor on Jerusalem, director of U.S. Division, adviser to Ben-Gurion during the Sinai Campaign, Israel minister plenipotentiary in Washington, Israel ambassador to Canada, and assistant director general of the Foreign Ministry. From 1965 he was director general of the Prime Minister's Office. He was chairman of the Committee for Twentieth Anniversary Celebrations of the State of Israel.

Chief Rabbi Herzog was the author of the "Prayer for the State of Israel" that is recited in synagogues throughout the world on the Sabbath. He was also responsible for including the phrase, "*reshit ẓemiḥat ge'ulateinu* – the beginning of the emergence of our salvation," in the beginning of the prayer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Safran, in: S. Federbush (ed.), *Ḥokhmat Yisrael be Eiropah* (1965), 127–49; G. Bat-Yehudah, in: L. Jung (ed.), *Men of the Spirit* (1964), 125–38; S. Zevin, *ibid.*, 141–5; idem. (ed.). *Mazkeret, Kovez Torani le-Zekher I. Herzog* (1962); Z. Singer and S. Avidor, in: *Ayin be-Ayin*, no. 14 (March 28, 1958, 9–23; Kressel, Leksikon, 1 (1965), 634–5; T. Preschel, in: *Or ha-Mizraḥ*, 3–4 (Jan. 1962), 73–80, bibliography; I. Goldschlag, in: *Aresheth*, 2 (1960), 437–8. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** I. Warhaftig, in: *Engaging Modernity: Rabbinic Leaders and the Challenge of the Twentieth Century* (1997), 275–319; S.Y. Cohen, in: *Jewish Law Association Studies*, 5 (1991), 9–20; Z. Warhaftig, in: ibid., 21–32; D. Frimer, in: ibid., 33–48; B.Z. Greenberger, in: ibid., 49–112; E. Schochetman, in: ibid., 113–24; S. Urbach, *Pe'iluto ha-Medinit shel ha-Rav Herzog ad Kom ha-Medinah* (1985); S. Maislesh, *Rabbanut be-Se'arat ha-Yamim: Hayav u-Mishnato shel ha-Rav Yizḥaq Eisak Herzog* (1991); S. Avidor ha-Cohen, *Yaḥid be-Doro: Megilat Hayav shel Rabbi Yitzḥaq Eisak ha-Levi Herzog* (1980); D.H. Ellenson, in: *Gender Issues in Jewish Law: Essays and Responsa* (2001); M. Waldman, in: *Teḥumin*, 8 (1987), 121–29; S. Eliash, in: *Ha-Umah*, 66/67 (1982), 86–95; idem, in: *Cathedra*, 21 (1982), 155–70; Y. Ahituv, in: *Etgar ha-Ribonit Yeẓirah ve-Hagut ba-Asor ha-Rishon la-Medinah* (1999), 199–213; E. Westreich, in: *Me'ah Shenot Ẓiyyonut Datit*, 2 (2003), 83–129; Y. Edelstein, in: *Kivunim*, 13 (1982), 151–59. **WEBSITE:** www.tekhelet.com.

[Jacob Goldman / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

HERZOG, REGINALD OLIVER (1878–1935), German organic chemist who described the microcrystalline structure of cellulose. Herzog was born in Vienna. He worked at the Technische Hochschule at Karlsruhe from 1905 to 1912, and became professor of chemistry at the German Technische Hochschule of Prague in 1912. From 1919 until the advent of Hitler in 1933 he was director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institut fuer Faserstoffchemie in Berlin-Dahlem. In 1934 he accepted the chair of chemical engineering at the University of Istanbul. Herzog's X-ray studies of cellulose, together with the simultaneous and independent work by Scherrer, opened up the modern conceptions on high molecular weight materials and fibers. He was a versatile chemist, with a keen and imaginative mind, and among the topics he worked on were dyestuffs, tanning, enzymes, proteins, and diffusion constants. He wrote *Chemische Technologie der organischen Verbindungen* and edited a handbook *Technologie der Textilfasern* (1926).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Nature*, 135 (1935), 534–5.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

HERZOG, SHIRA (1957–), journalist, Middle East analyst, administrator. Shira Herzog was born into a prominent Jerusalem family. Her father, Dublin-born Ya'acov Herzog, was a rabbi and leading Israeli diplomat. Her uncle, Chaim *Herzog, served as chief of Israel's military intelligence and later president of Israel.

After she completed her military service, Shira Herzog went to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and graduated with a B.A. in history and English literature in 1974. Daughter of a diplomat, as a young child she had lived in Ottawa while her father was for three years Israel's ambassador to Canada, and in 1974 she returned to Canada, where she completed an M.A. in English at York University in Toronto. Deeply committed to a democratic and progressive Israel, in 1976 she joined the Canada Israel Committee, first as director of special projects, then as director of research, and finally as national executive director. In 1988 she became vice president of the Calgary-based Kahanoff Foundation, one of Canada's largest private foundations. The Kahanoff Foundation, which also maintains offices in Toronto and Tel Aviv, initiates and funds innovative community programs in western Canada and Israel.

Highly regarded for her insightful analysis of Middle East affairs, from 1994 to 2003 Herzog was a regular contributor to the *Canadian Jewish News* and from 2002 wrote a column on the Middle East and Jewish affairs for the *Globe and Mail*, Canada's most influential newspaper. She also co-hosted *Israel Today*, a Canadian-produced television program devoted to Israel and Jewish issues.

Based in Toronto, Herzog served on the boards of the Philanthropic Foundations of Canada, the American-based Council of Foundations, the Institute for Research on Public Policy headquartered in Montreal, and the Tel Aviv-based Israel Democracy Institute, which seeks to promote the development of democratic values and political institutions in Israel.

[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

HESCHEL, ABRAHAM JOSHUA (1907–1972), U.S. scholar and philosopher, descended on his father's side from *Dov Baer (the Maggid) of Mezeritch and *Abraham Joshua Heschel of Apta (Opatow); on his mother's side from *Levi Isaac of Berdichev. After traditional Jewish studies, he obtained rabbinic ordination (*semikhah*). At the age of 20 he enrolled in the University of Berlin, where he obtained his doctorate, and at the *Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums,* where he also taught Talmud and received a second, liberal rabbinical ordination. In 1937 Martin *Buber appointed him his suc-

cessor at the central organization for Jewish adult education (*Mittelstelle fuer juedische Erwachsenenbildung*) and the *Juedisches Lehrhaus* at Frankfurt on the Main. Deported by the Nazis in October 1938 to Poland, he taught for eight months at the Warsaw Institute of Jewish Studies. He immigrated to England where he established the Institute for Jewish Learning in London. In 1940 he was invited by Julian Morgenstern to teach at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, where he was associate professor of philosophy and rabbinics for five years. From 1945 he taught at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTS) as professor of Jewish ethics and mysticism. In 1946 he married Sylvia Strauss, who gave birth to Susannah Heschel, who followed in the footsteps of her father as a scholar of Judaism. Heschel visited Israel and called for the renewal of the prophetic vision in Zion. He served as professor at JTS until his death, combining his professional activities with extensive social action.

Writings

Heschel wrote books and studies on medieval Jewish philosophy – on Saadiah Gaon, Solomon ibn Gabirol, Maimonides, and Don Isaac Abrabanel – as well as on Ḥasidism. He became one of the most influential modern philosophers of religion in the United States, where his work is widely recognized in Jewish and Christian circles. Heschel saw the task of the philosopher of religion neither in the construction of a "religion of reason" which draws on non-Jewish sources nor in the analysis of "religious experience." The first substitutes philosophy for religion; the second tends to replace it with the psychology of religion. Heschel's own works attempt to penetrate and illumine the reality underlying religion, the living and dynamic relationship between God and man, through the empathetic understanding of the documents of Israel's tradition and of the experience of the religious Jew. Although he brought to this task the tools of modern philosophy, he pointed out repeatedly that no amount of rational analysis alone can ever exhaust the richness and fullness of this reality. He therefore highlighted the fact that reason itself discloses its own limits and that the ineffable quality of the Divine cannot fully be reduced to any scheme of conceptual categories, because man apprehends more than he can comprehend.

Heschel's lifework can be seen as consisting of two parallel strands: (1) the undertaking to study and interpret the classical sources of Judaism and (2) the endeavor to offer to his contemporaries a theology which results from the application of the insights of the traditional sources to the problems and questions which the modern Jew faces. Thus he started out with a book on prophecy (*Die Prophetie*, 1936), which presents a phenomenology of prophetic consciousness, and a biography of Maimonides treating the existential confrontation of Aristotelian philosophy with rabbinic Judaism. Studies in the field of Ḥasidism continued this undertaking. He published his first American book under the title *The Earth Is the Lord's* (1950) on Jewish life in Eastern Europe. In his three-volume Hebrew work, *Torah min ha-Shamayim be-Aspaklaryah shel ha-Dorot* (1962, 1965; third volume published posthumously in 1990), he presented the assumptions and ideas underlying the talmudic views of Torah and revelation and discovered two major trends in ancient Jewish thought which became formative in all subsequent Jewish history. In these two trends, epitomized by Rabbi *Ishmael and Rabbi *Akiva, halakhic differences reflect different aggadic positions of faith. Rabbi Akiva maintained that the Torah is written in heavenly language, which stimulates vision and opens one up to mystery, whereas Rabbi Ishmael asserted that the Torah is written in the language of man, which promotes logical thinking and the search for *peshat* (the plain meaning).

The results of Heschel's wide-ranging studies contributed to the formation of his original philosophy of Judaism, expressed in his two foundational books, *Man Is Not Alone* (1951) and *God in Search of Man* (1955). Religion is defined as the answer to man's ultimate questions. Since modern man is largely alienated from reality, which informs genuine religion, Heschel tried to recover the significant existential questions to which Judaism offers answers. This leads to a depth-theology which goes below the surface phenomena of modern doubt and rootlessness and results in a humanistic approach to the personal God of the Bible, who is neither a philosophical abstraction nor a psychological projection, but a living reality who takes a passionate interest in His creatures. The "divine concern" or "divine pathos" is the central category of Heschel's philosophy. Man's ability to transcend his egocentric interests and to respond with love and devotion to the divine demand, to His "pathos" or "transitive concern," is the root of Jewish life with its ethics and observances. The ability to rise to the holy dimension of the divine imperative is at the basis of human freedom. The failures and successes of Israel to respond to God's call constitute the drama of Jewish history as seen from the viewpoint of theology. The polarity of law and life, the pattern and the spontaneous, of *keva* ("permanence") and *kavvanah* ("devotion"), inform all of life and produce the creative tension in which Judaism is a way of prescribed and regular *mitzvot* as well as a spontaneous and always novel reaction of each Jew to the divine reality.

Heschel developed a philosophy of time in which a technical society that tends to think in spatial categories is contrasted with the Jewish idea of hallowing time, of which the Sabbath and the holidays are the most outstanding examples (*The Sabbath*, 1951). He defined Judaism as a religion of time, aiming at the sanctification of time. In his depth-theology, which is based upon the human being's pre-conceptual cognition, Heschel thought that all humanity has an inherent sense of the sacred; he pleaded for a radical amazement and fulminated against symbolism as a reduction of religion. Instead of advocating a sociological view of Judaism, he highlighted the spirituality and inner beauty of Judaism as well as the religious act, while at the same time rejecting a religious behaviorism without inwardness. Heschel's way of writing is poetical and suggestive, sometimes meditative, containing many antitheses and provocative questions and aims at the

transformation of modern man into a spiritual being in dialogue with God.

Religion and Action

Underlying all of Heschel's thought is the belief that modern man's estrangement from religion is not merely the result of intellectual perplexity or of the obsoleteness of traditional religion, but rather the failure of modern man to recover the understanding and experience of that dimension of reality in which the divine-human encounter can take place. His philosophy of religion has therefore a twofold aim: to forge the conceptual tools by which one can adequately approach this reality, and to evoke in modern man – by describing traditional piety and the relationship between God and man – the sympathetic appreciation of the holy dimension of life without which no amount of detached analysis can penetrate to the reality which is the root of all art, morality, and faith.

Heschel applied in a number of essays and addresses the insights of his religious philosophy to particular problems confronting people in modern times. He addressed rabbinic and lay audiences on the topics of prayer and symbolism (see his *Man's Quest for God*, 1954), dealt with the problems of youth and old age at two White House conferences in Washington, and played an active part in the civil rights movement in the U.S. in the 1960s, and in the Jewish-Christian dialogue beginning with the preparations for Vatican Council II. Heschel thought that religious people from various denominations are linked to each other, since "No religion is an island."

Heschel considered himself a survivor, "a brand plucked from the fire, in which my people was burned to death." He also regarded himself as a descendant of the prophets. He was a person who combined inner piety and prophetic activism. He was profoundly interested in spirituality, but an inner spirituality concretely linked to social action, as exemplified by his commitment to the struggle for civil rights in the U.S., by his protests against the Vietnam War, and by his activities on behalf of Soviet Jewry (see i.a. *The Insecurity of Freedom: Essays on Human Existence*, 1966).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.J. Petuchowski, "Faith as the Leap of Action: The Theology of Abraham Joshua Heschel," in: *Commentary*, 25:5 (1958), 390–97; F.A. Rothschild (ed. and intr.), *Between God and Man: An Interpretation of Judaism from the Writings of Abraham J. Heschel* (1965); S. Seigel, "Abraham Heschel's Contribution to Jewish Scholarship," in *Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly*, 32 (1968):72–85; F. Sherman, *The Promise of Heschel* (1970); S. Tanenzapf, "Abraham Heschel and his Critics," in: *Judaism*, 23:3 (1974), 276–86; M. Friedman, "Divine Need and Human Wonder: The Philosophy of A.J. Heschel," in: *Judaism*. 25:1 (1976), 65–78; B.L. Sherwin, *Abraham Joshua Heschel* (1979); S.T. Katz, "Abraham Joshua Heschel and Hasidism," in: *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 31(1980), 82–104; H. Kasimow, "Abraham Joshua Heschel and Interreligious Dialogue," in: *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, 18 (1981), 423–34; J.C. Merkle, *The Genesis of Faith: The Depth-Theology of Abraham Joshua Heschel* (1985); J.C. Merkle (ed.), *Abraham Joshua Heschel: Exploring His Life and Thought* (1985); L. Perlman, *Abraham Heschel's Idea of Revelation* (1989); D. Moore, *The Human and the Holy: The Spirituality of A.J. Heschel* (1989); H. Kasimow and B. Sherwin (eds.), *No Religion Is an Island* (1991); E.K. Kaplan, *Holiness in Words* (1996); E.K. Kaplan and S.H. Dresner, *Abraham Joshua Heschel: Prophetic Witness* (1998); R. Horwitz, "Abraham Joshua Heschel on Prayer and His Hasidic Sources," in: *Modern Judaism*, 19:3 (1999), 293–310; E. Schweid, *Prophets for Their People and Humanity. Prophecy and Prophets in 20th Century Jewish Thought* (Heb., 1999), 234–54; A. Even-Chen, *A Voice from the Darkness: Abraham Joshua Heschel – Phenomenology and Mysticism* (Heb., 1999); E. Meir, "David Hartman on the Attitudes of Soloveitchik and Heschel towards Christianity," in: J.W. Malino (ed.), *Judaism and Modernity: The Religious Philosophy of David Hartman* (2001), 253–65; idem, "Love and Truth in the Jewish Consciousness According to Abraham Joshua Heschel," in: *Hagut. Jewish Educational Thought*, 3–4 (2002), 141–50; G. Rabinovitch (ed.), *Abraham J. Heschel: Un tsaddiq dans la cité* (2004).

[Fritz A. Rothschild / Ephraim Meir (2nd ed.)]

HESCHEL, ABRAHAM JOSHUA BEN JACOB (d. 1664), talmudic scholar of Lithuania and Poland. His father was rabbi of the community of Brest-Litovsk and head of its yeshivah, where Abraham Joshua became a teacher as a young man. In 1630 his father was appointed rabbi of Lublin and head of the yeshivah, where Abraham Joshua again assisted him. After his father's death in 1644, he succeeded him as head of the yeshivah. Some scholars claim that he also inherited the rabbinic position, others that he became rabbi of Lublin only in 1650 after the death of Naphtali Katz, who was his father's successor. In 1654, Abraham Joshua became rabbi and head of the yeshivah of Cracow, succeeding the famous Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller.

Heschel was a wealthy man, of outstanding piety, and his reputation as a teacher attracted numerous students. A number of them became famous in their own right, among them *Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen, Aaron Samuel *Koidanover, Gershon *Ashkenazi, and Hillel of Brest Litovsk. His teaching methods were based on dialectics (*pilpul*). Heschel's renown as a legal authority spread far and questions were addressed to him from all parts of Europe. Although in many cases he was reluctant to give decisions, when he did, they were brief, logical, and to the point. During the Chmielnicki persecutions many cases of **agunot* came before him, and Heschel exercised considerable leniency in dealing with them. In one such instance, involving a certain Jacob (grandfather of Jacob *Emden), who was missing after an attack on Vilna, witnesses gave evidence that he had been killed by the Cossacks, and Heschel decided that the wife could remarry; six months later Jacob returned, whereupon Heschel resolved that he would refrain in the future from giving decisions in such matters (see *Megillat Sefer* by Jacob Emden (1897), 7; and J.M. Zunz, *Ir ha-Ẓedek* (1874), 111). He was commissioned by the communities of Poland to solicit aid from the wealthy Jewish communities of Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia for the victims of the Chmielnicki massacres. Heschel was received everywhere with great respect, and his mission was crowned with success. He was supposedly even received by the emperor of Austria who accorded him great honor. Heschel died in Cracow.

His commentaries on the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* of *Moses of Coucy were published in its Kapost edition in 1807; they are short and logical, and reveal a fine command of the Hebrew language. Aaron Kelniker, a student of Heschel's in Lublin, published a work, *Toledot Aharon* (Lublin, 1682), containing some of his teacher's novellae on *Bava Kamma*, *Bava Meẓia*, and *Bava Batra*, compiled from lecture notes. Later editions were entitled *Ḥiddushei Halakhot* (Offenbach, 1723; etc.). In the preface, Kelniker briefly described the famous yeshivah of Lublin during his period of studies there under Heschel.

The *Ḥanukkat ha-Torah* of E.J. Ersohn (1900) contains 600 of Heschel's homilies on the Bible, gathered from different rabbinic sources of the 17th and early 18th centuries. Events connected with Heschel and his time are recorded by the author in the appendix, *Kunteres Aharon*, which, although containing some legends, also includes much material of historical value. Some of Heschel's responsa are to be found in works of his contemporaries. His novellae and a commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh are still in manuscript (see *Kunteres Aharon*, 103).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.M. Zunz, *Ir ha-Ẓedek* (1874), 104–14; Kaufmann, in: MGWJ, 39 (1895), 556; E.J. Ersohn, *Ḥanukkat ha-Torah* (1900); Halpern, Pinkas, 84, n. 1.

[Shlomo Eidelberg]

HESHBON (Heb. חֶשְׁבּוֹן), biblical city in Transjordan, 50 mi. (80 km.) due E. of Jerusalem. The identification of Heshbon is undisputed; it was situated on the site of the present town of Ḥisbān in the southern Belka. The site was first explored in the 19th century; excavations at the site were conducted by S.H. Horn between 1968 and 1973, by L.T. Geraty between 1974 and 1976, and in 1978 by J. Taylor and L.G. Herr. Heshbon was the capital of Siḥon, king of the Amorites (Num. 21:26), and was conquered by Moses and the Israelites in their first victory on the way to the Promised Land. This event is recorded in a kind of postscript to an ancient song extolling Heshbon's might (Num. 21:30). The city was assigned to the tribe of Reuben (Num. 32:37) but because of its proximity to the borders of Gad it is listed as a levitical city in the latter's territory (Josh. 21:39; I Chron. 6:66). Its fate in the conflict between Israel and Moab in the time of the Judges (Ehud) is uncertain (cf. Judg. 3:12ff.; I Sam. 12:9–11); the Ammonites also appear to have claimed it at that time (Judg. 11:26). Archeological excavations at the site have not brought to light remains predating c. 1200 B.C.E. A small unfortified village existed at the site during the 12th–11th centuries B.C.E. The territory remained Israelite until after the death of Ahab (c. 853 B.C.E.) when Mesha, king of Moab, reconquered it during his rebellion against his Israelite overlord. Remains of a settlement at the site were uncovered dating from the 7th–6th centuries B.C.E. Several inscribed sherds were found. In Isaiah (15:4) and Jeremiah (48:2, 34) Heshbon is still mentioned as a Moabite city although Jeremiah also speaks of it as belonging to Ammon (49:3). The fertile area around Heshbon is mentioned in Isaiah 16:8–9 and the memory of the pools of Heshbon lingers on in Song of Songs 7:5 where the eyes of the beloved are compared with them. In the early 13th century B.C.E. Siḥon was thus a conqueror who soon lost his lands to another invader (cf. Num. 21:25–30). Situated on the "King's Highway" (cf. TJ, Shev. 6:1, 36c, and parallels) and surrounded by fertile fields and vineyards, Heshbon was eminently suited as a central settlement. It was an important site during the Hellenistic to Roman periods (c. 200 B.C.E. to 130 C.E.). In Hasmonean times it was apparently conquered by John Hyrcanus early in his reign (135–104 B.C.E.) although the sources record only the conquest of Samaga, a village in its territory (Jos., Ant. 13:255; Wars 1:63). Although the city was apparently held by Alexander Yannai (Ant. 13:397), Hyrcanus II ceded it to the Nabatean king Aretas III (as may be concluded from Ant. 14:18). Herod recovered it from the Nabateans and established a colony of veterans there (*ibid.*, 15:294). At the outbreak of the Jewish War in 66 C.E., it was attacked by Jews (Wars 2:458). In 106 C.E. Heshbon became part of the new Provincia Arabia (Eusebius, Onom. 84:4). From the 2nd-4th centuries C.E. the site has the remains of a temple and inn on the acropolis, the former destroyed in the earthquake of 365 C.E. In the third century it was renamed Aurelia Esbus and Jerome mentions it by this name and describes it as "a notable city of Arabia in the mountains in front of Jericho, 20 Roman miles from the Jordan" (Onom. 85:4–5). Its coins, struck under Elagabalus, show Zeus and Esculapius as well as the Arabian deities Dushara-Dionysus and Astargatis-Astarte. In the fourth and fifth centuries Heshbon was the seat of a bishop (two churches are known from the site) and after the Arab conquest it was the capital of the Belka district up to Mamluk times. Medieval and Ottoman remains are also known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Glueck, in: AASOR, 18–19 (1939), 242–51; Avi-Yonah, Geog, index; A.S. Marmadji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine* (1951), 22, 53, 108; EM, 3 (1965), 311–3; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, 1 (Ger., 1907), 383ff. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** L.T. Geraty and D. Merling, *Hesban After Twenty-Five Years* (1994).

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

HESHIN, SHNEUR ZALMAN (1903–1959), Israel jurist and Supreme Court justice. Heshin, who was born in Jerusalem, studied law in the United States. In 1937 he was appointed a magistrate in Tel Aviv and from 1944 to 1948 served as district court judge there. He became a justice of the Supreme Court of Israel in 1948, and from 1954 was its permanent deputy president. He published several books on his legal experiences, including one on child adoption, *Yaldei Immuẓim* (1956), and *Tears and Laughter in an Israel Courtroom* (1959). A brilliant jurist with a thorough knowledge of several legal systems, his judgments were an important contribution in Israel law in the first years of the state's existence.

[Benjamin Jaffe]

His son MISHAEL CHESHIN (1936–), also a Supreme Court justice, was born in Beirut and graduated magna cum laude from the Hebrew University Law Faculty. In 1962, he re-

ceived a doctorate in law from the Hebrew University. From 1957 through the mid-1980s, he was a lecturer at the Hebrew University Law School. During 1962–78, he was also employed by the Ministry of Justice, first as deputy state attorney and from 1972 as deputy attorney general. From 1978 to 1991 he engaged in private law practice in Jerusalem and in 1992 he was named to the Israel Supreme Court, becoming deputy president in 2005 and retiring in 2006. Known as an independent-minded defender of civil liberties, Cheshin was a mainstay of Aharon *Barak's activist court.

[Leon Fine (2nd ed.)]

HESKES, IRENE (1923–1999), U.S. music historian, bibliographer, compiler, and editor who specialized in Jewish music. Her work was published in milestone books such as *The Resource Book of Jewish Music* (1985) and *Passport to Jewish Music* (1994). In addition she wrote numerous articles and reviews for musicological and general publication on the subject of Jewish and Israeli music. She also edited *The Cantorial Art* (New York, 1966) and *Studies in Jewish Music: The Collected Writings of A.W. Binder* (New York, 1971). Her latest compilation of the catalog *Yiddish American Popular Songs 1895–1950* (1992), which presents 3,427 Yiddish song titles, highlights material from the Library of Congress collection of Judaic music and tells the story of struggles of migration, settlement, hope and acculturation through a catalogue of sheet music that had been deposited in the Library of Congress for copyright registration, but was virtually unknown to scholars. This book is important for an understanding of the roots of the American musical theater.

[Gila Flam (2nd ed.)]

HESPED (Heb. הֶסְפֵּד), eulogy in honor of the departed and as a comfort to the bereaved (Sanh. 46b–47a). Based upon the biblical accounts of the death and burial of Sarah (Gen. 23:2), Jacob (Gen. 50:10), Samuel (I Sam. 25:1), Saul and Jonathan (II Sam. 1:12), and others, eulogizing is regarded in Jewish tradition as a religious duty in fulfillment of the commandment to "love your neighbor as yourself" (Maim. Yad, Evel, 14:1; Sh. Ar., YD 344:1). The eulogy should emphasize the good deeds and virtues of the deceased, but should avoid excessive praise (Ber. 62a). In the Talmud the question is disputed whether the *hesped* is in honor of the deceased or a tribute to the bereaved family; it is concluded that it is a homage to the deceased (Sanh. 46b–47a). Where professional eulogizers are employed, the heirs of the deceased can be forced to defray the costs of the eulogy (Sanh. 46b).

The martyrs executed by the Romans were not eulogized, for fear of the authorities (Sanh. 11a). Suicides and persons placed under *ḥerem* are not to be eulogized (Sh. Ar., YD 345); gentiles may be eulogized (Ber. 16b).

The eulogy should be pronounced in front of the bier, either in the public square or at the cemetery (BB 100b). The biers of famous scholars and community leaders were carried into the synagogue for eulogizing (Sh. Ar., YD 344:20), as is still the custom today. Based upon Jeremiah 22:10, the eulogy may take place only within the seven days following the death (MK 27b; Sh. Ar. YD 394:1–2); for scholars and great community leaders, however, it can be made within 12 months of their death (Maim. Yad, Evel, 13:10; see Ket. 103b). In the Babylonian academies, it was customary to eulogize during the *Kallah sessions of Adar and Elul all those rabbis who had passed away in the intervening period. Likewise in Central and Eastern Europe, on the Seventh of *Adar, all scholars who died during the past year are eulogized. In some communities, the *hesped* takes the form of a talmudic discourse delivered after the *sheloshim* (30th day after death). According to traditional custom, no eulogy is pronounced on Sabbath, on festivals, on the New Moon, on Ḥanukkah, on Purim, on the eve of a holiday and on Isru Ḥag (the day after it), during the whole month of Nisan, and on the days when the *Taḥanun prayer is omitted. In some congregations, eulogies are not delivered 30 days prior to a festival (MK 1:5; MK 8a). These rules are lifted in case of a learned and worthy person, though the eulogy should be shorter than usual (MK 27b).

A beautiful example of a eulogy is stated in the Talmud (TJ, Ber. 2:8, 5b–c) where *Resh Lakish eulogized his pupil R. Ḥiyya b. Adda by quoting Song of Songs, "My beloved is gone down to his garden,… to gather lilies." He interpreted the verse to allude to God ("the beloved") who came down to take the righteous as one gathers lilies in a garden of flowers. While the Bible and Talmud preserve instances of short eulogies only, medieval and modern homiletic literatures abound in long and often intricately composed prose eulogies.

A bibliography of famous eulogies was compiled by A. *Jellinek (*Kunteres ha-Maspid*, 1884) and by D. Wachstein (*Mafte'aḥ ha-Hespedim*, 3 vols. 1922–30).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ET, 9 (1959), 606–19; Eisenstein, Dinim, s.v.

[Meir Ydit]

HESS, MENDEL (1807–1871), German rabbi. Born at Lengsfeld (Stadtlengsfeld), Saxe-Weimar, he was one of the first German rabbis to have a university education. In 1827 he was appointed chief rabbi of the grand duchy of Saxe-Weimar, residing first at Lengsfeld and thereafter, until his death, at Eisenach. Hess was an advocate of radical *Reform, carrying out, despite opposition from the Jews, a government decree of June 20, 1823, which required all services in synagogue to be conducted in German. In addition, he officiated at marriages between Jews and Christians. From 1839 to 1848 he edited (with S. *Holdheim in the last year) *Der Israelit des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, a weekly which publicized his views. He published an order of worship for the Jews of Saxe-Weimar (Eisenach, 1833), and collections of sermons and addresses (1839–48, 1871).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AZDJ, 1 (1837), 25–27; JZWL, 10 (1872), 204–7; D. Philipson, *Reform Movement in Judaism* (1931²), index.

[Joseph Elijah Heller]

HESS, MICHAEL (1782–1860), German educator. He was sent by his father, Rabbi Isaac Hess Kugelmann, to the yeshivah in Fuerth and later moved to Frankfurt o. M., where he was appointed as tutor to the son of Meyer Amschel *Rothschild in 1804. At the age of 24 he became headmaster of the recently founded Frankfurt Philanthropin school, a position he held until 1855. Influenced by the writings of Moses *Mendelssohn and an extreme advocate of *Reform, Hess gradually limited the time allotted for Jewish studies, claiming that religion should be the province of the home. Among his innovations were a girls' school, a kindergarten, confirmations, sermons, hymns, prayers in German, and a semi-religious Sunday school. In 1819 he vigorously opposed the erection of an Orthodox school; he attacked the school founded in 1853 by S.R. *Hirsch, who replied in 1854 in a scathing pamphlet entitled *Die Religion im Bunde mit dem Fortschritt*. Hess wrote pedagogic works and a history of the Philanthropin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Galliner, in: YLBI, 3 (1958), 174–6; *Festschrift zur Jahrhundertfeier der Realschule der israelitischen Gemeinde zu Frankfurt*, 1 (1904), 91–95; M. Eliav, *Ha-Ḥinnukh ha-Yehudi be-Germanyah* (1960), 113, 115–8, 221–4.

HESS, MOSES (1812–1875), German socialist, a precursor of modern Zionism, and father of Zionist Socialism. Born in Bonn, Hess remained there with his Orthodox grandfather when in 1817 his father moved to Cologne, where he owned a grocery and a sugar refinery. His grandfather provided him with a religious education, and only at the age of 14 was Hess sent to Cologne, where he worked in his father's business. From 1837 to 1839 he studied philosophy at the University of Bonn, but did not graduate. In 1837 Hess published his first book *Die heilige Geschichte der Menschheit*, an historical-philosophical work that displayed a profound influence of both the Bible and Spinoza and already contained communistic elements. Of considerably greater importance was his second book, *Die europaeische Triarchie* (1841), in which he recommended the union of the three great powers – England, France, and Germany – into one European state.

Hess was one of the founders, editors, and, from the end of 1842, the Paris correspondent of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, the first socialist daily in Cologne (it was suspended by the Prussian government in March 1843 after 15 months of publication). His numerous articles and essays also appeared in a series of radical periodicals of the period. In 1845–46 he edited an important socialist monthly, *Der Gesellschaftsspiegel*. In 1845 Hess moved to Belgium and was active in the Kommunistenbund, and 1848–49 he lived in Paris as a correspondent for German newspapers. In 1849 he took refuge in Switzerland and two years later in Belgium. From 1853 until the end of his life, he lived – with interruptions – in Paris.

After the death of his father (1851), who left him an inheritance that constituted the basis of his very modest but independent way of life, Hess married his Christian companion Sybille Pesch of Aachen. He spent the years 1861 to 1863 in Germany, where he published his most famous work *Rom und Jerusalem, die letzte Nationalitaetsfrage* (1862; *Rome and Jerusalem*, 1918 and later editions). In 1863 he actively cooperated with Lassalle and was the *Bevollmaechtigter* (plenipotentiary delegate) of the Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein for the district of Cologne. At the end of 1863 he returned to Paris and contributed a number of studies to the *Archives israélites de France*. As a Freemason he also contributed to *Le monde maçonnique*. He was also a Paris correspondent of the Chicago *Illinois Staats-Zeitung* (1865–70), the *Social-Democrat* (1865–67), the *Rheinische Zeitung* (1868–70), and the *Volksstaat* (1869–70).

As a Prussian subject, Hess was expelled from France at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War. He moved to Belgium, where he published his violently anti-Prussian pamphlet, *Une nation déchue, Coalition de tous les peuples centre l'Allemagne prussifiée* (1871). After the war he returned once more to Paris and wrote the first volume of his *Dynamische Stofflehre* (published posthumously by his wife in 1877). He died in Paris and was buried, according to his own wish, at the Jewish cemetery in Deutz, near Cologne. His remains were transferred to kevuẓat Kinneret in Israel in 1961.

Hess may be considered the first important German socialist and the main representative of "philosophical Socialism." In contradistinction to Ludwig Feuerbach, who applied his theory of self-alienation only to theology, Hess applied this notion to historical and economic phenomena, such as property, money, the state, politics, etc. He believed that free labor – uncorrupted by private property and identical with genuine enjoyment – should replace the contemporary social system based on exploitation and characterized by the concentration of capital and the proletarianization of the masses. Hess felt that free labor would develop the "essence" of man as a social species. Socialism was not a class question to Hess, but a humanitarian problem that would be solved by education and the organization of labor. In his view, therefore, Socialism was practical ethics. In their *Communist Manifesto*, *Marx and Engels bitterly attacked and ridiculed this type of "true" Socialism. Hess was the first to recognize the greatness of Marx, at a time (September, 1841) when the latter was virtually unknown. He exercised an influence on the young Marx and won Engels for Communism. Between 1846 and 1851 Hess himself was strongly influenced by Marx, but he never became a "true" Marxist. Under the impact of Marx, Hess began to stress the importance of the material and economic factors for the realization of Communism. But he remained an ethical socialist even after having adopted some of Marx's ideas.

Hess' attitude toward the Jews underwent important changes within the course of his life. In his twenties he thought that the Jews had already accomplished their mission in history and should assimilate; he felt himself thoroughly German. During the *Damascus Affair (1840), he was deeply affected by the sufferings of his fellow Jews, but his compassion was not of long duration. Yet in 1862, he published *Rome and*

Jerusalem, a classic of Zionist literature. At the beginning of the book he states:

> Here I stand once more, after 20 years of estrangement, in the midst of my people; I participate in its holy days of joy and mourning, its memories and hope, its spiritual struggles in its own house and with the civilized people among which it lives, but with which, despite 2,000 years of living and striving together, it cannot organically coalesce. A thought which I had stifled forever within my heart is again vividly present with me; the thought of my nationality, inseparable from the inheritance of my ancestors, the Holy Land and the eternal city, the birthplace of belief in the divine unity of life and in the future brotherhood of all men. This thought, buried alive, had for years throbbed in my sealed heart, demanding outlet. But I lacked the energy necessary for the transition, from a path apparently so remote from Judaism as mine was, to that new path which appeared before me in the hazy distance and only in its general outlines.

Hess' inner transformation was the result of his own studies and his own experience. At the outbreak of the Italian war with Austria (1859), he noticed the connection between his anthropological studies and the liberation movement of the oppressed nationalities. These studies convinced him that all racial domination would ultimately cease and would be followed by a regeneration of the nations, including the Jewish one. On the other hand, it is clear that he personally suffered humiliation from antisemites. The Jewish national concept held by Hess was based on his idea of race. All past history, according to Hess, moved in the sphere of race and class struggle. "The race struggle," he said, "is the primal one, the class struggle secondary." He was convinced that there are "two world-historical races" whose combined cultural efforts shaped modern society: the Aryans and the Semites. The Aryans aim at explaining and beautifying life, the Semites at moralizing and sanctifying it. In the field of races there is variety but no superiority or inferiority, so that there is no justification for racial oppression or discrimination. The final aim of history is harmonious cooperation of all nations. For every oppressed nationality, national independence is the prerequisite for social progress.

Hess professed that Jews must preserve their nationality in the exile and strive for its political restoration in Palestine. He felt that the Jewish religion is the best means of preserving the nationality of the Jews and must therefore be left unchanged until the day when the foundations of a Jewish political and social establishment are laid in Palestine and a Sanhedrin can be elected to modify Jewish law in agreement with the needs of the new society. According to Hess, the Jewish people needed a "center of action," around which a nucleus of men devoted to the religious mission of Israel could gather to pursue their work. One day these men would discover one another in the ancient state of Israel. Their number is irrelevant, since Judaism has never been represented by a numerous people (*Archives israélites*, 26 (1865), 486). The future Jewish state, he pointed out, must be based on the following foundations: acquisition of soil by the nation as a whole; creation of legal conditions under which work can flourish; and "founding of Jewish societies of agriculture, industry and trade in accordance with Mosaic, i.e., socialist, principles" (*Rome and Jerusalem*, Letter 12).

Moses Hess was forgotten for some time, and only with the birth of the Zionist movement were his personality and his book, *Rome and Jerusalem*, appreciated. Herzl wrote about Hess in his diary on May 2, 1901:

> The 19 hours of this round trip were whiled away for me by Hess with his *Rome and Jerusalem*, which I had first started to read in 1898 in Jerusalem, but had never been able to finish properly in the pressure and rush of these years. Now I was enraptured and uplifted by him. What an exalted noble spirit! Everything that we have tried is already in his book. The only bothersome thing is his Hegelian terminology. Wonderful the Spinozistic-Jewish and nationalist elements. Since Spinoza, Jewry has brought forth no greater spirit than this forgotten Moses Hess (Vol. 3, p. 1090).

Articles on Hess and the beginning of attempts of translation appeared in the 1880s. M. *Bodenheimer, who published a new edition of *Rome and Jerusalem* with an introduction, made the book available to the public in 1899, and since then many editions have come out both in the original and translation. T. Zlocisti also contributed to the revival of Hess' memory by publishing a selection of Hess' *Juedische Schriften* (1905), *Philosophische und sozialistische Schriften* (1921), a comprehensive biography (1925, translated into Hebrew in 1945–50), and his letters (published only in Hebrew with notes by the translator, 1947). E. Silberner brought out Hess' correspondence in the original German in 1959 and wrote a new, comprehensive biography (1966). Selections of his writing have been published in German (1962), Polish (1963), and in Hebrew (edited with notes by Martin Buber, 2 vols. 1954–56).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Berlin, *Life and Opinions of Moses Hess* (1959); E. Silberner, *Works of Moses Hess; an Inventory of his Signed and Anonymous Publications…* (1958); idem, *Moses Hess: Geschichte seines Lebens* (1966); M. Schulman, *Moses Hess, Prophet of Zionism* (1963); J. Weiss, *Moses Hess, Utopian Socialist* (1960); T. Zlocisti, *Moses Hess der Vorkaempfer des Sozialismus und Zionismus 1812–1875* (1921, Heb. 1945). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Sh. Avineri, *Moses Hess: Prophet of Communism and Zionism* (1985).

[Getzel Kressel]

HESS, DAME MYRA (1890–1956), British pianist. Hess made her debut in Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto with Sir Thomas Beecham in 1907, and subsequently toured Europe, the U.S., and Canada. She gained fame especially in performances of Scarlatti, Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier*, and the piano concertos of Mozart and Beethoven. During the Blitz in London in World War II she organized daily lunchtime concerts in the National Gallery and was created a Dame of the British Empire in 1941 for her contribution to maintaining morale in the city.

[Judith Cohen]

HESSE, state in Germany. There were Jews living in Hesse at the end of the 12th century, and by the middle of the 14th century they had settled in more than 70 places, the most important of which were *Friedberg, *Wetzlar, and *Fulda. Most of the communities destroyed by persecutions during the *Black Death (1349) were reestablished in the 14th century. As Emperor Louis IV of Bavaria (1314–47) and his successors usually transferred rights over the Jews to the nobles, the majority of the Jews of Hesse lived in villages and towns under the protection of the nobles and not in the cities belonging to the emperor. In 1524 Landgrave Philip the Magnanimous expelled the Jews from his territory but allowed them to return shortly afterward. His adviser in religious affairs, the Protestant reformer Martin *Bucer, demanded that he humiliate the Jews and limit their rights. Although Philip did not respond to this request, his 1539 *Judenreglement*, the model for future Hessian legislation regulating Jewish rights, while relatively favorable, included a prohibition on the building of new synagogues and commanded the Jews not to resist efforts to convert them. After Philip's death in 1567 Hesse was divided among his four sons, with two principalities, Hesse-Kassel and Hesse-Darmstadt, emerging with sizable Jewish populations. For the history of Hesse-Homburg Jewry, see *Homburg.

Hesse-Kassel

In the reign of Philip's son William the Wise of Hesse-Kassel, who prohibited anti-Jewish incitement, the number of Jews on his lands increased. In the reign of his successor the Jewish *Landtag* was inaugurated. Once every three years (until 1806) this day of assembly was held, on which the Jews of Hesse decided on the assignment of taxes, internal legislation, and other public matters. In 1656 a *Landrabbinat* was established with its seat in Witzenhausen, where the central yeshivah for Hessian Jewry was founded. The majority of Hessian Jewry settled in rural regions (143 heads of households in 42 localities in 1646). In the 17th and 18th centuries the authorities sought to restrict the commercial occupations they pursued, particularly peddling and trade in cloth and metals. Jews also made their living in the livestock and leather trades, in real estate brokerage, and in supplying silver for the mint and recruits for the army. As far back as the 15th century Jews served as court physicians. In the 18th century some Jews were granted the monopoly of tobacco production. They were finally allowed to trade freely in 1781, but it was not until Hesse-Kassel became a part of the kingdom of Westphalia (1808) that they were recognized as citizens.

From the middle of the 17th century and for the next two centuries the Goldschmidt family of Frankfurt, *Court Jews and financiers to the landgraves of Hesse-Kassel, were dominant in Jewish affairs. From 1709 to 1734 several Hebrew books were published in *Hanau. After Hesse was incorporated into Westphalia, matters of religion and education came under the consistory in *Kassel, headed by Israel *Jacobson, who introduced reforms. The Jewry Law of 1816 encouraged the Jews to transfer to agriculture and crafts, and that of 1823 restricted rabbinical authority. Complete civil rights were not granted until Hesse-Kassel was annexed to Prussia (1866) and became part of the district of Hesse-Nassau.

Hesse-Darmstadt

The situation of the Jews in Hesse-Darmstadt was generally more favorable than in Hesse-Kassel. In his *Judenordnung ("Jewry regulations") of 1585 Landgrave George I (1567–96) reissued his father's *Judenreglement* with the addition of a few more restrictions. The 1629 *Judenordnung* of George II (1626–61) was regularly renewed for a century and a half, although his successor, Ludwig VI, expelled the Jews from the cities for a short period. Generally, however, the policy of the rulers was one of nonintervention in Jewish affairs, which stimulated the development of institutions of Jewish self-government. As in Hesse-Kassel, during the triennial *Judenlandtage* the Jews of the principality convened to discuss questions of community taxation as well as other economic and social problems. Despite such important developments within the Jewish community, the Jews of Hesse-Darmstadt were subject to legal disabilities until the middle of the 19th century. Even the Hessian constitution of 1820 placed strict limitations on citizenship, and the majority of Jews remained **Schutzjuden*; only in 1848 were all legal inequalities finally abolished. The Jewish population of Hesse-Darmstadt was 19,530 in 1822 and reached a peak of 28,061 in 1849, declining gradually to 20,401 in 1925. Although their percentage of the total population declined from 3.04% to 1.52%, it remained throughout one of the highest in Germany. The Jews, who were settled primarily in rural areas, engaged in peddling, livestock trade, and dealing in wholesale agricultural produce; accusations that they exploited the peasants were endemic. The Jews of Hesse-Darmstadt (and Hesse-Kassel as well) suffered during the *Hep! Hep! disturbances of 1819 and again during the revolution of 1848. In both cases the rulers intervened vigorously on behalf of the Jews; later in the century they tried to moderate the anti-Jewish policies of the Russian czar, to whom they were related by marriage. In contrast to their rulers, the backward peasants of Hesse repeatedly elected to parliament the rabid antisemite, Otto Boeckel; the region continued to be a hotbed of antisemitism and actively welcomed the Nazi seizure of power.

Especially after persecutions on the *Kristallnacht* (Nov. 9/10, 1938), when the local populace supported the Nazi stormtroopers, the Jews of the rural communities of Hesse moved, or were forced to move, to such larger towns as *Frankfurt, *Darmstadt, *Giessen, Friedberg, *Kassel, and *Offenbach. From there, the majority were later deported to concentration camps in Eastern Europe.

Hesse

After World War II most of Hesse-Darmstadt and Hesse-Kassel was included in the new state of Hesse, which in 1970 contained 1,508 Jews in nine communities, the most important being Offenbach, *Wiesbaden, Darmstadt, and Kassel, with

a joint regional organization in Frankfurt. At the beginning of the 21st century, after immigration from the former Soviet Union, the population of these four main communities exceeded 3,000.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K.E. Demandt, *Schrifttum zur Geschichte… Hessen*, 2 (1965), 84–100; C. Munk, in: MGWJ, 41 (1897), 505–22; idem, in: *E. Hildesheimer Jubelschrift* (1890), 69–82, Heb. 77–85; idem, in: *J. Carlebach Festschrift* (1910), 339–50; J. Lebermann, in: JJLG, 6 (1908), 105–52; *ibid.*, 18 (1927), 65–142; A. Ruppin, *Die Juden im Grossherzogtum Hessen* (1909); L. Knoepfel, in: *Zeitschrift fuer Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 8 (1912), 97–108; S. Engelbert, *Das Recht der israelitischen Religionsgemeinschaft in Kur-Hessen* (1913); O. Meller, in: *Der Morgen*, 2 (1926), 658–64; R. Hallo, *ibid.*, 4 (1928), 3–26; idem, *Juedische Volkskunst in Hessen* (1929); idem, *Juedische Kunst aus Hessen und Nassau* (1933); R. Bodenheimer, *Beitrag zur Geschichte der Juden in Oberhessen* (1931); G. Walter, in: MGWJ, 78 (1934), 518–28; A.M. Keim, *Die Judenfrage vor dem hessischen Landtag in der Zeit von 1820–49* (1953); H. Schnee, *Die Hoffinanz und der moderne Staat*, 4 (1963), 284–303; R. Masch, in: *Wettenauer Geschichtsblaetter*, 16 (1967), 113–47; BJCE.

[Zvi Avneri]

HESSEL, FRANZ (1880–1941), German writer, translator, and publisher. The son of a Jewish banker, Hessel grew up in Berlin and studied literature in Munich. After 1900 he participated in the literary circle of Munich, publishing the *Schwabinger Beobachter* together with Franziska zu Reventlow and the poems *Verlorene Gespielen* (1905). Together with Karl Wolfskehl he attended the 1903 Zionist Congress in Basel, yet remained rather aloof from it. Between 1906 and 1914 he lived mostly in Paris, writing stories (*Laura Wunderl*, 1908) and novels (*Der Kramladen des Gluecks*, 1913) which were mostly set in Munich and opposing bourgeois capitalism with aesthetical models of life like the *flaneur* and also posing the question of Jewish identity. This is still the case in his Paris and Berlin novels *Pariser Romanze* (1920), *Heimliches Berlin* (1927), *Spazieren in Berlin* (1929), and his short prose (*Teigwaren leicht gefaerbt*, 1926, *Nachfeier*, 1929, *Ermunterung zum Genuss*, 1933), which analyze the social and material space of urban life. During the years of the Weimar Republic Hessel worked for the publisher Ernst Rowohlt, editing the literary journal *Vers und Prosa* (1924) and translating Stendhal, Balzac, Casanova, and (together with Walter *Benjamin) Proust. In 1938 he fled to Paris and southern France. In 1940 he was imprisoned in a camp and died soon after the liberation in Sanary-sur-Mer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Fluegge, *Letzte Heimkehr* (1989); idem, *Gesprungene Liebe* (1993); J. Plath, *Liebhaber der Großstadt* (1994); M. Opitz, *Geniesse froh, was du nicht hast. Der Flaneur Franz Hessel* (1997); M.L. Nieradka, *Der Meister der leisen Toene. Biografie des Dichters Franz Hessel* (2003).

[Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

HESSEN, JOSEPH VLADIMIROVICH (1866–1943), Russian lawyer and politician. Born in Odessa, Hessen graduated in law from the University of Petersburg in 1889 but was banned from practicing on the grounds that he was politically unreliable. In 1891 he converted to Christianity, which opened for him government service. In 1898 he founded the law journal *Pravo* in which he wrote several important articles on law including *Uzakoneniye, usyneniye i vnebrachnya deti* ("Legitimation, Adoption, and Children Born Out of Wedlock," 1916[3]) and *Sudebnaya reforma* ("Court Reform," 1904). Hessen joined the Constitutional-Democrat (Kadet) Party in 1905, and from 1906 was coeditor of their newspaper. In 1907 he was elected on their list to the Second Duma (Russian parliament), where he represented himself as a Jew of Russian Orthodox faith. After the Russian Revolution of 1917 Hessen left Russia and lived in Helsinki and later in Berlin where he edited the *Arkhiv Russkoy Revolyutsii* ("Archive of the Russian Revolution," 22 vols., 1921–37). His other writings include *Istoriya russkoy advokatury* ("History of the Legal Profession in Russia," 1914), two works of Jewish legal interest, and an autobiography *V dvukh vekakh* ("In two centuries," 1937). He also wrote an article on the position of the Jews following the antisemitic May Laws in 1882 in *Yevreyskaya Biblioteka* (vol. 10 (1903), 318–38), and was coeditor of *Sbornik zakonov o yevreyakh …* (1904), a collation of laws affecting the Jews. In 1933 he moved to Paris, and in 1940 to Limouge in southern France, where he died.

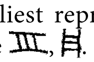
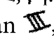
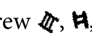
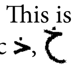
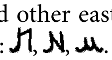
HESSEN, JULIUS ISIDOROVICH (1871–1939), historian of Russian Jewry. Hessen was born in Odessa. He was the author of more than 300 historical works. His first published work was a biography of Osip *Rabinovich and a Russian translation of *Pinsker's *Autoemanzipation* (1898). Both his scholarly and communal activities revolved around the quest for the emancipation of Russian Jewry. In 1905–06 he served as secretary of the short-lived Union for Full Equality of the Jewish People in Russia; he prepared the memorandum on the life of the Jews in Russia and the history of Russian legislation on the Jews which was sent to the members of the Duma and the state council. Hessen's mature historical work began with studies of aspects of Russian Jewish history, including *Yevrei v masonstve* ("Jews in Freemasonry," 1903) and *Velizhskaya drama* ("The Velizh [Blood-Libel] Drama," 1905), collected in his *Yevrei v Rossii* (1906; Heb. *Ha-Yehudim be-Rusyah*, 1913); *Zakon i zhizn* ("Law and Life," 1911), on the history of the Pale of Settlement; and *Gallereya yevreyskikh deyateley* ("A Gallery of Outstanding Jewish Figures," 2 vols., 1898–1900). He initiated the publication of the Russian-Jewish encyclopedia *Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya* (16 vols., 1908–13), served as its general secretary and its editor for modern Russian-Jewish history, and contributed many important articles to it. Hessen summed up his research in *Istoriya yevreyev v Rossii* ("History of the Jews in Russia," 1914), later extending the history to 1882 in *Istoriya yevreyskogo naroda v Rossii* ("History of the Jewish People in Russia," 2 vols., 1916–27; vol. 1 rev., 1925. These standard works deal with the history of Russian Jewry from its early beginnings in the period of the grand duchy of Kiev, but are of particular importance for the position of the Jews in Russia in the 18th and 19th centuries, drawing on archival

material from the many commissions appointed to inquire into the Jewish problem and on the reports of provincial governors. After the 1917 Revolution Hessen was employed, with others, on a history of the labor movement in Russia and on a history of antisemitism in Russia. In the years 1930–35 he was editor of the *Vestnik an S.S.S.R.* (Journal of the Academy of Sciences). From 1935 he prepared the publication of the archives of the Arctic explorations. The exact circumstances of his death are not known.

[Abraham N. Poliak]

HESTRIN, SHLOMO (1912–1962), Israel biochemist. Born in Canada, Hestrin studied at the University of Winnipeg and went to Palestine in 1933, worked on a kibbutz, and completed his studies at the Hebrew University. In 1939 Hestrin became research assistant and later guest researcher at universities in the U.S. and returned to Israel in 1949 to become head of the microbiological chemistry laboratory at the Medical School in Jerusalem. In 1959 he was appointed head of the department of biochemistry. He was awarded the Israel Prize in 1957. His field of research was in biochemistry of sugars, properties of yeast enzymes in decomposition, the structure and synthesis of polysaccharides in bacteria and their use in medical research and to increase blood volume. Hestrin contributed much to the development of teaching and research in biochemistry at the Hebrew University.

HESTRIN-LERNER, SARAH (1918–), physiologist. Born in Winnipeg, Canada, Hestrin-Lerner immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1932. She studied zoology at the Hebrew University and received her doctorate in pathological physiology. She was awarded the Israel Prize for medicine in 1955.

ḤET (Heb. ח; חֵית), the eighth letter of the Hebrew alphabet; its numerical value is therefore 8. It is pronounced as a fricative pharyngeal. The earliest representation of the *ḥet* is in a pictograph of a fence . Variants of the latter form survived in the Phoenician , Hebrew , and Samaritan . The Aramaic *ḥet* dropped two of the horizontal bars and by the eighth century B.C.E. it had already become . This is the basic form of the modern Hebrew ח. The Arabic  developed through the Nabatean . In the Syriac and other eastern Aramaic scripts the *ḥet* developed as follows: . From the Phoenician *ḥet* the Greek "H" (the Ionian vowel *eta*) developed, but in Latin it regained its consonantal value (fricative laryngeal). See *Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

ḤEVER HA-YEHUDIM (Heb. חֶבֶר הַיְּהוּדִים), a name which appears on Hasmonean coins, indicating some kind of ruling body. It is found particularly in the combination "High priest and Ḥever ha-Yehudim"; on the coins of the high priest Johanan (either Hyrcanus I or II) is found "Johanan high priest and head of the Ḥever ha-Yehudim." Scholars dispute the nature of this body. Some regard it as a council associated with the ruler, composed of aristocrats, priests, and scholars; at a later period it was known as the *Sanhedrin, its origin being in the *gerusia*, known to have existed before the Hasmonean period. Others take the phrase to refer to the nation as a whole, which on the coins is thus associated with the ruler. They compare the Ḥever ha-Yehudim to the Great Assembly which was convened to endorse the establishment of Hasmonean rule in the time of Simeon the Hasmonean (142 B.C.E.; I Macc. 14:25–49). Still others regard the name as a translation of some Greek term like κοινὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ("The Commonwealth of the Jews"). No such body, however, is known to have existed. It is worthy of note that Ḥever ha-Yehudim does not appear on those coins of Alexander Yannai (104–76 B.C.E.) on which he bears the title of king.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schuerer, Gesch, 2 (1907[4]), 454f., 468–72; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 3 (1950[2]), 96–100; D. Sperber, in: PEQ, 100 (1965), 85–93.

[Uriel Rappaport]

HEVESI, LAJOS (**Ludwig**; 1843–1910), Hungarian author and journalist. A noted humorist, Hevesi was associated in Budapest with the satirical magazine, *Borsszem Jankó*, and with the *Pester Lloyd*. From 1885 he edited the *Wiener Fremdenblatt*. One of his most popular books was *Des Schneidergesellen Andreas Jelky Abenteuer in vier Weltteilen* (1875), a much-translated adventure story.

HEVESI (originally **Hoffman**), **SANDOR** (1873–1939), Hungarian stage director, playwright, and translator. After graduating from the University of Budapest, Hevesi became a teacher but he soon turned to the theater and in 1902 was appointed stage director of the Budapest National Theater. A disciple of the English director Gordon Craig, Hevesi improved artistic standards and introduced modern English plays into the repertoire. He put his knowledge of stage technique to good use in his own plays, which enjoyed considerable popularity in their time. Hevesi translated all the plays of George Bernard Shaw and many of those by Shakespeare, Molière, Ibsen, Gogol, and Wilde. His conversion to Christianity did not save him from antisemitic persecution and he was forced to retire from public life in 1935. An anthology of his essays, *A drámairás iskolája* ("School for Playwriting"), appeared posthumously in 1961.

His adopted son, ANDRÁS HEVESI (1902–1940), also an author and translator, was a member of the group associated with the radical periodical *Szép Szó*, which included Pál Ignotus, Ferenc Fejtö, and Béla *Zsolt. His outstanding stories were *A párizsi esö* ("The Rain in Paris," 1939) and *Irén* (1938). He left Hungary during the antisemitic excesses of the Horthy regime, and, after volunteering for the French army in 1940, died in battle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon* (1929); *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon*, I (1963), 460–2; UJE, 5 (1941), 350.

[Baruch Yaron]

HEVESI, SIMON (formerly **Handler**; 1868–1943), rabbi and scholar in Hungary. He studied at the Budapest rabbinical seminary and at Budapest University. In 1894 he was appointed rabbi of Kassa (now Kosice, Slovakia) and later officiated in various communities. Hevesi was a brilliant speaker. He subsequently became rabbi of Pest and in 1927 chief rabbi, continuing in this position until his death. Hevesi combined considerable rabbinical learning with interest in general and Jewish philosophy. From 1905 he was lecturer in homiletics and Jewish philosophy at the rabbinical seminary. Hevesi took a leading role in public affairs of Hungarian Jewry, and was active in establishing social and educational organizations, including an association for popular education (OMIKE). He published various essays on philosophy and also books, and participated in editing the learned periodicals *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael, Magyar Zsidó Szemle*, and *Yavneh*. His works in Hebrew include studies of the Book of Job (in *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael*, 5 (1921), 35–39, 81–89, 156–63, 283–93); and Ecclesiastes (in *Festschrift der Landesrabbinerschule* (1927), second pagination in Hebrew, 15–38; and in Hungarian, *Dalalat Alhairin* (1928) on Maimonides' *Guide*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Emlékkönyv Dr Hevesi Simon… papi müködésének negyvenedik évfordulójára* (1934), 1–73, includes Hebrew section and bibliography; J. Katona, *Hevesi Simon, 1868–1943* (Hung. 1943).

[Alexander Scheiber]

HEVESY, GEORGE CHARLES DE (1885–1966), chemist, isotopes pioneer, and Nobel Prize winner. Hevesy was born in Budapest and studied there and in Berlin. After obtaining his doctorate at Freiburg he worked with Lorenz at the Technische Hochschule in Zurich, with *Haber at Karlsruhe, and with Rutherford in Manchester. In 1913 he started important work with F. *Paneth in Vienna on radioactive isotopes. This was the beginning of the use of radioactive tracers or "labeled atoms," an important tool in chemical and biological research. When war broke out in 1914, Hevesy joined the Austro-Hungarian army as technical supervisor of the state electrochemical plant in the Carpathians. After the war he returned to Budapest and resumed his studies of isotope tracers. In 1920 he joined Niels *Bohr at the new institute of theoretical physics in Copenhagen. There, together with D. Coster, he discovered a new element, no. 72, which he called hafnium. In 1923 he revealed in a paper the first use of radioactive tracers in a biological problem and in 1924 their first use in animal physiology. In 1926 Hevesy became professor at Freiburg; there he added a new field – X-ray fluorescence – as a method of analysis of trace materials in minerals, rocks, and meteorites. In 1934 his position was rendered intolerable by the Nazis; he resigned and returned to the Copenhagen institute. The discovery of artificial radioactive elements immensely enhanced the utility of the tracer technique in research work. After 1938 Hevesy gave his whole attention to the use of this tool in biochemical research. In 1943 Denmark, under Nazi occupation, became unsafe, and he followed Bohr by escaping in a fishing boat to Sweden. In 1943 he was awarded the Nobel Prize "for the use of isotopes as tracers in the study of chemical processes." After the war he remained in Stockholm, as professor in the institute of organic chemistry of the university. His biological work continued, largely on nucleic acids, the metabolism of iron and calcium, cancer anemia, and the effects of radiation. Among Hevesy's numerous other awards and honors were the "Pour le Mérite" from the German president Heuss and the Atoms for Peace Award (New York, 1959).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Levitan, *Laureates: Jewish Winners of the Nobel Prize* (1960), 43; Groth, in: *Zeitschrift fuer Elektrochemie*, 59 (1955), 823.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

ḤEVRAH, ḤAVURAH (Heb. חֶבְרָה, חֲבוּרָה, Aram. חֶבְרָא), a formal membership association in the framework of the traditional Jewish community, now limited in scope. In Ashkenazi communities, each such society bore the generic appellation *kaddisha* (קַדִּישָׁא), "sacred," sometimes superfluously, as for example the "Sacred Society of Tailors," while the burial society was identified specifically as the *ḥevrah kaddisha.* Among Sephardim it was known as *ḥevrah (ḥebra) ḥesed ve-emet*. The best-known *ḥevrah* is the one which dealt with the reverent disposal of the dead, to which, in time, the name *ḥevra kaddisha* became confined. It probably existed in talmudic times (see *Ḥevra Kaddisha). The term *ḥevrah*, however, and even *ḥevra kaddisha*, was applied to associations of all kinds formed for religious, philanthropic, or educational purposes.

The *ḥevrah* with specific religious purposes went back at least as far as the 14th century. At Saragossa in Spain, mention is made in 1378 of the *lelezmuroz* (apparently, *leil ashmorot*, the night watch). Later there were, especially in Italy, groups designated Shomerim la-Boker, engaged in early worship. Mystic associations of kabbalists and Shabbateans met in special conventicles for the pursuit of their esoteric lore. Others served the existing synagogues; *bedek ha-bayit* cared for needed repairs, *ner tamid* for lighting. Groups such as *shivah keru'im* consisted of an elite, who, not content with the rare *aliyah* (call to the reading of the Torah) in the main synagogue, met in small groups in special rooms.

Educational associations were of two kinds. Benevolent associations provided instruction for poor children, chiefly the **talmud torah* association. Associations for adult education covered a wide network of groups and provided a variety of courses, including study of the Mishnah, Talmud, or Midrash, and the chanting of psalms.

Philanthropic groups were also numerous. (In 1800 a testator in Amsterdam bequeathed funds to 210 charities.) Among the host of philanthropic associations were **bikkur ḥolim* for visiting the sick and general *sick care; **gemilut ḥasadim* providing free loans; *pidyon shevuyim* for *ransoming captives; *hakhnasat oreḥim* for care of transients; and **hakhnasat kallah* providing dowries for poor brides.

Vocational associations comprised *guilds of artisans. Such professional fraternities were formed within every craft

in which a sufficient number of Jews engaged. On record in Lissa, Poland, in the 18th century, are Jewish guilds of tailors, goldsmiths, lacemakers, plumbers, tanners, barbers, weavers of gold cloth, and furriers.

The *ḥevrah* was distinguished from the modern association by its essentially religious nature. While each organized group served its stated purpose, the major benefits to be derived from membership were the heavenly rewards. In sickness and in death the member was assured that his fellow members would pray for his recovery or for the peace of his soul. This intercessional aspect was its greatest attraction. Next in importance was the social element: the honors conferred in the society's chapel, the conviviality of periodic feasts for members only, and the mutual aid benefits of a fellowship group. The association also exercised powerful control over the religious and moral behavior of its members. Rules of proper conduct were inculcated at admission; breaches of discipline were punishable by fines, expulsion, or the threat of being denounced to the *kahal* which possessed punitive powers, including that of excommunication. In structural and organizational patterns the various associations were remarkably similar. The fundamental law of each association was framed in a set of ordinances by legal draftsmen, *ba'alei *takkanot*. On admission the name of the new member was inscribed in the society *pinkas*, or minute book. Often there were periods of apprenticeship and journeymanship prior to full membership status. Children were admitted at the circumcision ceremony or somewhat later. Women, although inadmissible for membership in a *ḥevrah*, could enjoy its intercessional benefits either by making donations in cash or in kind, or by good deeds such as the performance of ritual ablution of deceased women, collection of charitable funds, or sewing garments for the poor. The revenues of the association consisted of membership dues, usually paid in weekly installments, as well as special assessments, voluntary contributions, profits from property acquired, fees for services, or compulsory taxes authorized by the *kahal*. The *ḥevrah* served a vital need before the development of modern social services. As an organized social cell it performed many necessary functions for the individual Jew. It played an important role in the fabric of autonomous institutions that kept Jewish life vibrant and diversified. In its modern context the complexion of the *ḥevrah* has entirely changed.

See: *Autonomy, *Community, *Fraternal Societies, *Hekdesh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baron, Community, index; I. Levitats, *Jewish Community in Russia, 1772–1844* (1943); J.R. Marcus, *Jew in the Medieval World* (1938), 446–9; I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1932²); M. Wischnitzer, *History of Jewish Crafts and Guilds* (1965); K.R. Scholberg, in: JQR, 53 (1962/65), 120–59; I. Halpern, *Yehudim ve-Yahadut be-Mizraḥ Eiropah* (1968), 163–85, 313–32.

[Isaac Levitats]

ḤEVRA (Ḥavurah) KADDISHA (Aram. חֶבְרָא קַדִּישָׁא; lit. "holy brotherhood"), a term originally applied to a mutual benefit society whose services were restricted to its members, irrespective of the social, religious, or charitable purpose for which it was established (cf. Rashi to MK 27b and Tos. Ket. 17a bot.). In the **Yekum Purkan* prayer the phrase is used in the plural to apply either to the whole Jewish community, or to the rabbis as a whole. In a responsum *Asher b. Jeḥiel refers to a *ḥevra kaddisha* that formed an association for **gemilut ḥasadim*, encompassing all charitable activities (13:12). Its regulations specified that a son could inherit the rights and privileges of his father in the *ḥevra* as soon as he reached his religious majority, and if the deceased member left no son the privileges devolved upon the heir, but he must be "the one who is regarded as most suitable in the eyes of the members." The responsum which follows deals with a member of a *ḥevra* who married the daughter of another member and they had two sons. Both members died and the two sons both claimed membership, one on the basis of his father's right and the other on that of his grandfather. Nowhere, however, is the purpose and aim of this *ḥevra* mentioned. As late as the 19th century the heads of the *Lubavitch (Ḥabad) ḥasidic dynasty referred to their various groups of followers as *ḥevra kaddisha*. In the course of time, in the same way as the comprehensive phrase *gemilut ḥasadim* became restricted to one aspect of all the acts of kindness and consideration to which it originally applied, so the term *ḥevra kaddisha*, at least among the Ashkenazi Jews, came to apply to a brotherhood formed for one purpose only, namely, the reverential disposal of the dead in accordance with Jewish law and tradition.

The origin of this restricted use of the term can be found in a passage of the Talmud. The duty of arranging for the disposal of the dead devolved upon the entire community and when a person died the whole population had to abstain from work in order to pay their respects (cf. Jos. Apion 2.27: "All who pass by when one is buried must accompany the funeral"). On one occasion, R. *Hamnuna (d. 320) came to a certain place and heard the sound of a funerary bugle. When he saw that the members of the community continued with their avocations he said, "Let them be placed under a ban." They informed him, however, that there was a *ḥavurah* which occupied itself with this duty, and he permitted the others to continue their work (MK 27b). Another interesting but less certain reference is found in the minor tractate *Semaḥot* (chap. 12): "Thus used the *ḥavurot* to conduct themselves in Jerusalem. Some used to go to the house of mourning, and others to banqueting houses; some to the *shevu'a ha-ben* (see *Circumcision, Folklore), and others to gather up human bones… the early *Ḥasidim* gave preference to the house of mourning over the banqueting houses."

Ḥevra kaddisha in the more restricted sense arose simultaneously in Spain and in Germany at the beginning of the 14th century, and soon was to be found in all communities. It would appear that originally the privileges were confined to the actual members of the *ḥevra*. The comment of Rashi to the above-mentioned passage from *Mo'ed Katan* – "there were associations, each one of which made itself responsible for the

burial of its own members" (cf. Tos. Ket. 17a bottom) – no doubt reflects local and contemporary conditions.

The origin of the *ḥevra kaddisha* in the sense of a brotherhood which took upon itself the sacred duty of providing for the burial of all members of the community is not known before the 16th century. The first known was established by Eleazar Ashkenazi in Prague in 1564, and the drawing up of the formal *takkanot*, the regulations of the *ḥevra*, was effected by *Judah Loew b. Bezalel, also of Prague, in the 17th century. These *takkanot*, which were confirmed by the Austrian government, laid it down inter alia that its services were available to all members of the community even if they were not members of the *ḥevra* and made no contribution toward it. They regulated such matters as the fees to be paid, the allocation of the graves, and the rules for the erection of tombstones.

Their most important duty, however, was the preparation of the corpse in accordance with the traditions and laws for the reverential disposal of the dead. Those engaged in this sacred task are called *mitassekim* ("those who occupy themselves"), a term already found in the Talmud (MK 24b) as well as *gomelei ḥasadim* (Ket. 8b), since the duty to the dead is regarded as the "only true *gemilut ḥasadim*." Among the northern Sephardi Jews they are called *lavadores* ("washers"). Some of the societies included among their functions tending the sick, providing garments for the poor, and arranging the rites in the house of mourning.

Membership in the *ḥevra kaddisha* was regarded as a coveted honor, and, until recent times, was an honorary one. This is reflected in two extant documents relating to *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, the founder of the Ḥabad ḥasidic dynasty. The first, written when he was a child of five, records: "today, the 16th of Kislev 5510 [1750] the child Shneur Zalman the son of Baruch was accepted as an assistant [*shammash*] in the *ḥevra kaddisha* until he reached his religious majority," and in consideration thereof his grandfather undertook to provide a supply of planks for the synagogue and an annual contribution of 18 gulden, with the promise that he would be accepted as a full member on attaining his majority. The second document records his appointment as a full member on that date (Steinman p. 31). Sir Moses *Montefiore in his diary expresses his pride in the fact that he had been elected a member of the Society of *Lavadores* of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London and he fulfilled his duties with meticulous care.

The institution of the *ḥevra kaddisha* is unique to the Jewish community. It derives from the fact that according to Jewish law no material benefit may accrue from the dead. As a result no private or commercial firm is permitted to engage in the disposal of the dead for private gain. The duty must thus become a function of the community as a whole.

The fraternal aspect of the *ḥevra* was observed in various ways, the most common being the annual celebration of the *ḥevra* on a fixed day. The date differs in many communities. The most common is the seventh day of Adar, the traditional anniversary of the death of Moses. Many communities observed other dates, such as the 15th or 20th of Kislev, whereas in Pressburg (Bratislava) it was held on Lag ba-Omer. The day begins as a fast, in expiation of any inadvertent disrespect shown to the dead, and a special order of *seliḥot* is recited. It concludes with a sumptuous banquet, regarded as one of the important occasions of the community at which sermons were delivered. Z. *Shneour in his *Shklover Mayses* gives a vivid account of this annual celebration. In Pressburg the *haftarah* for the Intermediate Sabbath of Passover, the subject of which is Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dead bones (Ezek. 37), was reserved for members of the *ḥevra*.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

Women and Ḥevra Kaddisha

> *A man may shroud and gird the corpse of a man, but not that of a woman. A woman may shroud and gird the corpse of a man or of a woman. A man may attend another man suffering from intestinal illness, but not a woman. A woman may attend a man or a woman suffering of intestinal illness* (Sem. 12:10).

Although women were essential participants in caring for other women on their deathbeds and beyond, they were not allowed to be members of the Holy Brotherhood. Like all other institutions constituting the inner structure of Jewish communities, the *ḥevra kaddisha* devised its decorum and protocol according to exclusively masculine preconceptions. Women were permitted to sew the shrouds, and were also commonly allowed to be assistants. From the regulations of Prague's *ḥevra kaddisha* (1692–1702, §25), we know that women served as regular auxiliaries in the *ḥevra kaddisha* but they were never regarded as equal participants. Eventually, autonomous strictly female organizations were established in the wake of the global transformations that affected the brotherhoods during the Enlightenment process. At the end of the 17th century, groups of *nashim ẓidkaniyyot* (pious women) were founded, first in Rome (1617), then in Berlin (1745), Amsterdam and Rendsburg (1776), London (1795), Chorostkow, and Vilna. In addition, *Frauhenhebrah* (sisterhoods), together with new brotherhoods of bachelors and young people, were established throughout the Jewish German world (Frankfurt/Main, 1761; Mainz and Dresden, 1790; Manheim, 1798, etc.) to assume the responsibilities of preparing deceased members of the community for burial.

[Sylvie Anne Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1932[2]), 357–9; Barnett, in: JHSET, 10 (1921–23), 258–60; J. Reich, *Die Geschichte der Chewra Kadischa zu Boskovice* (c. 1931); Baron, Community, 1 (1942), 352–4; 2 (1942), 148, 155ff.; 3 (1942), 89–91; A.M. Hyamson, *The Sephardim of England* (1951), 39, 59, 82f.; E. Steinman, *Mishnat Ḥabad*, 1 (*Be'er ha-Ḥasidut*, 4; c. 1957), 31. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J.R. Marcus *Communal Sick-Care in the German Ghetto* (1978[2]); S.A. Goldberg *Crossing the Jabbok, Illness and Death in Ashkenazi Judaism in Sixteenth- through Nineteenth Century Prague* (1996[2]).

ḤEVRAT HA-OVEDIM, cooperative society of Jewish workers founded in 1923 at the second conference of the *Histadrut.

Its aim was to engage in settlement, industry, construction, and supply in both town and country on a basis of mutual aid and responsibility. Its immediate purpose was to help create jobs and livelihood opportunities for newly arriving pioneers and workers; the long-term aim was to bring about the establishment of a "labor commonwealth" in Ereẓ Israel. Every member of the Histadrut was a member of Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim and vice versa. The Histadrut's executive council (*va'ad ha-po'el*) was identical with Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim's management council (*minhalah*), which appointed its secretariat and its board of managers. Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim was a roof organization for the ramified enterprises run by the Histadrut and its members, and at its peak covered close to 25% of Israel's gainfully employed population. Its functions were supervisory and directive: It appointed managers for its industrial concerns and other economic bodies, checked and directed economic policy through audit unions, etc., and prepared general financial plans. It also participated in the ownership and management of various public, semi-public, and private enterprises. During the 1980s and the 1990s Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim was gradually stripped of its assets as the Histadrut sold off all its economic holdings, such as Koor, Solel Boneh, Bank Hapoalim, etc. The election of Haim *Ramon as secretary-general of the Histadrut in 1994 marked the final stage in the demise of Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim. To reduce the Histadrut's debt, Ramon sold off its last holdings and thus put an end to Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Z. On, *Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim: Kavvim u-Ve'ayot* (1952); idem, *Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim: Be'ayot u-Mesimot* (1963); Y. Yagol, *Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim: Te'amim u-Temurot* (1959); *Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim, Madrikh le-Mifalei ha-Histadrut* (1962); H. Frumkin, *Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim: Mahut, Mivneh, Be'ayot* (1952).

[Aharon Yadlin / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HEWITT, DON (1922–), U.S. journalist. Born in New York City, Hewitt attended New York University for a year and left to pursue a career in journalism. His first job was as a copy boy at *The New York Herald Tribune*. From 1943 to 1945, he was a war correspondent for *Stars and Stripes* in both the European and Pacific theaters. After the war, he worked as an editor for the Associated Press in its Memphis bureau and in 1948 he began his long-time association with the Columbia Broadcasting System. From 1948 to 1962 he produced and directed *Douglas Edwards with the News* and the first year, 1963–64, of the trend-setting *CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite*. These two programs had a major influence on the general development of television news programming, and Hewitt played a pivotal role in framing politics for a growing audience. He directed and produced the first televised presidential debate, between John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon, in 1959, and was responsible for CBS's coverage of the national political conventions between 1948 and 1980. Among his most influential contributions was the appropriation of the lower half of the television screen for printed information and news. He created a more informed generation of "news anchors" (a term he coined) through his use of cue cards and multiple framing angles. It was this redefinition of the role of the news anchor that opened up the field for Hewitt's major contribution. In 1968 Hewitt created the first television newsmagazine, *60 Minutes*, and it proved to be one of the most important programs CBS ever produced, both journalistically and financially. The profits for the network from *60 Minutes* were significantly in excess of a billion dollars. On the show, different anchors concentrated on a separate story, providing in-depth coverage of different topics. Unlike the nightly news, *60 Minutes* had the time to provide history and editorial commentary and could systematically investigate social and political issues in a way that had only been done before in print. The mixture of up-to-date reporting and extensive investigation gave *60 Minutes* an aura of knowledge and respectability previously unseen on television. For many years, the program either led the ratings or finished in the top-10 most-watched shows. Hewitt earned countless honors and awards, including membership in the Television Hall of Fame. He continued to produce *60 Minutes* well into his eighties but left in 2004.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

HEXTER, JACK H. (1910–1996), U.S. historian. Born in Memphis, Tennessee, Hexter received his bachelor's degree from the University of Cincinnati (1931) and his master's (1933) and doctoral degrees from Harvard University (1937). He taught at Queens College, N.Y. (1939–57) and at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri (1957–64), where for three years he served as chair of the Department of History in Arts and Sciences. After that, he was appointed professor of history at Yale University (1964–78), where he developed and directed the Yale Center for Parliamentary History and its publication program. From 1965 he was co-editor of the massive edition of *The Complete Works of Thomas More*, prepared at Yale. He was also general editor of *The Traditions of the Western World*.

Hexter's principal contributions were to 16th- and 17th-century history, a field in which he urged historians to reappraise traditional assumptions, such as the belief in a steadily rising middle class or the homogeneity of the gentry. His essays were marked by a brilliance of style that enhanced their impact. Some of the more important are assembled in *Reappraisals in History* (1961). Hexter's first book, *The Reign of King Pym* (1941), was a masterly account of the early years of the English Civil War, and it was followed by major analyses of Machiavelli and More. His *More's "Utopia": The Biography of an Idea* (1952) is a seminal study. His later books include *Doing History* (1971); *The Vision of Politics on the Eve of the Reformation* (1973); *On Historians* (1979); and *After the Reformation* (1980).

Upon his retirement from Yale in 1978, Hexter returned to Washington University as a Distinguished Historian in Residence and subsequently became the John M. Olin Professor of the History of Freedom until 1990. In 1986 he founded and became director of Washington University's Center for the

History of Freedom, where he launched a 25-year project to create the world's first comprehensive study of the development of modern freedom. The first volume of *The Making of Modern Freedom* series was published in 1992.

Hexter spent much of the 1990s lobbying for the creation of a federal program to encourage Gulf War veterans to become teachers. In 1994 Congress endorsed the Troops to Teachers program which, in its first four years, helped direct more than 3,000 veterans into US classrooms.

Hexter was a member of the Educational Advisory Board of the Guggenheim Foundation and of the editorial boards of the *Journal of British History* and the *Journal of the History of Ideas*. He was president of the Conference of British Studies, and served on the board of trustees of the Danforth Foundation. His awards and honors included four Guggenheim Fellowships and two Fulbright Fellowships.

[Theodore K. Rabb / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HEYD, URIEL (1913–1968), Israel historian of Muslim institutions. Heyd was born in Cologne, Germany. He settled in Palestine in 1934. After service with the Political Department, Middle East section of the Jewish Agency, in Jerusalem and London (1943–48), he joined the Israel diplomatic corps, initially as first secretary of the Washington embassy, then as counselor of the legation in Ankara. His academic career began in 1951, when he joined the staff of the Hebrew University. From 1956 to 1963 he chaired the university's Institute of Oriental Studies, becoming a full professor of Islamic history in 1959.

Heyd's scholarly interest centered on the Ottoman Empire from the 16th to the 20th centuries. His books in Hebrew include *Dahir al-Umar, Shalit ha-Galil* ("Dahir al-Umar, Ruler of Galilee," 1942) and a translation from the Turkish of Mahmud Makal's *Bizim Köy (Ha-Kefar Shellanu* – "Our Village," 1951). Among his books in English are *The Foundations of Turkish Nationalism* (1950), *Language Reform in Modern Turkey* (1954), *Ottoman Documents on Palestine 1552–1615* (1960), *Revival of Islam in Modern Turkey* (1968), and the posthumous *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law* (1973). He edited *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization* (1961). His article "The Ottoman Ulema and Westernization in the Time of Selim III and Mahmud II" (in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, vol. 9, 1960) remains a major contribution.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: *'Al Professor Uriel Heyd* (1968); H. Inaleik, "Prof. Dr. Uriel Heyd," in: *Belleten*, 33, no. 129 (Jan. 1969), 115–16; A.N. Layish, "Uriel Heyd's Contribution…, in: *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin*, 9, no. 1 (1982), 35–54; J.M. Landau, "Uriel Heyd, Founder of Turkish Studies in Israel," in: *Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica*, 56 (2002), 237–44.

[Norman Itzkowitz / Jacob M. Landau (2nd ed.)]

HEYDENFELDT, SOLOMON (1816–1890), U.S. jurist. Heydenfeldt was born in Charleston, South Carolina. In 1837, he moved to Alabama and was admitted to the state bar in the same year. He practiced law in Tallapoosa County and served as judge of the county court, but left for San Francisco in 1850, possibly due to public disapproval of his stand against further importation of slaves into Alabama. In 1852, after an unsuccessful attempt to gain the Democratic Party nomination for the United States Senate, he was elected justice of the California Supreme Court by popular vote, thus becoming the first Jew to hold judicial office in that state. Heydenfeldt remained in the post until 1857, when he returned to private practice. As a southern sympathizer during the Civil War, however, his refusal to take a loyalty oath to the Union cost him his legal career, though he continued to reside in San Francisco until his death. Heydenfeldt was active in philanthropic causes and was a leader in the Jewish community.

[Max Vorspan]

°HEYDRICH, REINHARD TRISTAN (1904–1942), Nazi *SS leader who played a prominent part in the design and execution of the "Final Solution." Heydrich was born in Halle, Saxony. He father was an opera singer and director of a music conservatory. His mother was a stern disciplinarian and Heydrich was falsely suspected of being of partial (paternal) Jewish origin. Throughout his life, he was moved by chamber music and had a great love for Mozart and Haydn. In other areas of his life, he was brutal, cynical, and sadistic.

Commissioned as a naval officer, he was discharged in 1931 after a Naval Court of Honor found him guilty of misconduct toward a young woman whose reputation he blemished. Soon after a chance introduction to Heinrich *Himmler, Heydrich was entrusted with the organization of the SD, the intelligence and surveillance arm of the SS. He was but two years younger than Himmler, a situation that threatened to stymie his career advancement to the top.

In 1931 Heydrich joined the SS as chief of its Security Service (SD). After the Nazi's accession to power he was *Himmler's assistant in the Bavarian police and later became chief of the *Gestapo. Heydrich rose rapidly through the ranks of the SD. He played a leading role in the blood purge of 1934. He played a role in the 1938 purging of the German Army High Command and planted false information that led to a similar purge by Stalin of the Red Army. As head of the *Gestapo, Heydrich could incarcerate enemies of the Reich at will. During **Kristallnacht* in November 1938, Heydrich had 30,000 Jewish men arrested by the Gestapo and the SS and incarcerated in concentration camps. By 1938 he had succeeded in concentrating the management of Jewish affairs in his own hands, stressing the policy of forced emigration. The success of *Eichmann's Zentralstelle fuer juedische Auswanderung ("Center for Jewish Emigration") in Vienna led Heydrich to create a similar center in Berlin for the whole of Germany. Heydrich was one of the instigators of the *Kristallnacht* pogroms in 1938. In 1939 he was appointed head of the Reich Security Head Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt – RSHA), which incorporated the Gestapo and the SD. In a circular issued after the conquest of Poland, he ordered the concentration of Polish Jews in ghettos and the appointment of Jew-

ish Councils to be made personally responsible, in the literal meaning of the term, for carrying out German orders. His memo spoke of the "final goal" not the "Final Solution." With Eichmann's help, Heydrich organized mass deportations of Jews from the annexed parts of Poland and from Germany and Austria to the territory of the *Generalgouvernement*, his Einsatzkommando simultaneously killing tens of thousands of Polish leaders and Jews. On the eve of the invasion of the Soviet Union he created additional Einsatzkommandos that killed a million Jews and many Soviet officials. He also negotiated the agreement that the Wehrmacht lend assistance to the *Einsatzgruppen*. Heydrich was instrumental in the Nisko and Lublin plan and the proposed deportation of all European Jews to the island of *Madagascar, a plan that was never implemented. Many historians believe that the impracticable nature of this plan soon gave rise to the "Final Solution."

He planned the *Wannsee Conference, even drafting in March 1941, before the systematic killing of Jews had begun, the letter assigning him responsibility for the preparation of the "Final Solution to the Jewish Question" that Hitler's deputy, Hermann *Goering, would sign on July 31, 1941. Heydrich was charged by Goering with implementing the "Final Solution" in the entire sphere of German influence. He had apparently carved out a sphere of influence on the Jewish question and an area of specialization. He had what one biographer called "an executive instinct," anticipating where policy could go and planning accordingly. For this purpose he convened the *Wannsee Conference to coordinate the action of various government and party agencies. Appointed in place of Constantin Neurath as Reichsprotektor of Bohemia and Moravia, he pacified Czechoslovakia with great brutality. Heydrich was wounded by Czech resistance fighters on May 29, 1942, and died several days later. Hitler spoke at his funeral and vowed revenge. In retaliation, the Germans razed the village of Lidice, murdering all its male inhabitants. Maps published afterwards excluded all mention of the village. At the same time 152 Jews in Berlin were killed in a special action, and more than 3,000 Jews from the *Theresienstadt ghetto were deported and exterminated. *Aktion Reinhard*, the murder of Polish Jewry, was apparently named after Heydrich (see *Holocaust, General Survey). The retaliation for his death was so intense and disastrous that even the postwar Czechoslovak government was reluctant to release material on its involvement. The allegation that Heydrich was of Jewish origin has been shown by Robinson to be completely false. But it was useful. Heydrich's superiors employed it as a means of keeping him loyal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Wighton, *Heydrich…* (Eng., 1962); J. Wiener, *Assassination of Heydrich* (1969); IMT, *Trial of the Major War Criminals*, 24 (1949), index; Czechoslovakia, Ministerstvo zahraničnich věci, *Memorandum of the Czechoslovak Government on the Reign of Terror in Bohemia and Moravia under the Regime of R. Heydrich* (London, 1942); S. Aronson, *Heydrich und die Anfaenge des SD und der Gestapo (1931–35)* (1967); H. Hoehne, *Der Orden unter dem Totenkopf* (1967); J. Robinson *And the Crooked Shall be Made Straight* (1965), 144–6; G. Reitlinger, *Final Solution* (1961²), index; R. Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews* (1967, 1985, 2003), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** C. Browning with J. Matthaus, *The Origins of the Final Solution* (2004); C. Whitting, *Heydrich, Henchman of Death* (1999); C.W. Syndnor, Jr, "Executive Instinct: Reinhard Heydrich and the Planning for the Final Solution," in: M. Berenbaum and A. Peck, *The Holocaust and History: The Known, The Unknown, The Dispute and the Reexamined* (1998), 159–87.

[Yehuda Reshef / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

HEYM, STEFAN (**Helmut Flieg**; 1913–2001), German novelist, biographer, and political writer. Heym was born in Chemnitz, Saxony. Following his publication of an aggressive, anti-nationalist poem in the local Social Democratie daily *Volksstimme*, he was expelled from secondary school in 1931. He went to Berlin as a freelance writer for left-wing periodicals and, following Hitler's rise to power, fled to Czechoslovakia early in 1933. After a two-year stay in Prague, he was admitted to the United States on a refugee visa and studied literature at the University of Chicago, quickly acquiring an admirable command of the English language, in which he subsequently wrote all his works, some of which he himself translated into German.

Heym identified himself with much of the Communist Party's ideology and in 1937, at the early age of 24, he was appointed editor of the American Communist Party's German-language organ *Deutsches Volksecho*, holding the position until the paper closed down in the fall of 1939. In the meantime, he has also published a pamphlet entitled *Nazis in the U.S.A.* (1938). His first major anti-Nazi novel, *Hostages* (1942), became a best-seller and was made into a film.

In 1943, Heym enlisted in the U.S. Army and was attached to its Psychological Warfare Branch. Though regarded by his superiors with a certain distrust because of his communist associations, he was charged with the publication of *Der Ruf*, a literary periodical for German prisoners of war in the U.S. He was given a responsible post at Radio Luxembourg at the time of the Allied advance into Germany and, after the occupation, and editorial position on the Munich *Neue Zeitung*. Eventually, disagreement with the paper's largely American-oriented policy, as well as his criticism of U.S. cold war methods, led to his resignation from the U.S. Army in a fit of anger and bitterness, amidst controversial publicity. Renouncing his U.S. citizenship in 1952, he joined a group of pro-communist German émigré authors who decided to settle in the Soviet-dominated area of Europe.

However, while Heym's earlier American books, such as *The Crusaders* (1948) – according to the *New York Times* "the best book on World War Two" – and *The Eyes of Reason* (1951), had been very critical of many aspects of American history and life, he soon fell foul of the East German authorities because of his refusal to toe the party line. Thus his novel *Der Tag X*, which dealt with June 17, 1953 (the day of the East Berlin rising against the Communist government), was never published in the German Democratic Republic. He also angered the East German government in 1956, when he challenged Walter Ulbricht at the Fourth Congress of the German Writ-

ers' Union, and in 1960 when he published *Schatten und Licht*, a collection of short stories which was said by one of his East German critics, Guenter Ebert, to have deprived him of the right to be called a socialist writer.

Eventually, Heym turned to historical subjects in the hope that he might be allowed to voice his criticism of the Eastern bloc régimes in a somewhat subtler and more indirect way. These books include *The Lenz Papers* (1963), on the workers' revolt of 1848–49 in Baden; the biography *Ferdinand Lassalle* (1969); *Schmaehschrift oder Koenigin gegen Defoe* (1970), on Daniel Defoe's censorship troubles in England; and, finally, *The King David Report* (1972), which – in his own words – is based on the biblical narrative but examines the Bible from a Marxist point of view. This last work shows how King Solomon's court historian Ethan is ready to comply with an official request to construct a national myth to replace historical truth. The topicality of this highly ironical novel and Heym's implied rejection of any personality cult is so clearly evident that its sale was prohibited in the German Democratic Republic. However, the author himself repeatedly declared that he was critical not only of certain developments in the Eastern bloc, but even more so of those in the West, and that he identified himself with the basic concepts of his new socialist homeland. In 1952, Heym was awarded the East German Heinrich Mann Prize and, in 1959, the (East) German National Prize for Arts and Literature.

In reaction to the publication of his anti-Stalinist novel *Collin* in West Germany, Heym was expelled in June 1979 from the East German writers' federation and forbidden to earn his livelihood as a writer "for making critical statements about the communist system." Henceforth, Heym shifted his activities more and more to West Germany, though he remained a citizen of the GDR. In 1981 he published his novel *Ahasve*, which retells the story of the "Wandering Jew" within the setting of the "Cold War" and its permanent nuclear threat by switching back and forth from the 15th century to the present. His anti-dogmatic thought was further underscored by his novel *Schwarzenberg* (1984), which dealt with a Socialist republic founded on the soil of a country the Allied forces forgot to occupy at the end of World War II.

It was this vision of an "alternative," non-totalitarian socialism that earned Heym his special status in the turmoil of German reunification in 1989, when he became one of the most prominent speakers at East German demonstrations, defending Socialist thought both against its Stalinist misinterpretation and against West German capitalism.

In 1994, Heym entered the political system as a candidate for the PDS, the successor party of the former Communist Party (SED). He was elected and made the opening speech at the 13th Bundestag as its oldest member – a speech that was boycotted by the majority faction of the Christian Democrats. Heym resigned a year later. At the same time, he published his last big novel on the Trotzkyist activist Karl Radek, who was expelled from Germany in 1919 and – because of his opposition to Stalin – was finally given a prison sentence of ten years, during which he died (in 1939). Heym died while attending a conference on Heinrich Heine in Jerusalem.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Hutchinson, *Stefan Heym: Socialist, Dissenter, Jew* (2003); H. Gellermann, *Stefan Heym – Judentum und Sozialismus* (2002); M. Tait, *Stefan Heym's Historical Fiction* (2001).

[Erich Gottgetreu / Philipp Theisohn (2nd ed.)]

HEYMAN, MOSES DAVID (1896–), U.S. inventor. Born in Newark, N.J., Heyman became president of a large mining company in Ecuador, and formed his own company in 1930. He invented many machines used in metalworking, mica, and other fields. Among them was the "mechanical hand" (1938). Heyman was the first person to make continuous sheets of synthetic mica.

HEYMANN, FRITZ (1897–1944), German journalist and historical writer. Heymann, who was born in Duesseldorf, volunteered for war service with the German army at the age of 17. He was captured and subsequently escaped from captivity in England to rejoin his regiment. After Germany's defeat, he joined one of the nationalistic (and usually antisemitic) volunteer corps which continued the war against "the enemy within," usually synonymous with socialists and democrats. Eventually, he studied law and literature and, after a period in business, worked for various German newspapers. From German nationalism, Heymann turned later to Jewish nationalism. On the advent of Hitler, he left for the Saarland, from where he continued the fight against Nazism as a coeditor of *Westland*. After the plebiscite in favor of Germany he took refuge in Holland. Heymann wrote *Der Chevalier von Geldern* (1937), "a chronicle of Jewish adventures," in which the story of Simon von *Geldern is prominently featured. In 1942 he held a series of lectures in Amsterdam aimed to encourage the local Jewish population, called *Marranen-Chronik*. These lectures were edited and published in 1988, under the title *Tod oder Taufe*. In 1943 Heymann was deported to Theresienstadt, and a year later to Auschwitz, where he was murdered.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kesten, in: F. Heymann, *Der Chevalier von Geldern* (1963²), introd.; Kobler, in: BLBI, 4 (1961), 44–55. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** F. Heymann, *Tod oder Taufe*, ed. H.J. Schoeps (1988); H.J. Schoeps, in: *Geschichte als Trauma* (1991), 175–83; I. Piel, in: *Aspekte juedischen Lebens in Duesseldorf und am Niederrhein* (1997), 220–25.

HEYMANN, WALTHER (1882–1915), German poet, pioneer of German expressionism. He read law in Koenigsberg, Freiburg, Berlin and Munich; after the first civil-service examination he was a teacher on probation in Insterburg and Koenigsberg. Heymann, who was born in Koenigsberg, published his first volume of lyrics, *Der Springbrunnen*, in 1907, but achieved his more original style with *Nehrungsbilder* (1909), in which he idealized the landscape of his native East Prussia. A contributor to the expressionist publication *Sturm*, Heymann combined a love of nature with a critical intellectual approach. In all his writing there is an earnest search for

artistic form and for solutions to contemporary and eternal problems. He was killed on the Western front early in World War I, and most of his work was published posthumously. It included *Kriegsgedichte und Feldpostbriefe* (1915); *Das Tempelwunder: Erzaehlungen* (1916), a collection of short stories; and two volumes of lyrics, *Die Tanne* (1917) and *Von Fahrt und Flug* (1919). An edition of his *Gedichte, Prosa, Essays, Briefe* (ed. by L.M. Fiedler) appeared in 1998.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Schumann, *Walther Heymann* (Ger., 1915). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** P. Raabe, *Die Autoren und Buecher des literarischen Expressionismus* (1992[2]).

[Kurt Pinthus / Konrad Feilchenfeldt (2nd ed.)]

HEYMANS, GERARDUS F. (1857–1930), Dutch psychologist and philosopher born at Ferward in Frisia. He was the cofounder of the psychological laboratory of Louvain in Belgium (1891) and founded the laboratory at Groningen in Holland (1893), where he served as professor of psychology and philosophy. In 1926 he was president of the Eighth International Congress of Psychology in Groningen.

His psychological research concerned itself with the Mueller-Lyer illusion (1889), which he attributed to eye movements. Other works followed on taste mixtures, psychic energy, the heredity of character, déjà vu, attention, and dreams. In philosophy he covered the fields of the theory of knowledge, esthetics, metaphysics, and ethics. His works include *Die Gesetze und Elemente des wissenschaftlichen Denkens* (1890; 1923[4]); *Einfuehrung in die Metaphysik auf Grundlage der Erfahrung* (1905, 1921); and *Einfuehrung in die Ethik auf Grundlagen der Erfahrung* (1914; 1932[4]).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Gerritsen, *La Philosophie de Heymans* (1938), 293–8; T.T. ten Have, *Heymans, de Groninger psychologie en de critiek van Dr. Meyering* (1946).

[Helmut E. Adler]

HEYSE, PAUL (1830–1914), German author and Nobel Prize winner. Heyse was born in Berlin and became one of the outstanding and most controversial figures in late 19th-century German literature. His father was a Christian, and professor at the University of Berlin, and his mother an assimilated Jewess. After graduating from Berlin University, he traveled to Italy, where he found inspiration for his tales in verse and prose *novellen*. The best known of the latter was *L'Arrabiata* (1853) while, of the former, *Der Salamander* (1867) was unrivaled in its genre. In 1854, King Maximilian II of Bavaria called the promising young writer to Munich, where he joined the school of lyricists headed by Emanuel Geibel. This group, which resembled the French Parnassians, devoted itself to the perfection of form rather than innovation of subject matter. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, Heyse was fiercely attacked by the rising generation of German naturalists for sacrificing virility to elegance of diction, and for dealing with foreign (especially Italian) themes rather than with the vital events of contemporary Germany. His best novels were *Kinder der Welt* (1873), on religious and social problems, and *Im Paradies* (1875), about artistic life in Munich. By 1910, when Heyse became the first German writer to gain the Nobel Prize for literature, the polemics directed against him came to an end. His lyrics and *novellen* then found an honored place in German literature. A Hebrew translation of Heyse's drama *Die Weisheit Salomons* was published by S.L. *Gordon (1896). His collected works appeared in 38 volumes in 1872–1914; a new series, also in 38 volumes, appeared in 1902–12.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Raff, *Paul Heyse* (1911); J.F. Klein, *Beitraege zu Paul Heyses Novellentechnik* (1920). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Werner (ed), *Paul Heyse, Eine Bibliographie seiner Werke* (1978); M. Krausnick, *Paul Heyse und der Muenchner Dichterkreis*, (1974); s.v. Moysi (ed.), *Paul Heyse, Muenchner Dichterfuerst im buergerlichen Zeitalter,* (exhibition catalog, 1981); G. Kroes-Tillmann, *Paul Heyse italianissimo. Ueber seine Dichtungen und Nachdichtungen*, (1993); K. Koebe, *Die Paul Heyse Rezeption zwischen 1850 und 1914. Kritische Wuerdigung und dichterisches Selbstbewusstsein im Wechselspiel*, (2000); N. Nelhiebel, *Epik im Realismus. Studien zu den Versnovellen von Paul Heyse* (2000); R. Berbig and W. Hettche (ed.), *Paul Heyse, Ein Schriftsteller zwischen Deutschland und Italien* (2001).

[Sol Liptzin / Konrad Feilchenfeldt (2nd ed.)]

HEZEKIAH (Heb. חִזְקִיָּה, חִזְקִיָּהוּ; "YHWH is [my] strength," shortened form of יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ; in cuneiform transcription Ḫazaqiau, "YHWH is strong"), son of Ahaz, king of Judah (II Kings 18–20; II Chron. 29–32). Hezekiah reigned for 29 years in Jerusalem. According to II Kings 18:9–10, Samaria was conquered by the Assyrians in the sixth year of his reign (722/1 B.C.E.). This would imply that Hezekiah ascended the throne in 727/6 B.C.E. This seems to be confirmed by Isaiah 14:28ff. The rod of him who smote Philistia (*ibid.*) was hardly *Ahaz, who (even if one discounts II Chron. 28:18f.) barely managed to save his kingdom with the help of Assyria but surely *Tiglath-Pileser of Assyria who invaded Philistia repeatedly and made it tributary. The manner of dating the prophecy in Isaiah 14:28 would seem to be due to the circumstance that Ahaz, like Tiglath-Pileser, died in 727/6. According to II Kings 18:13, however, the campaign of *Sennacherib (701 B.C.E.) took place in the 14th year of Hezekiah's reign which would place the beginning of Hezekiah's reign in 715/4 B.C.E. (i.e., after the destruction of Samaria); and this dating also has adherents among modern Bible scholars.

In II Kings 18:3–4 stress is laid on the purgation of the cult by Hezekiah. The purge included the removal of cultic objects with a long history in Judah, such as the "high places," the pillars, the Asherah cult pole, and the *copper serpent whose creation was attributed to Moses in the desert (Num. 21:5–9). In II Chronicles 29–32, the emphasis is placed on the renewal of the cult and the return to the service of God as in the days of David and Solomon (II Chron. 28:24; 29:3). In the Books of Kings and Chronicles, a personal and religious reason for this reform is given. The changes stemmed from the will of the king, who was pious and did that which was upright in the eyes of God, more than any other king who reigned before him (II Kings 18:3, 5–6; II Chron. 31:20–21). It seems that there were also some political aspects to this religious reform.

Hezekiah abolished the cult of the high places, which had always been practiced in Jerusalem and the provincial towns, and concentrated the religious activity in the Temple of Jerusalem (II Kings 18:22). It was his intention to raise the Jerusalem Temple to the status of the only legitimate cult place. He would thus strengthen the ties between the people of Judah and the dynasty of David, which reigned in Jerusalem. Moreover, if there is any historical basis to the account in II Chronicles 30:1–10, Hezekiah sent letters to Ephraim and Manasseh inviting them to the Temple in Jerusalem in order to sacrifice the Paschal Lamb. The object of this invitation to the "remnants" living outside Judah to come to Jerusalem for Passover was to intensify the consciousness of the national unity of the Israelite tribes as a first step in the territorial and political restoration of the kingdom of David and Solomon. The national awakening that became apparent in Judah during this period was also expressed in literary activities (Prov. 25:1; see *Deuteronomy; *Hosea). Hezekiah probably introduced the seals on the handles of jars that were intended for storing state provisions in time of siege. The state of Judah was divided for that purpose into four defensive zones each comprising several walled towns. The four names of the jars represent the key cities of the above-mentioned zones: Mmšt-Negev, Socoth-Shephelah, Hebron-Hills, Ziph-Wilderness.

These activities were doubtless closely associated with the activities of Hezekiah in other fields, such as the war against the Philistines. Hezekiah penetrated into Philistia and reached the frontier of the state of Gaza. The activities of Hezekiah on the southwestern border of Judah are echoed in I Chronicles 4:34–43 (the version of the LXX, *Gerar*, is preferable to that of the traditional text *Gedor*) and according to Sennacherib's prism (in Pritchard, Texts, 287; COS II, 302–3) the inhabitants of Ekron delivered their king, Padi, into the hands of Hezekiah. It can be logically assumed that these conquests were closely connected with Hezekiah's rebellion against Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. (II Kings 18:7, 13–37; II Chron. 32; Isa. 36–37; Pritchard, *ibid*). This rebellion was a result of Hezekiah's policy for the expansion of his territory and his ambition to achieve absolute political independence. Hezekiah made preparations for the decisive struggle with Assyria by strengthening his forces and defenses internally and by making alliances against Assyria. He assured the supply of water to Jerusalem by closing off the outlet of the Gihon spring, which was outside the walls of Jerusalem, and diverting the spring waters by means of a tunnel to the pool of Siloam which was situated within the city walls (II Kings 20:20; Isa. 22:9–11; II Chron. 32:30). There is epigraphic evidence for the construction of this tunnel in the *Siloam Inscription, which was engraved near the pool end of the tunnel. Hezekiah also took care to fortify the provincial towns. He built towns for the storage of grain, wine, and oil (II Chron. 32:28–29), reorganized the army, and made many weapons (II Chron. 32:5–6). The passage in I Chronicles 4:41, perhaps warrants the conclusion that a *census was taken during his reign in connection with the military preparations throughout Judah. In the year 712 Sargon II sent his army on a military expedition against Ashdod. The connection of the prophetic narrative of Isaiah 20 with the Assyrian expedition is vouched for by the text and is not disputed. The Assyrian army crushed the Ashdod-led revolt at Azekah, which lay about 15 miles due east of Ashdod. How long after the fall of Azekah King Hezekiah remained defiant cannot be said. In any case the attack on, or the capture of, Azekah is the background of Isaiah 22:1–14. Hezekiah engaged in extensive diplomatic activity in order to ensure support and assistance from the outside. He contracted an alliance with Egypt (II Kings 18:21; Isa. 36:6) in spite of the opposition of Isaiah (Isa. 30:2; 31:1). The ties between Hezekiah and *Merodach (Berodach)-Baladan, the Chaldean (II Kings 20; Isa. 39), an old enemy of Assyria, are of special importance. This appears to be the background of the visit of the messengers of Merodach-Baladan to Jerusalem (II Kings 20:12–21; Isa. 39; II Chron. 32:31). It also appears that Hezekiah was the ally of Luli, king of *Sidon, and Ṣidqā, king of Ashkelon, who fought against Sennacherib during his campaign of 701 B.C.E. Concerning the campaign itself, there is much information available from the Bible, Assyrian documents, Greek authors of the Persian and Hellenistic periods, and archaeological findings. Even so, the exact progress of the campaign has not been clarified. The general lines of the campaign are as follows: Sennacherib first fought Luli, the king of Sidon. Luli fled, while Sidon and her other towns surrendered. In mainland Tyre various kings of Phoenicia and Palestine accepted Sennacherib's rule and paid their tribute to him. Sennacherib advanced along the coast to Philistia, conquered the northern lowland towns which were under the dominion of Ashkelon, and took King Ṣidqā of Ashkelon himself as captive. On his way southward he defeated the Egyptian army at Eltekeh. He then conquered Ekron and penalized the rebels who had surrendered Padi their king to Hezekiah. From Ekron he pushed on into the territory of Judah. Sennacherib relates that he conquered the 46 fortified cities of Judah from Hezekiah, as well as innumerable smaller cities (cf. II Kings 18:13; Isa. 36:1).

On one of Sennacherib's reliefs there is a detailed description of the conquest by the Assyrian army of the town of Lachish and the deportation of its inhabitants. According to the annals of Sennacherib, 200,150 captives were deported from Judah. Sennacherib also relates that he besieged Jerusalem and distributed the other towns among the kings of Philistia, thus diminishing the size of Hezekiah's kingdom. Hezekiah surrendered to release Padi, whom Sennacherib reinstated as king of Ekron, and paid a heavy tribute which included 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, and precious stones (cf. II Kings 18:14). Of all the discrepancies between the various sources dealing with the details of the campaign, the most outstanding contradiction lies in the conflicting descriptions of the biblical and Assyrian sources as to the end of the campaign. The biblical accounts come from multiple contradictory sources. According to II Kings 18:13–16 (see below) Hezekiah capitulated. According to II Kings 19:20–31 (= Isa. 37:22–32) Isaiah encouraged Hezekiah and the people to ignore the words of

the *Rabshakeh, whom Sennacherib dispatched with an army from Lachish to Jerusalem to demand unconditional surrender. On this same account the campaign ended when a catastrophic plague on the Assyrian camp wiped out the invaders and Sennacherib hurried back to his country (II Kings 19:35; Isa. 37:36; II Chron. 32:21). According to the Assyrian version, however, the campaign ended in an Assyrian victory.

Various suggestions are put forward by scholars. According to one, the biblical story and the Assyrian description deal with different stages of a single campaign which took place in 701 B.C.E. The first stage ended with the seizure of the cities of Judah, the capitulation of Hezekiah, and the sending of the tribute to Assyria (Pritchard, Texts, 287–8; COS II, 302–3; II Kings 18:13–16). The second stage which ended in disaster for Assyria is mentioned only in the Bible (II Kings 18:17ff.), while the Assyrian version, for obvious reasons, passes over it in silence. According to another suggestion, which is even less likely, the biblical story combined two different campaigns which took place at different dates. The first campaign, which took place in 701 B.C.E., ended with the submission of Hezekiah (as in the Assyrian source and cf. II Kings 18:13–16), while the second campaign was waged after 689 B.C.E., a period on which there is no information in the Assyrian sources. Some scholars find echoes of the second campaign in Herodotus (*History*, 2:141), where a defeat of Sennacherib at the gates of Egypt is reported. The most likely solution is that Hezekiah paid tribute (II Kings 13:16) and that Sennacherib withdrew from Jerusalem after a brief campaign. The fact that Jerusalem was not conquered and that Hezekiah remained on the throne, and possibly soon expanded his territory as an Assyrian vassal, led Isaiah (II Kings 19:32–34; = Isa. 37:33–35) and doubtless some of his contemporaries to see here the hand of God. The annals of Sennacherib do not claim that Jerusalem was captured. They only mention that Hezekiah sent his submission tribute to the king of Assyria in Nineveh. It appears that for some reason Sennacherib hurried back to his country and received the tribute in Nineveh. In the course of time the departure of Sennacherib was attributed to a miracle. The fact that Sennacherib was in fact assassinated by his own sons (II Kings 18:37), albeit 20 years later, provided further proof of divine deliverance.

[Bustanay Oded / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Hezekiah is idealized in the *aggadah*. He is regarded as completely righteous, modest in his demands (Sanh. 94b), devoted to the study of Torah (Song R. 4:8), and "strengthening the bonds between Israel toward its Father in Heaven." Through his efforts knowledge of Torah was universal so that "they searched from Dan to Beersheba and no ignoramus was found; from Gabbath to Antipatris and no boy or girl, man or woman was found who was not thoroughly versed in the laws of cleanness and uncleanness" (Sanh. 94b). When he died, they placed a Scroll of the Law upon his coffin, saying "This one has fulfilled all that is written in this" (BK 17a). He was rewarded for his righteousness, God himself fighting on his side (Lam. R. Proem 30). God wished to appoint Hezekiah as the Messiah, and Sennacherib as Gog and Magog, but the Attribute of Justice protested that David had been more entitled to this, and the proposal was abandoned. With his death, the merit of the patriarchs came to an end. Hezekiah did six things of his own accord. The first three the rabbis approved, the others they did not. He hid away a "Book of Cures," broke into pieces the brazen serpent, and dragged the bones of his father (to the grave) on a bier of ropes. He stopped up the waters of Gihon, removed (the gold from) the doors of the Temple and sent it to the king of Assyria, and intercalated a second month of Nisan (Ber. 10b). A *baraita* states that "Hezekiah and his school wrote the books of Isaiah, Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes" (BB 15a).

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

In the Arts

Two of the earliest literary works on this subject, both titled *Ezechias*, were dramas by the German Protestant Sixtus Birck (1538) and the English author Nicholas Udall. The latter's play was staged in 1564 before Queen Elizabeth I in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, but has not survived. In the 18th century there was an anonymous Russian *Drama o Yezekiye, tsare Izrailskom* written during the reign of Peter the Great; and three English plays: *Hezekiah*, one of Hannah More's *Sacred Dramas* (1782), W.A. Wright's *Hezekiah, King of Judah …* (1798), and William Allen's *Hezekiah, King of Judah; or, Invasion repulsed, and Peace restored* (1798), the last of which was marked by contemporary political allusions. The miraculous defeat of the Assyrian host was commemorated in Lord *Byron's poem "Sennacherib" (*Hebrew Melodies*, 1815); and the era of invasion described in W.H. Goss's novel *Hebrew Captives of the Kings of Assyria* (1890) and Joseph *David (Penker)'s Marathi drama *The Assyrian Captive* (1922). Later works on the theme include Naḥman Isaac *Fischman's five-act Hebrew drama *Kesher Shevna* (1870), which dealt with Hezekiah's alien majordomo, Shebna, who was censured by the prophet Isaiah. Four interpretations of the subject in the 20th century were John W. Harding's romance *The Gate of the Kiss* (1902); a short story by Arnold *Zweig (1910); William Henry Temple Gairdner's *King Hezekiah; a tragical drama* (1923); and Walter Gutkelch's German play, *Der grosse Mut des Hiskia* (1954).

In art the main subject treated is the miraculous prolongation of Hezekiah's life (Isa. 38:1–8). The eighth-century fresco at Santa Maria Antica, Rome, shows the prophet Isaiah standing at the bedside of the sick king, as does a miniature of the same period from the *Christian Typography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes (Vatican Library). In a 10th-century Greek psalter (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) Hezekiah is shown giving thanks to God. He also appears in two 11th-century Catalan Bibles; on a fresco in a former monastery in Cologne (Romanesque, 12th century); and in a 13th-century statue by Benedetto Antelami in the cathedral of S. Donnino, Borgo. There is a representation of the king by Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel, Rome.

The prayer of Hezekiah (Isa. 38) is included among the *cantica* of the Roman Catholic liturgy, and as *Canticum Ezechié* it figures in the Lauds of the Office for the Defunct; it is sung to a simple psalmodic formula. Hezekiah's illness and recovery provide the main theme of oratorios and cantatas on the subject, such as G. Carissimi's 17th-century *Ezechia* (oratorio, in the "Historia" form) and G.B. Bononcini's *Ezechia* (oratorio, 1737). A descriptive piece for keyboard instrument, "Der todtkranke und wieder gesunde Hiskias," was composed by G. Ph. Telemann as no. 4 of his *Biblische Sonaten* (1700). The prayer, and its introductory verses, form the subject of Ernst Kenek's motet for women's voices and piano, *Aegrostate Ezechias* (1945). A modern setting of the Hebrew text was written by the Israeli composer Abel *Ehrlich *(Mikhtam le-Ḥizkiyyahu)*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bright, Hist, 261–87; Noth, Hist Isr, 264–70; J. Gray, *A History of Israel* (1960), 261–71, 282–7; Pritchard, Texts, 287–8; Albright, in: BASOR, 130 (1953), 8–11; Weinfeld, in: JNES, 23 (1964), 202–12; Ginsberg, in: *A. Marx Jubilee Volume* (1950), 247–69; Thiele, in: VT, 16 (1966), 83–107; Maisler (Mazar), in: *Eretz Israel*, 2 (1953), 170–5. IN THE AGGADAH: Ginzberg, Legends, index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** N. Na'aman, in: BASOR, 261:5–21; M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (1988), 215–63; A. Tushingham, in: BASOR, 287 (1992), 61–6; J. Rosenbaum, in: ABD, 3:189–93; L. Handy, in: ABD, 6:1117; A. Rainey, in: M. Coogan et al., *Scripture and Other Artifacts… Essays… P. King* (1994), 333–54; O. Borowski, in: BA, 58 (1995), 48–55; R. Hendel, in: DDD, 615–16.

HEZEKIAH (died c. 46 B.C.E.), fighter for freedom at the beginning of the period of Roman rule in Judea. Hezekiah, probably a supporter of the Hasmoneans, conducted a stubborn war against supporters of the Roman government. He was the leader of a band of guerillas and raided the gentile towns on the Syrian border, perpetrating acts of violence and plunder. Josephus calls Hezekiah an *archilistes* ("chief bandit"), a pejorative term he uses for all the freedom fighters, particularly during the Roman war. The young Herod, who was appointed military governor of Galilee at the time, put an end to these raids. He captured Hezekiah and his associates and had them put to death without trial (Jos., Wars, 1:204; Jos., Ant., 14:159). This deed excited great anger in Galilee and in the circles of the nobility and the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem, who feared Herod's ambition. They therefore sought to bring Herod to justice and to punish him in accordance with the law. It appears that Josephus' knowledge of Hezekiah was obtained from the work of *Nicholas of Damascus and does not give a true picture of his personality. There is no doubt that his family had a distinguished ancestry and comprised scholars, as can be inferred from the fact that his son Judah was called *sophistes* ("a scholar"; Jos., Wars, 2:118). *Menahem b. Judah and *Eleazar b. Jair also belonged to the same family (Jos., Wars, 2:447).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.H.M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea* (1938), 28f.; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 3 (1950), 175, 251; 5 (1951), 148f.; A. Schalit, *Hordos ha-Melekh* (1964), 357f., 432f.

[Abraham Schalit]

HEZEKIAH (early third century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*; at times referred to as Beribbi (Ḥul. 57a). He was the son of R. *Ḥiyya. He and his brother Judah were praised from youth for their wisdom and were called *rovin* ("youths"; Ḥul. 19a–20a). Resh Lakish said of them that when Ḥiyya and his sons came to Ereẓ Israel from Babylonia they restored the Torah, which had been forgotten (Suk. 20a). Although they gained their livelihood from agriculture they took care not to forget their learning (Ber. 18b). Hezekiah was more renowned than his brother and his name is more frequently mentioned in the Talmuds. He also compiled a collection of *beraitot* which are introduced in the Talmud with the words "the school of Hezekiah taught" (Sanh. 37b, et al.). He utilized the existent halakhic Midrashim and added to them. In consequence the *Sifrei*, and still more the *Mekhilta of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai*, contain anonymous statements which in the parallel passages in the Talmud and the Midrashim are introduced by "Hezekiah taught," or "the school of Hezekiah taught," or "Hezekiah said." The Talmud cites many halakhic disputes between Hezekiah and Johanan (Ḥag. 8a; Git. 53a, et al.). He also engaged in *aggadah* and is quoted in the Midrashim (Lev. R. 9:9; Tanḥ. Niẓẓavim 1, et al.). Among his sayings are: "A man's prayer is not heard unless he makes his heart like flesh" (Sot. 5a) explained by Rashi: "which is soft, and not like stone which is hard"; "Great is peace, for in connection with all other precepts it is written, 'if, thou meet' etc. [Ex. 23:4], 'if thou see' etc. [Ex. 23:5],… i.e., if a precept comes to your hand, you are bound to perform it, but if not, you are not bound to perform it. In this case, however, it says: 'Seek peace and pursue it' [Ps. 34:15], 'seek it in thine own place, and pursue it to another place'" [Lev. R. 9:9]. Hezekiah lived in Tiberias (Meg. 5b) and on his death was buried in the sepulcher of his father (MK 25a).

Another Palestinian *amora* of the same name lived at the beginning of the fourth century. He was a pupil of Jeremiah (Zev. 75b), many of whose sayings he transmitted (TJ, Ber. 5:2, 9c, et al.), as well as those of Abbahu (TJ, Beẓah 1:2, 60b) who was a fellow citizen of Caesarea (TJ, Dem. 1:3, 22b; TJ, Shev. 9:7, 39a, et al.). Of his pupils Mana is known (TJ, Ned. 5:5, 39b). Some are of the opinion that he moved to Babylon since an *amora* Hezekiah is referred to as transmitting sayings in the name of the Babylonian *amora*, Abbaye (Shab. 38b, et al.), but it appears that the reference is to a different sage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Tal Amor, 1; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Epstein, Tanna'im, 708ff.; 730ff.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 165–6. HEZEKIAH II: Frankel, Mevo, 81a–b; Halevy, Dorot, 2 (1923), 465–7; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Z.W. Rabinowitz, *Sha'arei Torat Bavel* (1961), 395–6; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 391–2.

[Zvi Kaplan]

HEZEKIAH, THE HIGH PRIEST (fourth century B.C.E.), one of the most important Jewish personalities to emigrate to Egypt after Ptolemy I's victory in the battle near Gaza in 311 B.C.E. He is mentioned by Hecataeus of Abdera (Jos., Apion, 1:187–9) under the name Ezekias as "a man of about 66 years of age, highly esteemed by his countrymen, intellectual,

and moreover, an able speaker and unsurpassed as a man of business." Hezekiah assembled his friends and tried to convince them of the advantages of emigration to Egypt, "for he had in writing the conditions attaching to their settlement and political status." Scholars have tended to doubt the accuracy of this passage, because the high priest at this time was Onias, and there was none by the name of Hezekiah. However the term αρχιερένς applied to Hezekiah does not necessarily signify high priest; it can mean a priest of high standing (*ibid.*, 1:186–9). In 1931 a coin of the fourth century B.C.E. was discovered in the Beth-Zur excavations which bears the names of Hezekiah and perhaps Jehohan(an?). Albright identifies the latter with Onias the high priest. In his opinion, the coin belongs to Hezekiah, who was an important priest during this period and served as treasurer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (1959), 56ff., 273, 300, 425ff. n. 46; H. Willrich, *Juden und Griechen* (1895), 31ff.; Albright, in: BASOR, 43 (1931); R. Sellers, *Citadel of Beth-Zur* (1933), 73–74, no. 9; A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Jewish Coins* (1947), 9; Schalit, in: *Sefer Yoḥanan Lewy* (1949), 263 n. 2.

[Isaiah Gafni / Edna Elazary]

HEZEKIAH BEN DAVID (d. c. 1058), exilarch and *gaon*. His grandfather Hezekiah b. Judah, a grandson of *David b. Zakkai, is also referred to as exilarch, although there is some doubt whether he actually held the position. Hezekiah b. David became exilarch after Azariah b. Solomon, a descendant of David b. Zakkai's brother Josiah. The date of his appointment is uncertain but in 1021 he is mentioned as exilarch in one of his letters. On the death of *Hai Gaon in 1038 Hezekiah was asked to succeed him, the exilarchate and gaonate thus being temporarily combined. The official title of *gaon*, however, was apparently not conferred on him. Some years later, after being denounced to the authorities by informers, he was arrested, put in chains, and tortured. Two of his sons escaped to Spain where they were helped by *Joseph, son and successor of *Samuel ha-Nagid, who had addressed a poem to Hezekiah in 1055. Only three of Hezekiah's letters and one of his responsa (quoted by Judah b. Barzillai in *Sefer ha-Shetarot*) are known. According to Ibn Daud the gaonate and exilarchate ended with the death of Hezekiah. In fact, scholars continued to be appointed to the former position. The exilarchate also continued nominally, the office being held by Hezekiah's descendants: his son David, his grandson Hezekiah b. David, and the latter's son David down to the early 12th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abraham ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah – The Book of Tradition*, ed. and tr. by G.D. Cohen (1967), index; S. Poznański, *Babylonische Geonim im nachgaonaeischen Zeitalter* (1914), index; Kamenetsky, in: REJ, 55 (1908), 51–53; Mann, Texts, index; Mann, Egypt, index; idem, in: *Sefer Zikkaron… S. Poznański* (1927), 21–23; Assaf, Ge'onim, 36, 285–8; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 11 (1939/40), 152–5.

[Abraham David]

HEZEKIAH BEN DAVID DA SILVA (1659–1695), rabbi of Jerusalem, brother-in-law of Moses *Ḥagiz. Hezekiah was born in Leghorn, where he studied under Samuel Kushta and Judah Sharaf, a Jerusalem emissary. He migrated to Jerusalem prior to 1679 and there studied under Moses b. Jonathan *Galante. In 1688 he was sent as an emissary of Jerusalem to Central and Western Europe. In Amsterdam, in 1692, he was offered the post of rabbi, which he declined, but during his stay, he influenced the wealthy Jacob Pereira to found a yeshivah in Jerusalem in his name (to take the place of the yeshivah of the same name, "Beit Ya'akov," named after the brothers Vigo of Leghorn, which had closed its doors in 1689 immediately after the death of Moses Galante). Hezekiah was head of this yeshivah from his return to Jerusalem in 1692 until his death.

Hezekiah's reputation rests upon his *Peri Hadash*, which contains exceptionally trenchant criticisms of the rulings of Joseph *Caro and all the earlier codifiers, with the exception of Maimonides. In this work, aimed at nullifying the authority of the Shulḥan Arukh as representing the final *halakhah*, he attempts to elucidate the *halakhah* as conforming with his view. He also added his own novellae. He inclines to leniency in his rulings, taking to task those authorities who adopt a stringent line. The section *Yoreh De'ah* was published in Amsterdam in 1692, while Hezekiah was on a mission there from Jerusalem; the section on parts of *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Hilkhot Gittin* in 1706, and that on the whole of *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* in 1730. When the volume on *Yoreh De'ah* reached Egypt it gave rise to violent controversy. The Egyptian rabbis even thought of excommunicating him but instead they ordered the book to be suppressed and issued a ban against anyone studying it, which was later repealed, however, by *Abraham ha-Levi, the rabbi of Egypt. In the course of time, the work increased in popularity, many leading halakhists accepting its rulings. Jonathan *Eybeschuetz in his *Kereti u-Feleti* (Altona, 1763), and Joseph *Teomim in *Peri Megadim* quote him regularly and rule in conformity with his view. The work was published later in the editions of the Shulḥan Arukh together with the other standard commentaries – in *Yoreh De'ah* (Amsterdam, 1743), in *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (1754), and in *Hilkhot Gittin* (Vienna, 1809). The publishers softened, to some degree, the sharpness of its language, and omitted the harsh expressions used against the Shulḥan Arukh and other halakhists, making it conform in style to the other commentaries. Among those who strove to rebut its trenchant criticism were Hananiah Cases in *Ḥok le-Yisrael* (Leghorn, 1740), Ḥayyim ibn Attar, who in his *Perot Ginnosar* (Amsterdam, 1742) gives the *Peri Ḥadash* on *Yoreh De'ah* together with his criticisms entitled *Peri To'ar*, and Ẓevi *Ashkenazi (the "Ḥakham Ẓevi"), whose conclusions were published in the periodical *Sha'arei Torah* (cf. bibliography). Hezekiah also wrote: *Mayim Ḥayyim* (Amsterdam, 1730), novellae on Maimonides, and responsa.

A pamphlet on the halakhic determination of the time of twilight was published in the *Shemen la-Ma'or* (Constantinople, 1755) of Ezra Malki, and again under the title *Binah ve-Da'at* (Cracow, 1927). Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai speaks of works by Hezekiah on the Talmud according to the kabbalis-

tic system of Isaac *Luria, which he ordered to be suppressed, the section of his *Peri Hadash* dealing with the laws of Sabbath being inadvertently destroyed along with them. Among his disciples were Solomon *Algazi, who was a rabbi in Egypt, Isaac ha-Kohen *Rapoport, and Isaiah *Azulai.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Feigenbaum, in: *Sha'arei Torah*, 4 (1910), 63–64; R. Margaliot, *Toledot Rabbenu Ḥayyim ibn Attar* (1925), 30–31; Frumkin-Rivlin, 2 (1928), 91–96; Ḥ. Tchernowitz, *Toledot ha-Posekim*, 3 (1947), 175–84; Yaari, Sheluḥei, 295–8; Yaari, in: *Yerushalayim*, 4 (1953), 185–9.

[Abraham David]

HEZEKIAH BEN JACOB (of Magdeburg; 13th century), tosafist. Hezekiah, one of the last of the tosafists, was apparently a pupil of Samson of Coucy and *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi. His appointment as reader of the Magdeburg community while still in his youth aroused considerable opposition. Moses b. Ḥasdai and *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna, author of the *Or Zaru'a*, intervened to settle the dispute (*Or Zaru'a*, nos. 114–15; Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Lemberg, nos. 109–11). In the sources Hezekiah is also referred to as Yeḥezkiyahu, and was known in brief as Mahari'aḥ (**M**orenu **H**a-**R**av **YeH**ezkiyyahu). He was the author of the *tosafot* to the tractate *Shabbat*, and of a halakhic work, which was never published. A manuscript of it existed in the library of the Jewish community of Prague and a description was given by H. Brody (see bibliography). According to him the manuscript, which covers 12 tractates, constituted the complete original work. Fragments from it and quotations are given in the *Haggahot Asheri* of *Israel of Krems and in various manuscripts of books on ritual law of that period. Hezekiah was the uncle of *Eliezer of Touques.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Brody, in: *Festschrift… Adolf Schwarz* (1917), 37–45 (Heb. part); Azulai, 1 (1852), 34 no. 35; Michael, Or, 374 no. 836; V. Aptowitzer, *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938), 32, 338; Urbach, Tosafot, 441–3.

[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

HEZEKIAH BEN MANOAH (mid-13th century), biblical commentator of the school of *Rashi, apparently from France. Some are of the opinion that his father was Manoah of Béziers and, on the basis of a section in the rhymed introduction to Hezekiah's work, conjecture that Manoah was tortured at a time of religious persecution. Hezekiah wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch and on Rashi's commentary under the title *Ḥizzekuni* (or *Ḥazzekuni*, either in allusion to his name or as an appeal to his readers to encourage and "support" him). It was first published in the Venice edition of the Pentateuch in 1524, and separately in Cremona in 1559. In his commentary he chiefly bases himself on the halakhic and aggadic Midrashim and on the comments of Rashi, citing also various comments from another "20 books," including the commentaries of *Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam) and Joseph b. Isaac *Bekhor Shor. In his comments he quotes many Midrashim no longer extant, for which he is the only source. The work contains a number of French *la'azim.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no. 836; J. Guttmann, in: *Ner David – Festskrift… D. Simonsens* (1923), 44–48; Waxman, Literature, 2 (1960^2), 44.

HEZIR, founder of the 17th priestly watch (I Chron. 24:15). The name is also borne by one of the leaders who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. 10:21). Possibly the reference is to the same family, the name becoming wrongly linked in transcription with the leaders of the people instead of the priests. In 1864 the discovery of a Hebrew inscription engraved above a catacomb in the valley of Kidron outside Jerusalem, close to the so-called tomb of Zechariah and Absalom's monument, brought to light the name of six brothers of the "sons of Hezir" and two sons of one of the brothers. This three-line inscription, dating from the first half of the first century B.C.E., is one of the longest of the Second Temple period and the writing shows an affinity to the scripts of the Gezer Calendar, the earlier Dead Sea Scrolls, and to the script of the Aramaic inscription on the tombstone of King Uzziah (dating from Second Temple times). The catacomb, which contains a number of chambers, has a facade of Doric columns and its architecture is unmistakably Greek in style, belonging therefore to the Hellenistic period. Priests of Jerusalem for whom such tombs were erected probably belonged to the hellenizing movement. It is therefore possible that the tomb dates from the middle of the second century B.C.E., the inscription being added two generations later.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Avigad, *Maẓẓevot Kedumot be-Naḥal Kidron* (1954), 37–78.

[Lea Roth]

ḤIBAT ALLAH, ABU AL-BARAKĀT (Nathanel) BEN ALL (Eli) AL-BAGHDĀDĪ (second half 11th–first half 12th century), philosopher, physician, and biblical commentator. Abu al-Barakāt spent most of his life in Baghdad. He was a well-known physician and served at the court of Caliph al-Mustanjid (1160–70). At the age of 60 he converted from Judaism to Islam. Maimonides mentions him in his *Ma'amar Teḥiyyat ha-Metim* (ed. J. Finkel, in: PAAJR, 9 (1939), 13 [Heb.]), holding that his doctrine of the soul is incorrect and that he follows in the footsteps of the Islamic theologians, the *mutakallimūn* (see *Kalām), rather than in those of the true philosophers. In 1143 Abu al-Barakāt composed an extensive Arabic commentary on Ecclesiastes (extant in manuscripts in Oxford and Leningrad), dictating it to his pupil, Isaac, the son of Abraham ibn Ezra, who in the introduction to this work wrote a long poem in praise of his teacher. (Considerable portions of the commentary have been edited by Poznański in ZHB, 16 (1913), 32–36.) Abu al-Barakāt was perhaps the author also of a Hebrew grammar written in Arabic (manuscript in Leningrad; see Harkavy, in ZAW, 1 (1881), 159). Arabic bibliographers name the following medical writings by Abu al-Barakāt: "*Ikhtiṣār al-Tashrīḥ*" a compendium of anatomy according to Galen; "*Ḥawāshī,*" annotations to Book I of Avicenna's *Canon*; a handbook of antidotes in three treatises; and

studies on two remedies compounded by Abu al-Barakāt, one of which is described by the Aramaic name *bar sha'ata*.

Philosophy

Abu al-Barakāt's major work, written while he was still a Jew, is entitled *Kitāb al-Muʿtabar*, a title which S. Pines (see bibliography) renders as "the book of what has been established by personal reflection." This translation suggests the author's conception of the history of philosophy and the task of the philosopher. In his view, the ancient philosophers transmitted their teachings orally but only to persons qualified to receive them. Although their teachings were later set down in writing, it was merely in outline form, and when in following periods philosophers attempted to interpret them, they did not always succeed. Thus, much of the history of philosophy is a record of intellectual confusion and misinterpretation. Abu al-Barakāt therefore saw no need to base his philosophy on the teachings and interpretations of earlier philosophers, and claimed that his philosophy resulted from his own reflection on matters. While this claim is exaggerated, his book contains much that is novel.

Physics

Of special significance in the *Kitāb al-Muʿtabar* is Abu al-Barakāt's critique of certain physical, psychological, and metaphysical notions accepted by Aristotle and his followers. Two examples are his critiques of the Aristotelian conceptions of time and space. Aristotle had defined time as the measure of motion, thereby making time a property of the corporeal world. Rejecting this definition, Abu al-Barakāt held that time is a measure of being. In his view, the human mind knows a priori, immediately, and with certainty that being exists and concomitantly that time accompanies being. Hence, time is absolute and independent of the world. Since Abu al-Barakāt also maintained that there is no essential difference between the existence of God and that of other beings, it follows from his description of time that God exists in time – a proposition that Aristotelians deny. Again, Aristotle defined space as the inner surface of a surrounding body, thereby making it a property of bodies. But Abu al-Barakāt identified space with three-dimensionality, which can exist apart from bodies. Moreover, in his view space can be infinite. Abu al-Barakāt's account of motion was also unique. Aristotle held that a constant force produces a uniform motion, the velocity of which is proportional to the force that engenders it. Abu al-Barakāt's discussions seem to imply that a constant force produces an accelerated motion, a proposition that appears later in Newtonian physics. Abu al-Barakāt's definition of time shows a similarity to that of Abraham bar Ḥiyya (early 12th century), and his conception of space and some of his other physical notions show a similarity to the teachings of Ḥasdai Crescas (c. 1340–c. 1412). However, there is no evidence that Abu al-Barakāt influenced either of them.

Psychology

Abu al-Barakāt mainly followed the psychological doctrines of *Avicenna, himself an innovating interpreter of Aristotle, but with certain disagreements. Aristotle based his analysis of the soul on various functions of organic substances, but Avicenna held that for man self-consciousness is the primary given. From this observation Avicenna concluded that the human soul exists in some fashion apart from the body. However, he limited self-consciousness to the rational part of the soul. Abu al-Barakāt agrees with Avicenna that self-consciousness is central, but differs in holding that it applies to the soul in its totality and not to the intellect alone.

Metaphysics

Abu al-Barakāt's metaphysical position is also anti-Aristotelian. He rejected the notion of negative attributes (see *God, Attributes of), accepted by many Aristotelians, maintaining that positive qualities can be attributed to God and that these qualities are common to both God and man, though they are found first in God, their prime exemplar, and secondly in other beings. Contrary to the Aristotelians, too, is his view that God knows individuals and particulars, not only His own essence. Abu al-Barakāt also reflected on creation of the world, discussing the arguments of those who accept it as well as those who oppose it. His own opinion is not clear, but it appears that he believed in the eternity of the world.

Abu al-Barakāt had a distinct influence on Muslim philosophy. Even his critics accepted some of his ideas. Other philosophical writings mentioned by bibliographers include *Maqāla fī Sabab Ẓuhūr al-Kawākib Laylan wa-Khafāʾihā Nahāran* ("A Study of the Reason for the Visibility of the Stars by Night and their Invisibility by Day"), "*Risāla fī al-ʿAql wa-Māhiyyatihi* ("A Study of the Intellect and its Nature"), and "*Fī al-Qaḍāʾ wa'l-Qadar*" ("On Fate and Destiny").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Pines, in: EIS², s.v. *Abu'l Barakat*; idem, in: *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 6 (1960), 120–98; idem, in: REJ, 103 (1938), 3–64; 104 (1938), 1–3; idem, *Nouvelles études sur Awḥad al-Zamān Abu'l Barakāt al-Baghdādī* (1955); idem, in: *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 21 (1954), 21–98; idem, *Beitraege zur islamischen Atomenlehre* (1936), 82–83; Steinschneider, Arab Lit., 182–6; idem, in: JQR, 13 (1900/01), 93ff.; S. Poznański, in: MGWJ, 49 (1905), 50–52.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

ḤIBAT ALLAH, IBN JUMAYʾ IBN ZAYN (second half of 12th century), Egyptian physician. Ibn Jumayʾ was regarded as one of the greatest experts of his time in his field. Saladin engaged his services at the royal court, as did his ministers and viziers. He was the author of several works, among them the book *Kitāb al-Irshād li-Maṣāliḥ al-Anfus wa'l-Ajsād* ("The Book of Instructions for [the Maintenance of] the Health of the Body and the Soul"), which was completed by his son, Abu Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl. He also wrote a commentary on the *Canon* of *Avicenna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brockelmann, Arab Lit., 1 (1898), 489, and supplement, 1 (1927), 892; Ashtor, in: HUCA, 27 (1956), 310–11.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

ḤIBBAT ZION (Heb. חִבַּת צִיּוֹן), moshav in central Israel, in the Ḥefer Plain, affiliated with the Farmers' Union (Hitaḥadut ha-Ikkarim), founded in 1934 by members of the Ḥovevei Zion movement in Russia who settled in Ereẓ Israel prior to World War I and were allocated land for settlement only many years later. Citriculture and dairy cattle were its principal farm branches. The settlement's name is taken from that of the *Ḥibbat Zion movement. Its population in 1968 was 303, rising to 390 in the mid-1990s and 443 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

ḤIBBAT ZION (Heb. חִבַּת צִיּוֹן, "Love of Zion"), the movement that constituted the intermediate link between the forerunners of *Zionism in the middle of the 19th century and the beginnings of political Zionism with the appearance of Theodor *Herzl and the First Zionist Congress in 1897. The adherents of Ḥibbat Zion, called Ḥovevei Zion ("Lovers of Zion"), were a widespread movement among the Jewish masses of Russia and Romania, but groups of Ḥovevei Zion also existed in Western Europe and in the United States. Originally, the declared aim of Ḥibbat Zion was not different from that of its predecessors, the forerunners of Zionism, and of the subsequent political Zionist movement, namely, to solve the problem of the abnormal Jewish life in the dispersion by a return of the Jewish people to Ereẓ Israel, settlement on the land on a large scale, and attaining the recognition of the major powers for this purpose (see, e.g., Leon *Pinsker and his program). But, in the early 1880s, when *aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel from Eastern Europe began, mainly in the wake of the Russian pogroms, and the first Jewish agricultural settlements in Ereẓ Israel were established, the Ḥovevei Zion concentrated their means and efforts in encouraging and strengthening the movement toward *aliyah* and settlement and not in the political field. Conditions in Russia did not permit open political activity and forced the Russian Ḥovevei Zion to engage in "practical" work only.

In Western Europe as well, where Jews were permitted more freedom in this field, members of Ḥibbat Zion were not prepared to carry on the political cause of Zionism, basically because of fears that their patriotism would be suspect. Thus the efforts of Ḥovevei Zion turned de facto into philanthropic activity of limited scope and with minor results. Were it not for the aid of Baron Edmond de *Rothschild, it is doubtful whether Ḥovevei Zion would have been able to maintain the first settlements.

When Herzl began his activities, he was not aware of the political Zionist idea that had originally inspired the Ḥibbat Zion movement, and at first he negated the value of the existent small-scale settlement activity that was carried out semi-illegally, against the wishes of the Ottoman regime, and referred to it as "infiltration." The Ḥovevei Zion in the West reacted with reservation toward Herzl and continued their philanthropic aid to both the old and the new *yishuv* by means of *Esra and other institutions. Ḥovevei Zion in Eastern Europe, however, mostly joined Herzl, but disassociated themselves from his negative approach to practical settlement work in Ereẓ Israel and continued to support the *yishuv.* This difference in approach was the source of friction during Herzl's time and afterward between the "political" and the "practical" Zionists, until the consolidation of "synthetic Zionism" after David *Wolffsohn resigned from the presidency of the World Zionist Organization (1911). Ḥibbat Zion was in effect the first mass movement to provide Herzl with wide popular support.

[Getzel Kressel]

ḤIBBUT HA-KEVER (Heb. חִבּוּט הַקֶּבֶר, "beating in the grave"), punishment mentioned in an early *aggadah* which was treated more widely by the kabbalists. According to this belief, the deceased is punished for his sins not only by the torments of gehinnom ("hell") and the transmigration of his soul, but also by being struck with a fiery chain immediately after burial by the Angel of Death (or the angel Duma, cf. Ber. 18b). Only those who die in Ereẓ Israel or, if outside, who are buried on Friday afternoon before sunset, are exempted from this punishment. To ward off *ḥibbut ha-kever* the kabbalists counseled acts of charity and the fervent recitation of prayers. Of particular efficacy in this regard is remembering one's Hebrew name when asked for it by the Angel of Death. To engrave this name in their memories, pious Jews after concluding the recitation of the *Amidah, add a biblical verse, the first and last letters of which correspond to the first and last letters of their Hebrew name.

See list in *Siddur Avodat Yisrael*, 106–7.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Schauss, *The Lifetime of a Jew* (1950), 282f.

HIBSHŪSH, ḤAYYIM, an erudite coppersmith of *San'ā (d. 1899), one of the first modern intellectuals of the Jewish community of *Yemen. His activity was communal as well as scholarly. In his public work he was the main partner of his younger colleague, R. Yiḥye Qāfih, in acting for the improvement of the education system of the Jews of Yemen and for the reshaping of their socio-economic structure. Together they sent letters to European Jewish welfare organizations asking them to send modern teachers to Yemen. Hibshūsh was the first Yemenite-Jewish writer who decided to compose a history of his community based on written, authorized sources, including many Muslim-Arabic works, and not just oral traditions as was the case with R. Yiḥye Ṣāliḥ in *Megillat Teman*. In this work he was followed by other San'ānī Jewish scholars such as R. Shalom Qoraḥ and R. 'Amram Qoraḥ. But his fame among western researchers stems from his Judeo-Arabic book *Mas'ot Hibshūsh*, in which – responding to the request of Eduard *Glaser – he depicted his travels in 1870 to the northern and northeastern regions of Yemen, including rich and sometimes unparalleled information about the Jewish communities in those areas. In fact, he was chosen – owing to his erudition and his profession as a coppersmith – to accompany the Jewish-French Orientalist Joseph *Halévy in quest of Sabaean in-

scriptions. The main reason for writing *Mas'ot Hibshūsh* was probably that both Hibshūsh and Glaser were not content with the fact that Halévy, in his long and detailed reports about his travels in Yemen, completely ignored his Ṣan'ānī guide. In this work, Hibshūsh claims that it was actually he who copied for Halévy the hundreds of Sabaean inscriptions. Hibshūsh's *Travels* was edited by S.D. *Goitein from manuscripts, first published in Hebrew translation (1939) and then in its Judeo-Arabic original with an English abridged translation (1941). Hibshūsh's significant contribution to knowledge of ancient and modern Yemen is universally acknowledged, as attested by the Italian, French, and Arabic translations of his *Travels*, recently published.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hayyim Habshush, *Travels in Yemen*, ed. S.D. Goitein, (1941); *Yémen – récit traduit de l'arabe yéménite*, présenté par S. Naïm-Sanbar (1955); Y. Tobi, *Iyyunim bi-Mgillat Teman* (1986).

[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

HICKL, MAX (1873–1924), one of the early Zionists in Moravia and a founder of the *Po'alei Zion world movement. Born in Bruenn (now Brno), Hickl joined Herzl as soon as the latter appeared on the scene. He was also the chief organizer of the Jewish clerks in the Austrian commercial houses and eventually formed the first Po'alei Zion group out of this organization. Hickl was the founder of *Juedische Volksstimme*, a German-language Zionist weekly that made its first appearance in 1900, and he edited it for a quarter of a century; in the paper's early years, B. *Feiwel and R. *Stricker were Hickl's assistants. For a number of years he published *Juedischer Volkskalender*, an almanac that included outstanding Zionist writers among its contributors and German translations of Hebrew and Yiddish literature. During World War I, when he moved to Vienna, Hickl founded a publishing company that put out German-language Zionist books as well as Hebrew books and the Hebrew monthly *Gevulot*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Singer, *Be-Reshit ha-Ẓiyyonut ha-Sozyalistit* (1958), 446; *The Jews of Czechoslovakia*, 1 (1968), index; Wininger, Biog, 3 (1928), 100.

[Getzel Kressel]

ḤIDDUSHIM (Heb. חִדּוּשִׁים, "novellae"), the results of a method of study of rabbinical literature which derives new ideas from talmudic and also rabbinic texts, in order to clarify *halakhah*. The *ḥiddushim* represent the "obligation imposed upon us to search through the subjects of the Torah and the precepts and bring to light their hidden contents" (*Naḥmanides, introduction to *Sefer ha-Milḥamot*). From the commentary, whose purpose is to explain the text – its difficult terms and other complexities – the student goes on to a thorough analysis and summary of the theme, the establishment of its basis, and the general principles to be deduced from it. On the one hand, however, it is not always possible to draw a clear line of demarcation between commentaries and *ḥiddushim*, while on the other many works belong to the category of *ḥiddushim* from the point of view of their contents and methods though they are not referred to as such.

The changes in conditions of life in the course of time give rise to questions and problems which require an authoritative solution in the spirit of the laws of the Torah. The *geonim* were already required to explain the Talmud in this light and base their decisions upon it. Their comments on various talmudic topics, either by defining the framework of a given *halakhah* or by indicating the conditions necessary for the application of a certain *halakhah*, are actually *ḥiddushim* on those *halakhot*, which at times display considerable originality. This phenomenon is especially noticeable in the *responsa literature, whose authors were required to give a practical decision in answer to questions which arose during their time. The *ḥiddushim* scattered in the responsa literature are very numerous, even if they are not always apparent on the surface, and they sometimes constitute a completely new approach to the relevant passage in the *Gemara*. During the succeeding era, when new Torah centers came into existence, another category of *ḥiddushim* was developed. The most famous of these centers are the Spanish, connected with the name of *Alfasi, and the Franco-German, of which Rashi and the *tosafists are the most distinguished representatives. Each of these centers developed its particular system: the tendency of the Spanish school was toward summarization and methodical presentation, in order finally to arrive at the *halakhah*, and was less concerned with abstract discussions and theoretical detail; the French school, on the other hand, applied itself to the minutest details of talmudic text, without aiming at any methodical arrangement, though this was arrived at indirectly as a result of their remarkable mastery of the vast material.

The most outstanding among the first authors of novellae are Joseph *Ibn Migash, the disciple of Alfasi and the first to write novellae to tractates of the Talmud, which are distinguished by their profundity and had a decisive influence on Maimonides; *Abraham b. David of Posquières, author of novellae to several of the talmudic tractates combining commentary and novellae – his glosses to Alfasi and Maimonides include *ḥiddushim* on talmudic themes which served as an inexhaustible source for subsequent authors; and Meir b. Todros *Abulafia, whose opinions are at times outstandingly original. During the time of Naḥmanides and his pupil R. Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, the teachings of the French school reached the Spanish schools. As a result of their influence the method of study in this country underwent a change and the synthesis thereby created became known in the world of talmudic scholarship as the teachings of the great **rishonim*. They include Naḥmanides, Solomon b. Abraham Adret, *Yom Tov b. Abraham Ishbili, *Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi, Joseph ibn *Ḥabiba, the author of *Nimmukei Yosef* on Alfasi; and others. The method in the schools of these *rishonim* was to study *Gemara* with Rashi's commentary and the tosafists, comparing their views with those of Alfasi and Maimonides. This system resulted in many objections to the decisions of Alfasi and Maimonides, since the conclusions arrived at by Rashi and

his school did not always correspond with those of Alfasi and the halakhic decisions in Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. This resulted in investigation into sources upon which Alfasi and Maimonides had based their decisions, and a search for alternative interpretations. They constituted in effect *ḥiddushim* to Rashi and the path blazed by him, and the revelation of new approaches to many topics. At the same time, the tendency developed among the *rishonim* of suggesting more than one interpretation for a given talmudic passage. Various interpretations were presented side by side – a characteristic example of this system being that of Naḥmanides' *Sefer ha-Milḥamot*, which was written in order to defend Alfasi against the criticisms of *Zerahiah ha-Levi in his *Sefer ha-Ma'or.* Naḥmanides goes to the length of giving Alfasi's explanations, even though he is not always in complete agreement with them: "At times we defend the opinions of our teacher, even though they are far from the actual meaning of the section. Our purpose in so doing is to bring to the attention of the students the arguments which can be brought in their favor" (Intr.). His novellae on the Babylonian Talmud are extensive and lengthy because he does not omit even the smallest detail – especially in difficult subjects – of the problems already discussed by his predecessors. Yom Tov b. Abraham employs the same method of collation, but the most distinguished proponent of this method was the author of *Nimmukei Yosef,* which is remarkable for its assembly of the opinions of his predecessors, entering into a full discussion and deciding between them. Naḥmanides was also the first whose biblical commentary is referred to as *ḥiddushim*; his influence on subsequent novellae literature was decisive. Later came the works of Menahem *Me'iri, which have fully been brought to light in recent years. They are outstanding for their accumulation of the numerous opinions of *rishonim* of every category and their comparison and appraisal in order to arrive at the most acceptable view. These novellae are today accepted by all students.

The novellae of the *aḥaronim* are of a different character. Generally they tend to verbosity and are inclined toward casuistry. Among the most eminent of them one can also recognize the desire to arrive at new halakhic decisions. There is an attempt to shed light on the subjects under discussion by the introduction of the "hypothesis," i.e., an attempt to decide what the *halakhah* would be in a given case which is not explicitly mentioned in the *Gemara*.

A different category of novellae was created by the school of the tosafists and their successors who encouraged and developed the study of the Torah for its own sake without placing overmuch emphasis on legal decisions and conclusions. Their extensive knowledge of the Talmud enabled them to embrace various tractates and different subjects at one and the same time. The study of a subject was thus not confined to the actual text but included corresponding and parallel subjects and everything even remotely connected with it throughout the Talmud. This comparative study revealed numerous contradictions and problems. The solution of these difficulties gave rise to novellae, either by establishing limits to one topic, or by sharp distinctions between two subjects which at first sight appear to be identical. In later generations this category of novellae became widespread. The wide range of knowledge and the profundity of their authors opened the door to a system of the most ingenious novellae. The most distinguished of the *aḥaronim*, such as Ezekiel *Landau (author of *Noda bi-Yhudah*) and Akiva *Eger, posed a multiplicity of difficulties based on their vast knowledge and profound erudition. Their answers abound in brilliant innovations, many of which were accepted as binding in the practical *halakhah*. In the wake of the great authors, the tendency became widespread among all talmudic scholars, including yeshivah students. The revelation of new aspects in talmudic topics became the norm. In yeshivot, special encouragement is given to anyone who reveals this talent, and opportunity is given to him to expound his ideas before his colleagues. *Ḥiddushim* have become an integral part of the normal study of the Talmud.

Among important authors of novellae on the Talmud from the Middle Ages to the present day may be mentioned: 13th CENTURY: *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi (Ravyah); *Isaac b. Abba Mari, *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna, Samuel B. Isaac ha-Sardi, author of *Sefer ha-Terumot*; *Isaiah di Trani; *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg (Maharam), whose novellae are included in his responsa and halakhic decisions; *Aaron b. Joseph ha-Levi. 14th–15th CENTURIES: Nissim Gerondi; Joseph *Colon; *David ben Solomon ibn Abi Zimra; Joseph b. David ibn *Lev. 16th-17th CENTURIES: Bezalel *Ashkenazi, author of *Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, an extensive collection of novellae of various authorities; Solomon *Luria (Maharshal), author of *Yam shel Shelomo*; *Meir b. Gedaliah of Lublin and Meir (Maharam) *Schiff, who gave a tremendous impetus to the study of the Talmud in Poland; Samuel Eliezer *Edels, who, in addition to his *Ḥiddushei Halakhot*, noted for their great profundity and erudition, also wrote *Ḥiddushei Aggadot*. IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 18th CENTURY: Meir Eisenstadt, author of *Panim Me'irot*; R. Jacob Joshua Falk, author of *Penei Yehoshu'a*. IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 18th CENTURY: Jonathan *Eybeschuetz; Aryeh Leib *Gunzberg, author of *Sha'agat Aryeh*, *Turei Even*, and *Gevurat Ari*; Ezekiel Landau in his *Ẓiyyun le-Nefesh Ḥayyah*. 19th CENTURY: Akiva Eger in his *Derush ve-Ḥiddush*; Moses *Sofer; Jacob *Ettlinger in his *Arukh la-Ner*; Isaac Meir *Alter of Gur, author of *Ḥiddushei ha-Rim*; Ẓevi Hirsch *Chajes. 20th CENTURY: during the present century the literature of novellae is principally concentrated around the decisions of Maimonides and investigation into their sources. The most important personalities and their works include: *Meir Simḥah ha-Kohen of Dvinsk in his *Or Same'aḥ;* R. Ḥayyim ha-Levi *Soloveichik, the initiator of a new method of study in the Lithuanian yeshivot during recent generations; R. Joseph *Rosen ("The Rogachover") in his *Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ*; R. Ḥayyim Ozer *Grodzinski in his *Aḥi'ezer*; R. Abraham Isaac *Kook; R. Isser Zalman *Meltzer; R. Abraham Isaiah *Karelitz, the "Ḥazon Ish."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jellinek, in: *Bikkurim*, 1 (1864), 1–26; 2 (1865), 1–19; B.Z. Katz, *Rabbanut, Ḥasidut, Haskalah*, 1 (1956), 71, 85, 106, 108,

143; H. Tchernowitz, *Toledot ha-Posekim*, 1 (1946), 16; 2 (1947), 106–9, 120–44; 3 (1947), 120–2, 138–58, 210–33, 313–8; Urbach, Tosafot, 19, 571f.; S.Y. Zeivin, *Ishim ve-Shitot* (1966[3]), passim; idem, *Soferim u-Sefarim*, 2 (1959), 93ff.

[Moshe Stern]

ḤIDKA (in the TJ, Shab. 16:3, 15d **Hundakas**, and in Schechter's edition of *Aggadat Shir ha-Shirim* (1896, p. 59) **Hindakah**; mid-second century C.E.), *tanna*. Ḥidka is mentioned a few times in the *beraitot* of the Babylonian Talmud (BB 119a; Sanh. 56b; BM 90b. cf. Tosef. Av. Zar. 8:6). His best-known *halakhah* is that a person should eat four meals every Sabbath (and not three as normally accepted: Shab. 117b). Although the *halakhah* is that three meals suffice, some meticulous individuals act in accordance with Ḥidka's view and this fourth meal is referred to as "R. Ḥidka's meal." He transmitted sayings in the name of his associate, Simeon ha-Shikmoni, a pupil of *Akiva (Sif. Num. 68, 114; cf. BB 119a). An aggadic saying attributed to him is "Love the term 'perhaps,' and hate the expression 'what of it?'" (DEZ 1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 411.

[Zvi Kaplan]

HIEL (Heb. אֲחִיאֵל, חִיאֵל; "the [divine] brother, or kinsman, is God"), the Bethelite (see *Beth-El), who fortified *Jericho in the reign of King *Ahab of Israel (I Kings 16:34). The Hebrew verb employed in the Bible (בנה, *bnh*) commonly means "to build"; but when its object is the word for "town" or the name of some town, a town wall or other fortification is meant. Since no archaeological remains of city walls of that period have been discovered at this site but a granary of that period has been, the verse may refer merely to the construction of a fortified public building. The verse goes on to say that Hiel "laid its foundations at the cost of his firstborn son Abiram and set up its doorleaves [see *door] at the cost of his youngest [or younger] son Segub," and this was a fulfillment of the curse of Joshua (Josh. 6:26) upon anyone who fortified Jericho. It has been suggested that Hiel offered his sons as foundation sacrifices, but that can only have been the case with the firstborn, and even that is not the natural implication of either of the two scriptural passages. Both of these imply merely that the fortifier's two (or more?) sons perished successively, in the order of their birth, in the course of the work. Their deaths are understood by the writer as the fulfillment of Joshua's curse on anyone who would rebuild Jericho or any part of it.

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

HIER, MARVIN (1939–), U.S. rabbi and founder of the *Simon Wiesenthal Center. Hier was born in New York City, the son of a Polish-born lamp polisher who immigrated to the United States in 1917. He was raised in a strictly Orthodox enclave on the Lower East Side and received his rabbinical ordination from the Rabbi Jacob Joseph Theological Seminary. Immediately after his ordination, Hier and his wife Marlene left for Vancouver, Canada, to assume the pulpit at the city's leading Orthodox synagogue, Congregation Schara Tzedeck. He found a Jewish community whose lifestyle and religious commitment differed sharply from his own upbringing. Hier focused first on the sons and daughters of the synagogue members, believing, correctly, that the youngsters would eventually bring along their parents. Through one of his students, Hier met the boy's father, Samuel Belzberg, a leading businessman. Belzberg and his family were to become Hier's first and most consistent financial supporters.

Hier gave an early indication of his political activism when he and other rabbis confronted then Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin, protesting the oppression of Soviet Jews during Kosygin's visit to Vancouver in 1975.

After 15 years as spiritual leader of Schara Tzedeck, doubling as Hillel director at the University of British Columbia, Hier spent a sabbatical in Israel. Inspired by the impact of the Or Sameach study center in Jerusalem on young, often alienated, Western Jews, he decided to redirect his considerable energy and entrepreneurship onto a broader stage. Backed by a $500,000 check from the Belzbergs, Hier moved to Los Angeles to establish a yeshivah. He secured an affiliation with the Yeshiva University of New York. Under the arrangement, the newly founded Yeshiva University of Los Angeles (YULA) received academic input from the New York institution but was otherwise administratively and financially independent. Despite some adult education outreach, YULA has remained primarily a high school-level institution, with separate schools for boys and girls.

Hier, most of whose parents' relatives perished in the Holocaust, embarked on an even more ambitious endeavor in 1977: the Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies (now known as the Simon Wiesenthal Center).

Under the leadership of Hier as founding dean and Rabbi Abraham Cooper as associate dean the Center evolved into a global institution, with 400,000 contributor-members, a film division, research staff, political influence, a popular Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles, and another underway in Jerusalem.

With his high profile, Hier has been the target of criticism for the high-tech nature of interactive Holocaust exhibits, his dual role as dean of both the religious YULA and the secular Wiesenthal Center, his lobbying prowess for private, state, and federal funds, and his encroaching on the "turf" of older established Jewish organizations.

While the Center is a non-religious institution, its leadership is Orthodox and Hier himself personifies the more aggressive and militant attitude of contemporary modern Orthodoxy. At the same time, through the Center's emphasis on tolerance and multi-denominational outreach, Hier has exerted a strongly moderating influence on the Orthodox community.

[Tom Tugend (2nd ed.)]

HIERAPOLIS, city in N. Syria situated on the highway from Antioch to Babylon. In ancient times it was a religious cen-

ter of the goddess Tar'ata (Atargatis, Derketa). It was given its name in the Hellenistic period and from that time the temple there was considered to be the largest and richest in Syria. Pilgrims flocked to it from all over Asia Minor and Babylonia. The temple is referred to in the Talmud as "Tarata that is in Mapug" (Av. Zar. 11b). Although there is no direct evidence of the existence of a Jewish settlement there it has been suggested that the name Mabug borne by a Palestinian *amora* (Zev. 9b) is derived from the Syrian name of this city (Mabug, cf. modern Menbidj). The assumption is reasonable, since Hierapolis was a commercial center between Antioch and Babylon, both of which had considerable Jewish populations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Neubauer, Géogr, 305; L. Herzfeld, *Handelsgeschichte der Juden des Alterthums* (1894), 338–9.

[Lea Roth]

HIEROSOLYMITANISCHE STIFTUNG ("Jerusalem Foundation"), an institution for transferring and distributing funds in Ereẓ Israel, collected among European communities. An organization for collecting money for the support of Jews in Ereẓ Israel (Hierosolymitanische Kasse) was founded in Venice in 1601 and soon after in Hamburg, Hesse, Frankfurt, and elsewhere. Funds were collected locally and eventually channeled to the recipients through one benefactor, usually a person of standing in the Jewish community, who bore the honorific title of "Nasi Ereẓ Israel." The fund operated well for more than a century. During the course of a complex lawsuit involving R. David *Oppenheim, then "Nasi", the Austrian authorities in 1722 severely limited the right of Jews to contribute to their brethren in Ereẓ Israel as well as denying further use of the title to Oppenheim.

At the time (1722/23) the financial situation of the Jewish communities of Jerusalem, Hebron, and Safed was desperate, since an enormous sum of money was owed to Turkish moneylenders and there were no resources whatsoever for repayment. Samson *Wertheimer, the powerful Austrian *Court Jew, utilized his diplomatic connections and intervened on behalf of the Ashkenazi communities. He succeeded in having their debts reduced and solicited funds for their relief. In the process he reestablished the foundation, despite governmental restrictions, known thereafter as Hierosolymitanische Stiftung. Wertheimer succeeded so well in galvanizing public support that he assumed the title of "Nasi Ereẓ Israel." The Stiftung accumulated considerable sums; 25,000 florins were bequeathed to Wertheimer's son Wolf to be used for the benefit of Ereẓ Israel Jewry. Wolf Wertheimer finally succeeded in placating the creditors in 1727 through the good offices of the Austrian diplomatic agent in Constantinople and the Jewish physician Tobias Moshides in Jerusalem. However, in 1733 he was forced to declare bankruptcy, and only 20 years later, when he had regained his former standing and wealth, did he reestablish the foundation.

His will (1762) stipulated that the interest from his estate be allotted for the support of the communities in Ereẓ Israel. However, the money could not be disbursed and was deposited in the highest Austrian court (Oberhof-Marschallsgericht) until Francis I officially validated the foundation in 1801. The payments were thereafter made through the Austrian diplomatic agent in Constantinople and distributed by 12 representatives of Ottoman Jewry to the Jews in Jerusalem, Hebron, and Safed. In Austria two supervisors (*Kuratoren*) were appointed, one of whom had to belong to the Wertheimer family. Nathan von *Arnstein, Ignaz *Deutsch, and Moritz *Guedemann were all associated with the fund as supervisors.

Beginning in 1854, money was distributed equally to Ashkenazim and Sephardim. The annual stipend provided a secure source of income for its recipients until the chaotic post-World War I inflation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Kaufmann, in: *Yerushalayim*, 4 (1892), 25ff.; B. Brilling, in: *Zeitschrift fuer Geschichte der Juden in der Tschechoslowakei*, 2 (1931/32), 237–56; idem, in: *Zion*, 12 (1947), 89–96; A. Shochat, *ibid.*, 1 (1936), 399ff.; Y. Rivkind, in: *Reshumot*, 4 (1926), 301–20; I. Heilprin (ed.), *Takkanot Medinat Mehrin* (1952), 8–10; S.H. Lieben, in: JJLG, 19 (1928), 29–38.

HIGGER, MICHAEL (1898–1952), U.S. talmudic scholar. Higger, born in Rogovo, near Kovno, Lithuania, received a traditional education in Lithuania, and after immigrating to the United States in 1915, studied at New York and Columbia universities and the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he was ordained. Higger devoted his life to the study of Jewish sources and their publication. He also served as a consultant to the law committee of the Rabbinical Assembly of America and was responsible for many of the decisions made by that body.

His main contribution to Jewish scholarship is the editing of rabbinic texts with variant readings and introductions and the systematizing of various rabbinic writings. His early published works were devoted to the non-canonical tractates, including *Massekhtot Ze'irot* (1929), *Sheva Massekhtot Ketannot* (1930), *Massekhet Semakhot* (1931), *Massekhet Kallah* (1936), all with introductions, notes, and variant readings. Higger's major work was *Oẓar ha-Beraitot* (10 vols., 1930–50). In this work he collected and annotated all of the *beraitot* and the non-Mishnaic, tannaitic statements found in the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds, both in the printed and manuscript editions of the Talmuds. Included are about 10,000 *beraitot* annotated, with variants, and classified according to form and provenance. This monumental work is a standard source for talmudic students.

In addition, Higger contributed many articles to learned journals and edited Yarḥi's commentary on *Kallah Rabbati* (1934). He wrote *Intention in Jewish Law* (1927) and *Jewish Utopia* (1932), a reconstruction of the rabbinic ideal society.

[Seymour Siegel]

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR PALESTINE, head of the British Mandatory administration called the government of Palestine. On July 3, 1922, in an Order-in-Council, the high commissioner was empowered to promulgate ordinances for

the peace, order, and good government of Palestine, including the power of pardon or reprieve. His powers were not limited by any representative body in Palestine, but he was assisted by an advisory council appointed by himself. The first – and only Jewish – high commissioner, Sir Herbert *Samuel, who was appointed in 1920, two years before the mandate of the League of Nations was officially confirmed, laid the foundations of the British civil administration in the country, including Transjordan. He was succeeded in 1925 by Field Marshal Herbert Onslow Plumer (1857–1932) who served until 1928. His term was characterized by tranquility in the country and the development of local government, the promulgation of the religious ordinance, and the Palestinian Citizenship Order. Sir John Herbert Chancellor (1870–1952) served as third high commissioner in the years 1928–31. In his time the Arab massacres of August 1929 took place. He was said to have had a part in the framing of the new anti-Zionist policy as defined in the Passfield *White Paper (1930). Sir Arthur Grenfell Wauchope (1874–1947) served as the fourth high commissioner for the years 1931–38. He showed understanding for the Jewish work in Palestine and maintained friendly contact with Chaim *Arlosoroff. His plan to establish a legislative council proved abortive because of Jewish and Arab opposition. During his term momentous events occurred: Hitler's rise to power in Germany, which brought in its wake a large Jewish immigration to Palestine; and the outbreak of the Arab revolt (1936–39), leading to the appointment of the Royal (*Peel) Commission; and the publication of the first partition plan for *Palestine (1937). Sir Harold MacMichael (1882–1968) was the fifth high commissioner, from 1938–44. He implemented rigidly the anti-Zionist policy of the 1939 White Paper, refusing to admit Jewish refugees from Nazi-occupied Europe (see *Holocaust). In August 1944 an attempt was made on his life by *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel. Field Marshal John Standish Surtees Prendergast Vereker, Viscount Gort (1886–1946) served as the sixth high commissioner only for one year, 1944 to 1945, and retired because of ill health. Sir Alan G. Cunningham (1887–1983) served as the seventh and last high commissioner in the years 1945–48, while the future of Palestine was studied by the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry in 1946 and by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) in 1947. Cunningham left Israel on May 14, 1948, the day the State of Israel was proclaimed.

HIGH PRIEST (Heb. הַכֹּהֵן, הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל, (ה)כֹּהֵן הָרֹאשׁ), the priest at the head of the priestly affairs. In pre-Exilic times the common appellation for the chief priest of a community was "the priest" (Heb. *ha-Kohen*; e.g., I Sam. 14:19, 36; 21:2–10). The term "high priest" (Heb. *ha-kohen ha-gadol*) is used in reference to Aaron and his descendants who are anointed with holy oil (Lev. 21:10; Num. 35:25, 28; Josh. 20:6), and later to the chief priest of the First and Second Temples of Jerusalem (II Kings 12:11; 22:4, 8; 23:4; Neh. 3:1, 20; 13:28). An early comparable title is Ugaritic *rb khnm*. The appellation "head priest" (Heb. *kohen ha-rosh*) is an alternative for "high priest" (II Kings 25:18; Jer. 52:24; II Chron. 19:11; 24:11; 26:20; Ezra 7:5) and may have coexisted with *ha-kohen ha-gadol*.

In the Second Temple Period

Although the term and office of high priest are infrequent in early biblical literature, and the Aaronide priesthood a late development, the existence of a high priesthood in the two pre-exilic Israelite kingdoms is more than likely. From the outset of the Second Temple period not only does the term "high priest" appear more frequently, but the responsibilities of the office were greatly enhanced. Beginning either under late Persian or early Hellenistic rule in Palestine, the high priest is not merely responsible for religious and spiritual life within the country, but is also chief administrator of internal secular policy, as well as the recognized representative of the Jewish community in all matters of external diplomacy. This development of high-priestly power reached its peak under the Hasmoneans, and thus, even when the latter were already designated as kings, it was considered essential to retain the title of "high priest" which, encompassing so many functions, was probably even more revered than the monarchy itself. This fact would tend to explain the famous objection of the Pharisees to the retaining of the high priesthood by the Hasmoneans, and the outright rejection of their claims by either John *Hyrcanus or Alexander *Yannai (Kid. 66a; Jos., Ant. 13:288ff.). It is also noteworthy that the Hebrew coins of the Hasmoneans designate these rulers solely as high priests, and that the political authority of the community, the **ḥever ha-Yehudim*, appears on the coins accompanied only by the title high priest and may not have even recognized the monarchy (cf. A. Schalit, *Hordos ha-Melekh* (1960), 159–60, 561–2).

With the Roman conquest of Judea and subsequent Herodean rule, the office of high priest became a political tool in the hands of the administration, and until the destruction of the Temple was never to return to its earlier prominence. Herod, in an attempt to base his regime on new elements within Jewish society, completely disassociated himself from the Hasmonean dynasty, and thus the high priesthood passed into the hands of such houses as Phiabi and Boethus, both having been transplanted from the Jewish Diaspora (regarding this tendency under Herod, cf. M. Stern, in *Tarbiz*, 35 (1965–66), 245ff.). Although the high priests continued to serve as presidents of the *Sanhedrin, both their actual powers and measure of esteem among the people gradually deteriorated, and derision of the high priests during the late Second Temple period is commonly quoted in rabbinic literature (cf. Pes. 57a; Yoma 8b–9a). This negative attitude of the Pharisees was probably enhanced by the fact that high priests from the Hasmonean period onward were primarily Sadducees, and frequent quarrels erupted between the two factions (cf. Tosef., Yoma 1:8). By the end of the Second Temple period the high priest was considered no more than a religious functionary of the Roman administration, and thus even the garments of the high priest were entrusted at times to the hands of the local

Roman procurator and handed over to the priests just prior to the various festivals. It is understandable, therefore, that with the zealots' seizure of Jerusalem one of their first acts was the appointment of a new high priest, as if thereby to display the establishment of a new Jewish government in Jerusalem (Jos., Wars 4:147ff.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos, Ant., 20:224–51; Schuerer, Gesch, index, s.v. *Hohepriester*; idem, in: *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 45 (1872), 593–657; H. Graetz, in: MGWJ, 30 (1881), 49–64, 97–112; G. Hoelscher, *Die Hohenpriesterliste bei Josephus*… (1940); G. Allon, in: *Tarbiz*, 13 (1941–42), 1–24. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (1988), 138; J. Vanderkam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests After the Exile* (2004); L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period*, vol. 1 (2004), 224–36; L. Fried, *The Priest and the Great King* (2004).

[Isaiah Gafni]

HIJAR (**Ixar**), small town in Aragon, E. Spain. There is no record of an organized Jewish community in Híjar, though the activity of Jewish printers there points to at least a small number of resident Jewish families (cf. Isaac b. Sheshet's responsum no. 435). Eliezer b. Abraham Alantansi, a scholar, businessman, and physician, of Murcia, in partnership with Solomon Zalmati of Jativa, set up a press at Híjar and produced Jacob b. Asher's *Arba'ah Turim* (1485–87); the Latter Prophets (1486–87); the Pentateuch with Onkelos and Rashi (1490); and the Pentateuch with *haftarot* and Five Scrolls (1487–88). Possibly other books were printed by this press but have been lost. Abraham b. Isaac b. David was employed as corrector.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Freimann, *Thesaurus* (1924), B 8–12; H.M.Z. Meyer, *Supplement to A. Freimann, Thesaurus* (1967–69), Bibliographical notes, Short Title Catalogue, nos. 222–32; J. Bloch, *Early Hebrew Printing in Spain and Portugal* (1938), 19–26; C. Roth, in: JJS, 4 (1953), 116–30; Ch.D. Friedberg, *Toledot ha-Defus ha-Ivri* (1956^2), 97–100.

HILBERG, RAUL (1926–), "founding-father" of the academic study of the Holocaust in the United States. Hilberg was born in Vienna. His family escaped not only Austria but the European continent in the spring of 1939, one year after the *Anschluss*, and thus barely evaded death in the Holocaust. After a brief stay in Havana, Cuba, he arrived in the United States. The family moved to New York City, where his middle-class parents became factory workers. In New York Hilberg spent several years at Brooklyn College before joining the army at the age of 18.

After service in Europe, Hilberg returned to Brooklyn College, where he was deeply influenced by the historian Hans Rosenberg, an expert in the historical development of the Prussian bureaucracy. He went on to graduate study in political science at Columbia University, where he encountered two more professors of profound influence: Salo *Baron, the doyen of Jewish history, who imparted a sense of Jewish separateness and vulnerability even after emancipation; and Franz Neumann, the author of an early study of the structure of the Nazi state titled *Behemoth* that focused not on the personality and ideology of Hitler but rather on the four hierarchies of civil service, party, army, and industry that exercised power in Nazi Germany.

Hilberg wrote his M.A. thesis at Columbia under the direction of Neumann on the role of the German civil service in the destruction of the European Jews. When Hilberg asked Neumann about the possibility of expanding on this theme to include Neumann's other three hierarchies for his Ph.D. thesis, Neumann agreed but warned, "It's your funeral." Neumann's influence was crucial in another way as well, in that he found Hilberg work with the War Documentation Project in Alexandria, Virginia, sorting through the original complete files of captured German documents. This deepened Hilberg's understanding of the workings of the German bureaucracy and his virtually unparalleled familiarity with its documentation.

He completed his dissertation under William Fox in 1955, and then expanded upon it yet further by writing additional chapters. In the spring of 1956, he joined the Department of Political Science at the University of Vermont, which would remain his academic home until retirement in 1991 but did not teach the Holocaust. Only in the early 1970s, at the urging of a colleague and students, did he begin teaching a course on the Holocaust.

Hilberg's initial attempts to publish his massive study of the destruction of the European Jews failed. Columbia University Press, Yad Vashem, Princeton University Press, and the University of Oklahoma Press all in turn rejected it. With the help of a private subvention, *The Destruction of the European Jews* was finally published by Quadrangle Press in Chicago in 1961. Though totally unnoticed at the time and appreciated only in retrospect, this event – in the same year as the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem – marked the birth of Holocaust studies as a legitimate field of academic study in the United States.

Hilberg's major contribution was to portray the Nazi destruction of the European Jews not as a giant pogrom, but as a bureaucratic and administrative process, requiring specialists of all kinds and successfully eliciting participation from virtually every branch of organized German society. In analyzing this German propensity for widespread participation, Hilberg declared himself little interested in "German race theory" and rarely used the word "antisemitism," but he did emphasize the longstanding negative image of the Jews as "hostile, criminal, parasitical" that was deeply embedded in German culture. Hilberg created an overarching structure for his study through the interplay of two key concepts: a "machinery of destruction" comprising Neumann's four hierarchies – the party, civil service, military, and industry – and a "process of destruction" consisting of three crucial stages – definition, concentration, and annihilation, with each stage accompanied by commensurate expropriation. In *The Destruction of the European Jews*, Hilberg analyzed how the four hierarchies of the "machinery of destruction" carried out the inherent stages of the "process of destruction" in all corners of the German empire.

Hilberg's self-imposed task was to "grasp how this deed was done." Thus the primary focus of his study was on the perpetrators and the primary source was the entire collection of 36,000 captured German documents selected and numbered as "Nürnberg documents" for possible use in the postwar trials.

It was precisely through his exhaustive research on German policies through German documents that Hilberg concluded that some account of "Jewish response" was also essential to understanding "how this deed was done." He presented a spectrum of Jewish response – resistance/alleviation/evasion/paralysis/compliance – and argued that over centuries Diaspora Jews had learned that "alleviation" and "compliance" were more productive survival strategies (i.e., predictably resulting in the "least damage and least injury") than "resistance" (by which Hilberg specifically meant armed resistance). When faced with unprecedented Nazi persecution, however, these time-sanctioned survival strategies led to "Jewish institutions" becoming co-opted as "tools" in the process of destruction.

While Hilberg's larger interpretation about the Nazi destruction of the European Jews drew little attention, his comments on Jewish response attracted ferocious criticism, especially after he was specifically cited as an authoritative source by Hannah *Arendt for her own attack upon the behavior of Jewish leadership during the Holocaust in her book *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Study in the Banality of Evil.* Yet, the arguments of Hilberg and Arendt were significantly different. Hilberg portrayed the subjective attempts of Jewish leaders to help their people through now suddenly obsolete survival strategies as facilitating German perpetrators in their use of Jewish leaders as objective instruments of self-destruction. What Hilberg portrayed as a catastrophic and tragic failure of perception, Arendt in contrast portrayed in terms of seduction by apparent power, self-serving corruption, and ultimately betrayal – in short a searing accusation of moral failure.

Hilberg drew criticism for his narrow definition of resistance and his sober conclusion that Jewish armed resistance had both occurred rarely and hindered the Nazis in no significant way in carrying out the Final Solution was for many yet more salt rubbed in an open wound. Israeli historians sought to create a more heroic image of Jewish response by uncovering many hitherto unknown cases of Jewish armed resistance that were attested to in survivor testimony but never reported in German documents. Such an approach, however, could not alter the fact that most Jewish victims had been women, children, and elderly, and most Jews had never had arms. Others articulated broader definitions of resistance to include many activities undertaken in defiance of or aimed at thwarting German intentions, what Hilberg had considered alleviation and evasion.

As the firestorm gradually subsided, awareness of the true importance of the book began to emerge. Many, but not all, of Hilberg's critics, while not dropping their reservations about particulars, began to acknowledge the book's overall achievement with such adjectives as "monumental," and "magisterial." Meanwhile, Hilberg focused his research on two additional projects: the German railway system and the diary of Adam *Czerniakow.

The German railway system was the most non-political and non-ideological of institutions that had nonetheless shipped over half the victims of the Holocaust to the death camps. It was also the German institution that, perhaps more than any other, had managed to destroy virtually all-incriminating documentation. In one sense the German railway system was for Hilberg the paradigmatic perpetrator organization. A staff of non-political technocrats facing extreme wartime demands adapted their standard routines to arrange hundreds of one-way charter trains to the death camps, charged per track kilometer at a group rate discount with children under 10 half-price and children under four generously sent to their deaths cost free. As Hilberg noted laconically, the German railway men may have shipped the Jews like cattle but they booked them like any other passengers! Quite simply, the trains were utterly indispensable to the Final Solution. The resulting book was published only in German as *Sonderzuege nach Auschwitz* ("Special Trains to Auschwitz") in 1981.

It is no small irony that Hilberg, who was said to have neglected Jewish sources, was singularly responsible for the 1979 publication of the English edition of *The Warsaw Diaries of Adam Czerniakow,* one of the two most important sources on the Jewish councils (the other being *The Chronicles of the Lodz Ghetto*) that survived the war. The English reader now could encounter a tragic figure who rolled his Rock of Sisyphus up the hill every day, knowing full well that it would come rolling back down each night. Consumed by a sense of obligation and untouched by megalomania, Czerniakow persevered in his impossible situation until he reached a line he would not cross. Faced with the demand to deport Jewish children, he took poison.

In the late 1970s, American public consciousness of the Holocaust rose dramatically. For Hilberg, now clearly recognized as America's top scholarly authority on the subject, this meant an increased demand for public and academic appearances. He also began to serve in an advisory capacity to the projected U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum during the crucial formative years of design and construction, where his unfaltering advocacy for a major research and archival center as an essential component of the museum was successful.

The explosion of new interest in the Holocaust meant the opportunity to produce a revised and expanded edition of *The Destruction of the European Jews* (published by Holmes & Meier in 1985) that incorporated a wealth of new documentation from the Eichmann trial, the numerous postwar German trials of the 1960s and 1970s, as well as much archival material that had not yet been accessible when Hilberg had drafted the first edition in the 1950s.

Having devoted his scholarly life to analyzing the impersonal structures and processes of the Nazi assault on European Jews, Hilberg turned next to a different angle of approach. In this book, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders* (HarperCollins,

1992), Hilberg not only laid out a tripartite scheme and vocabulary of categorization that has left an indelible imprint on the field, but in 24 distinct essays he also examined different subgroups of people within these broad categories as to how their experience, perspective, and behavior related to the Holocaust.

Appointed the John G. McCullough Professor of Political Science at the University of Vermont in 1978, Hilberg retired from teaching at the end of the spring term of 1991. He was, however, by no means done writing. Next to appear was his academic autobiography, published first in Germany in 1994 and then in the United States in 1996, titled *The Politics of Memory: The Journey of a Holocaust Historian*. Written at a time when Hilberg was clearly disappointed that *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders* had not escaped from under the shadow of the "monumental" *Destruction of the European Jews*, the memoir is suffused with a tone of melancholy. Others in his situation – widely recognized as a world-renowned scholar who had legitimized the academic standing of and inspired a veritable flood of new research in an entire field of study – might have been tempted to write a celebratory account of a gradual but inexorable triumph over the many obstacles and critics that had stood in his way. But Hilberg focused far more on the difficulties he encountered and the struggles he waged than on the vindication he eventually won. As the subtitle indicated, it was an account of his "journey," not a celebration for reaching his destination.

In general Hilberg identified himself as a "document man." Thus it was fitting that Hilberg turned his attention next to a study of the nature of the documents themselves in *Sources of Holocaust Research*, published in 2001. And finally, in 2004, Yale University Press published the third – further revised and expanded – American edition of *The Destruction of the European Jews*. By far the biggest windfall of new documents for scholars of the Holocaust had occurred just half a decade after the appearance of the second American edition, with the collapse of Communist regimes and the opening of archives in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Fortunately, he now had the opportunity to incorporate this massive additional documentation into his opus magnum.

[Christopher R. Browning (2nd ed.)]

°**HILDEBERT OF LAVARDIN**, poet and writer, bishop of Le Mans from 1096 and archbishop of Tours from 1125. Nothing in his writings indicates that Hildebert had any personal contact with the Jews. Although one of his sermons is entitled "Against the Jews," the polemic – also aimed at the heretical Christian followers of Helvidius – is confined to the problem of the virginity of Mary; Hildebert takes issue with the Jewish claim that Joseph was in fact the father of Jesus. In a sermon composed for St. James's day Hildebert interprets Isaiah 11:6, "the calf, the young lion, and the lamb will lie down together," as an eschatological vision of the time when the Jew (the calf) and the young lion (the gentile) will be reunited by Jesus (the lamb).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus… series Latina…*, 171 (1893), col. 811–4 and 645; P. v. Moos, *Hildebert von Lavardin* (1965), incl. bibl.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

HILDESHEIM, city and former bishopric near Hanover, Germany. A Jewish community subject to the bishop was constituted in Hildesheim toward the middle of the 14th century. It suffered during the *Black Death persecutions (1348–49) but rapidly recovered. There were about 80 Jewish residents in the city in 1379, when the community possessed a synagogue and a cemetery and the Jews lived in a *Judenstrasse*. Almost without exception they made their living as moneylenders. In 1457 all Jews were expelled from the bishopric and the synagogue was torn down.

In 1520 the right of residence was extended to "der Grosse Michel," a Jewish soldier of fortune (see Jud *Michel). He was followed by a small number of other Jewish settlers, including Medicus Herz, the physician to the bishop. In 1595 an attempt to expel the Jews was frustrated when the exiles took legal action before the imperial court and were allowed to return in 1601. In 1662 Elector Maximilian Henry of Bavaria published a letter of protection for the Jews of the city. The same year marked the promulgation of a new series of laws by Jewish authorities dealing with the government of the Jewish community. A synagogue and a cemetery were dedicated in the early 17th century. A second cemetery was consecrated in 1650.

The community grew from 10 families possessing residence rights in 1634 to 40–60 families in 1726. A relative of Joseph Suess *Oppenheimer (d. 1762), who served for many years as tax collector and finance minister to the bishops and was *Landesrabbiner* from 1732, interceded successfully on behalf of Jews without residence permits who were threatened with expulsion in 1741. The community numbered 380 persons in 1812, 513 in 1880 (2% of the total population), and 515 in 1933.

Incorporated into the kingdom of *Westphalia, the Jews of the bishopric enjoyed full equality from 1806 to 1815. In that period an elementary school was founded which continued to exist into the 20th century. When Hildesheim came under Hanoverian rule (1815), the Jews again suffered from legal disabilities. A new synagogue was consecrated in 1849. The rabbinical post of Hildesheim was filled consecutively from the 17th century; notable incumbents included Jacob *Guttmann (1874–92) and his successor A. Lewinsky, rabbi for more than 40 years, who wrote widely on the history of the community. On Nov. 10, 1938 the synagogue was burned down and many shops were looted. By May 1939 only 210 Jews remained. The majority of these were deported, 51 on July 24, 1942, to Theresienstadt. A few returned after the war but by 1970 only eight remained. A Jewish community was reestablished in 1997 after the influx of Jews from the former Soviet Union.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Landsberg, *Zur Geschichte der Synagogen-Gemeinde Hildesheim* (1868); idem, in: MGWJ, 19 (1870), 122–4;

A. Rexhausen, *Die rechtliche und wirtschaftliche Lage der Juden in Hochstift Hildesheim* (1914); Germ Jud, 2 (1968), 360–3; A. Lewinsky, in: *Ha-Eshkol*, 6 (1909), 236–40; idem, in: MGWJ, 44 (1895), 250–9, 366–80; 45 (1896), 179–81, 487f.; 46 (1897), 547–55; 47 (1898), 80–84; idem, in: *Blaetter fuer juedische Geschichte und Literatur*, 2 (1901), 11f., 45f.; 3 (1902), 89–93, 113–9, 150–3, 169, 171; 4 (1903), 6–11, 20–22; 5 (1904), 12–13; idem, in: *Festschrift… J. Guttmann* (1915), 256–72; H. Schnee, *Die Hoffinanz und der moderne Staat*, 3 (1955); 67–74.

[Zvi Avneri]

HILDESHEIMER, AZRIEL (**Esriel; Israel**; 1820–1899), German rabbi, scholar, educator, and leader of Orthodox Jewry. Hildesheimer, who was born in Halberstadt into a family of scholars, received his early education in the local Jewish school, the first in Germany to include general subjects in its curriculum. He continued his talmudic studies under Jacob Ettlinger in Altona, and attended the lectures of Isaac *Bernays in neighboring Hamburg. At Berlin University he studied Semitics, philosophy, history, and science, and eventually received his doctorate from the University of Halle in 1844. His dissertation, "The Correct Method of Interpreting the Bible," dealt with the Septuagint. By his marriage to the daughter of Aaron *Hirsch he became financially independent, enabling him to pursue freely his university studies and his subsequent career. After receiving his doctorate he returned to Halberstadt and assumed the voluntary post of secretary to the community. In 1847, he began in earnest to fight the rise of the Reform movement. In response to a campaign on behalf of Reform by Ludwig *Phillipson, Hildesheimer wrote a pamphlet, "The Necessity of Protest against the Actions of the Reformers," which was circulated at the Magdeburg Conference in October 1847. In 1848, Hildesheimer succeeded in preventing the Reform community from seceding from the general Jewish community in Halberstadt. However, his overall attempts to maintain the Orthodox hegemony over the German Jewish communities was ultimately unsuccessful. Still and all, he continued to oppose Reform throughout his life. In 1883, he refused to sign a circular meant to counteract an accusation that Judaism had a double standard of ethics, one internal and one external, since it was sponsored by non-Orthodox rabbis. He argued that non-Orthodox rabbis were not to be the proper spokesmen for Judaism. In 1897, he seceded from the General Union of Rabbis in Germany to form the Union of Torah Faithful Rabbis. Nevertheless, he had a very strong belief in *kelal yisrael*, and was willing to work with all segments of the community, especially for the Jewish community in Israel (see below).

In 1851 Hildesheimer was appointed rabbi of the Austro-Hungarian community of Eisenstadt; there he reorganized the educational system and established a yeshivah, where the language of instruction was correct German. He also introduced limited secular studies in the elementary school, while the older students studied mathematics and other subjects that enhanced their yeshivah learning. Many of the courses were taught by Hildesheimer himself. The yeshivah was highly successful, and students came there from all over Europe as well as America. However, despite Hildesheimer's great learning and patent Orthodoxy, the great majority of Orthodox Hungarian rabbis bitterly opposed his modernism and the institution he created. The fact, as reported by his daughter, that he sang German *lieder*, read German literature, and dressed in contemporary German attire was very irksome to the old-school Orthodox rabbinic elite. At a congress of Hungarian Jewry in 1868–69, which met to decide on the establishment of a rabbinical seminary for the whole of Hungary, Hildesheimer and his sympathizers had to contend with both the Reform and the ultra-Orthodox factions. His moderate proposals might have preserved the unity of Hungarian Jewry, but the congress ended in a radical split (see also **Landesrabbinerschule*). In 1868, Hildesheimer was approached by Solomon *Gansfried, author of the *Kiẓẓur Shulḥan Arukh*, leader of the more extreme Orthodox elements in Hungary. Gansfried complained that the Reform had seceded from the general community in his town of Ungvar and had appointed their own *shoḥet* (ritual slaughterer). Since the community was supported by the taxes levied on slaughtered meat, the general community, now the Orthodox one, was losing revenue. Hildesheimer replied that there was little he could do to help, for he was quickly coming to the realization that the Orthodox hegemony over the European Jewish communities was quickly ending.

Despairing of success in Hungary, in 1869 Hildesheimer accepted a call from Berlin to become rabbi of the newly founded Orthodox congregation, *Adass Jisroel. In 1873 he established a rabbinical seminary which later became the central institution for the training of Orthodox rabbis in Europe. Hildesheimer's students carried with them all over the world the notion that their Orthodoxy was compatible with scientific study of Jewish sources. Aside from the halakhically correct *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, the Berlin *Rabbiner seminars* curriculum included Hebrew language as well as secular studies. For Hildesheimer, *Torah im derekh ereẓ* (Torah and worldly knowledge), was not just a slogan. He firmly believed that only by combining a sophisticated knowledge of Torah with a knowledge of science and other secular subjects could a religious Jew attain the Torah goal of fully recognizing and coming close to God.

Hildesheimer shared with S.R. *Hirsch the leadership of the Orthodox Jewish community of Germany. Though the two were personally close, there were fundamental differences of opinion between them. While Hirsch sought separation for the Orthodox, Hildesheimer counseled close cooperation between all bodies in the community for the sake of the Jewish people as a whole. He believed such cooperation to be particularly important in the battle against German antisemitism in which he participated together with his Reform colleagues. In 1894, he joined other Orthodox and liberal rabbis in signing a declaration against antisemitic attacks against the Jews, their institutions (such as *sheḥitah*), and their literature (the Talmud). Solomon *Breuer, Samson Raphael Hirsch's son-in-

law and successor, attacked Hildesheimer for cooperating with Reform. Hildesheimer replied that he was being myopic for not seeing the danger to the entire community. At the same time he vigorously opposed the Reform movement throughout the course of his career as a force undermining the faith of Judaism.

Hildesheimer was an active worker on behalf of stricken Jewish communities throughout the world. In 1864, he published a declaration recognizing the Jewishness of Ethiopian Jewry (republished by M. Waldman, *Sinai* 95). As a member of the central council of the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden, he was deeply involved in assisting the victims of Russian pogroms from 1882 onward. He was alone in pleading that the survivors be directed to Ereẓ Israel instead of the New World. Throughout his life, he was an enthusiastic supporter of Palestine Jewry and the building of the *yishuv*. In 1858, together with his brother-in-law, Joseph Hirsch, he founded the Society for the Support of Ereẓ Israel. In Eisenstadt he had collected large sums for Jerusalem Jewry. The Battei Maḥaseh dwellings in the Old City of Jerusalem were erected on his initiative (they were destroyed in 1948 and rebuilt after the Six-Day War of 1967). In 1872 he founded a Palaestina Verein with the object of raising the educational and vocational standards of Jerusalem Jews, particularly by the establishment in 1879 of an orphanage. This drew on his head the bitter antagonism of the ultra-Orthodox old *yishuv*, which placed him under a ban (*ḥerem*). Hildesheimer supported the Ḥovevei Zion and the colonization movement; he was in particularly close contact with R. Ẓevi Hirsch Kalischer. For politico-legal reasons the newly acquired lands of Gederah were registered in his name; his excellent relations with the German Foreign Office were of value in securing its support for the *yishuv*.

Hildesheimer contributed regularly to such German-Jewish periodicals as Ettlinger's *Treue Zionswaechter*, Fuerst's *Orient*, and Lehmann's *Israelit*. In 1870 he founded in Berlin the **Juedische Presse*, which was later edited by his son Hirsch. This paper was the only one in Germany at that time to give unequivocal support to the emigration of German Jews and their settlement in Palestine. Though Hildesheimer's energies were severely taxed by his labors on behalf of the community, his contributions to Jewish scholarship were by no means insignificant. Of particular importance is his edition of **Halakhot Gedolot* from a Vatican manuscript (1888–90), which represented a hitherto unknown version of this important gaonic work. He also published some smaller studies in rabbinics, generally as supplements to the annual reports of the rabbinical seminary. His responsa on the first two parts of the Shulḥan Arukh appeared in 1969. His great dream of publishing a translation of the Torah, together with a traditional commentary, never came to fruition. A collection of his essays, *Gesammelte Aufsaetze* (1923), was edited by his son Meir *Hildesheimer. A festschrift, *Shai la-Moreh* (1890), was published on the occasion of his 70th birthday. Only a small part of his voluminous correspondence has been published (Ed. M. Eliav, 1961).

Hildesheimer's impact on modern Jewish history is best understood by recognizing him as the father of Modern Orthodoxy. Four of his most basic involvements and attitudes form the basis of 20th century Modern Orthodox Jewry: (a) Hildesheimer believed firmly in educating both males and females, giving both a Jewish and secular education. (b) He established a rabbinic seminary where secular studies and academic Jewish scholarship were taught side by side with traditional yeshivah studies, very similar to present-day Yeshiva University. (c) Despite his unceasing efforts to strengthen Orthodoxy and the Orthodox community, Hildesheimer worked with all segments of the Jewish community to combat antisemitism and for the betterment of the entire community. (d) At the same time, he was an ardent Zionist, working for the betterment of those living in Israel and encouraging Jews to settle there.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Karpeles, *Dr. Israel Hildesheimer* (1870); *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 6 (1899), 87ff.; S.P. Rabinowitz, in: *Aḥi'asaf*, 7 (1899), 308–21; A. Cohn, in: *Juedisches Jahrbuch fuer die Schweiz*, 4 (1919/20), 38–64; S. Greenberg, *Mazdik ha-Rabbim* (1920); J. Wohlgemuth, et al., in: *Jeschurun*, 7 (1920), 199–328, 407–11, 490–1; S. Klein, *ibid.*, 15 (1928), 560–5; O. Wolfsberg, in: *Sinai*, 14 (1944), 65–81; H. Schwab, *History of Orthodox Jewry in Germany* (1950), index; idem, *Chachme Ashkenaz* (Eng., 1964), 68–69; I. Unna, in: L. Jung (ed.), *Jewish Leaders* (1953), 213ff.; EẒD, 2 (1960), 73–84; M. Eliav, in: *Zion*, 27 (1962), 59–86; idem, in: *Sinai*, 51 (1962), 127–42; M. Hildesheimer, *ibid.*, 54 (1964), 67–94; M.N. Ezra, in: *Turei Yeshurun*, no. 14 (1970), 25–32. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** C.I. Waxman in: *Qualitative Sociology*, 15:2 (1992), 203–11; idem, in: *Judaism* (Winter 1993); D.H. Ellenson in *Tradition* 17:4 (1979), 74–89; idem, in: *Modern Judaism* 1:3 (1981), 279–97; idem, in: *Judaism* 35 (1986), 63–65; idem. *Rabbi Esriel Hildesheimer and the Creation of a Modern Jewish Orthodoxy* (1990); M. Eliav, in: *Tradition*, 26:2 (1992), 99–108; M.B. Shapiro, in: *Torah U-Madda Journal*, 9 (2000), 76–86; Azriel Hildesheimer, in: *Torah im Derekh Ereẓ: Ha-Tenu'ah, Isheha, Ra'ayonoteha* (1987) 75–82; E. Stern, *Ishim ve-Kivvunim* (1987); M.A. Shulvass, in: *Mosdot Torah be-Eiropah be-Vinyanam u-ve-Ḥurbanam* (1957), 689–713; M. Samet, *Ha-Ḥadash Asur min ha-Torah: Perakim be-Toledot ha-Ortodoksiah* (2005), index.

[Mordechai Eliav / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

HILDESHEIMER, HIRSCH (1855–1910), German historian and author. Hildesheimer was born in Eisenstadt, Hungary, and received his early religious education from two students of his father, Rabbi Esriel *Hildesheimer, and later under Rabbi Benjamin Hirsch Auerbach in Halberstadt. In 1876, he studied history, classical philosophy, and geography at Berlin University, attending his father's rabbinical seminary at the same time. He later studied at Leipzig under Theodor *Mommsen and received his doctorate there in 1879.

In 1880, Hildesheimer was appointed lecturer in Jewish history and the geography of Ereẓ Israel at the rabbinical seminary, but he had little time for scholarship owing to his communal work. He zealously fought against organized antisemitism and blood libels. The last years of his life were devoted to the defense of *sheḥitah* against it detractors. Hildesheimer procured 300 opinions from veterinary surgeons and professors of physiology and anatomy, all declaring *sheḥitah* to be the most

humane method of slaughtering animals. He was regarded as the leading authority on such problems, questions and appeals being addressed to him from all over the world. Hildesheimer was also active in the *Ḥibbat Zion movement, and his interest in the colonization of Ereẓ Israel was displayed in his efforts to promote the ideals of the *Esra Society in Berlin of which he was a cofounder. Theodor Herzl proposed that he should lecture on the role of charity in Ereẓ Israel at the First Zionist Congress in Basle. Hildesheimer did not attend the Congress, however, fearing that public activity would harm any practical efforts for settlement in Ereẓ Israel, and he withdrew from the Zionist Organization. He participated in the Verein fuer juedische Geschichte und Litteratur, and it was due to him that the school system of the *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden remained based on Orthodox Judaism.

Apart from numerous articles published in *Die Juedische Presse*, which he edited from 1883 until his death, Hildesheimer wrote *Beitraege zur Geographie Palaestinas* (1886), an important study of the historical geography of Ereẓ Israel His work in this field was continued by his pupil, Samuel *Klein. He also wrote *Gutachten ueber das rituelle Schaechten* (1894) in defense of *Sheḥitah* and *Die Blutbeschuldigung* (1891) against the blood libel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Strumpf, in: L. Jung (ed.), *Guardians of Our Heritage* (1958). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** H. Hildesheimer, *Ein Gedenkbuch* (1911); M. Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition* (1992), passim.

HILDESHEIMER, MEIR (1864–1934), German rabbi, son of Azriel (Israel) *Hildesheimer. From 1899 he was preacher at the *Adass Jisroel Synagogue in Berlin, then became executive director of the rabbinical seminary founded in Berlin by his father. He was representative of Orthodox German Jewry on many national Jewish organizations, including the Centralverein, the Zentralwohlfahrtstelle, ORT, and OSE, and was also active in the Agudat Israel. Coeditor of the festschriften for A. Berliner (1903), S. Carlebach (1910), and D. Hoffmann (1914), Hildesheimer also edited a collection of some of his father's writings (*Gesammelte Aufsaetze*, 1923).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Carlebach, *Dr. Meier Hildesheimer* (1954); Jacobson, in: M. Sinasohn (ed.), *Adass Jisroel, Berlin* (1966), 84–87.

[Alexander Carlebach]

HILDESHEIMER, WOLFGANG (1916–1991), German writer and artist. As a participant, chronicler, and critic of the business of literature in postwar Germany, Hildesheimer can be regarded as one of the most influential, controversial, and multi-talented writers of his time and place. His oeuvre includes not only brilliant prose, but also radio plays, librettos, graphic art, and theoretical essays and lectures on music, theater, and literature. Biographical projects on Mozart (1977) and on the English aristocrat Sir Andrew Marbot (1981) earned him an international reputation.

Born in Hamburg and raised in Berlin, Nijmegen, and Mannheim, Hildesheimer immigrated with his parents to England in 1933, continuing to Palestine in the same year. He apprenticed as a carpenter in Jerusalem. After three years studying set and costume design in London, he took a job as an English teacher at the British Council in Tel Aviv. In 1943 he became an information officer for the British government in Jerusalem. Returning to London in 1946, he was hired by the American forces in Germany as a simultaneous translator for the *Nuremberg trials, ultimately editing some parts of the transcripts. In the ensuing years Hildesheimer remained in Germany, where his literary career took off. He became a member of the *Gruppe 47*, published short stories (*Lieblose Legenden*, 1952), a novel (*Paradies der falschen Voegel*, 1953) and plays (including *Der Drachenthron*, 1955), and collaborated on radio broadcasts including an opera by Hans Werner Henze (*Das Ende einer Welt*, 1953) and the drama *Prinzessin Turandot* (1954). By then the fate of humanity in the face of ecological devastation had become a lasting concern in Hildesheimer's writings; during the 1970s, not least in his radio plays (*Hauskauf*, 1974, and *Biosphaerenklaenge*, 1977), the fall of civilization becomes the dominant poetic perspective. Finally, the "end of the world" becomes "the end of fiction," the title of Hildesheimer's most provocative lecture (1975). It denies literature's ambition "to condense truth out of fiction," in favor of a world now lost to writers, the realm of science, which has taken over responsibility for converting thought into truth, facts, and reality. As a consequence of this conviction, Hildesheimer stopped his literary production, returning to graphic work for the rest of his life.

Undoubtedly, the path to Hildesheimer's vision of doomed mankind leads past the core scenes of Jewish postwar identity to which he became a late witness during the Nuremberg trials. The Holocaust exemplifies the damage humanity has suffered; the survivors are damaged in their ability to take renewed hold of narration and transform it into coherent, meaningful, promising realities, as depicted in Hildesheimer's prose monologues (*Tynset*, 1965; *Masante*, 1973). But far from being a paradigm, Judaism for Hildesheimer represents first and foremost the experience of a gap that cannot be bridged, a difference that often may require distancing, and always demands vigilance in order to sense the coming threat. Still aware of German antisemitism, he decided in 1957 to transfer his domicile to Poschiavo, Switzerland. Wary of being used as a Jew in Germany's struggle with its past, he avoided letting himself be integrated into the German culture industry. Although he made major contributions to the reestablishment of a completely destroyed literary landscape, Hildesheimer never subscribed to any notion of assimilation, refusing explicitly to continue the tradition of German Jewry – as he quotes Moritz Goldstein – "to hold in trust the cultural heritage of a nation that did not ask us for it."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Roedewald, *Ueber Wolfgang Hildesheimer* (1971); *Text u. Kritik 89/90* (1986) V. Jehle, *Wolfgang Hildesheimer: Werkgeschichte* (1990); P.H. Stanley, *Wolfgang Hildesheimer and His Critics* (1993); H.A. Lea, *Wolfgang Hildesheimers Weg als Jude und Deutscher* (1997).

[Philipp Theisohn (2nd ed.)]

°**HILDUIN** (**Alduin**, **Audoin**, **Audouin**), bishop of Limoges, 990–1012. A Hebrew source records that during Hilduin's term of office, in 994, there occurred a local persecution of the Jews in Limoges, stirred up by an apostate from Blois; the end of the account is missing but everything seems to indicate that the apostate's plan was foiled. It is not impossible that this outrage was connected with an epidemic of St. Anthony's fire which was rife in this same year, especially in Limousin. If the Christian chronicler Adémar of Chabannes is to be believed, Hilduin himself inaugurated an anti-Jewish persecution in 1012: after a series of disputations he gave the Jews of Limoges the alternative of baptism or banishment; according to one manuscript several Jews killed themselves to escape expulsion. However it is also quite likely that this incident was no more than a local manifestation of the general anti-Jewish persecution widespread in France between 1007 and 1012.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Ducourtieux, *Histoire de Limoges* (1925), 80; B. Blumenkranz, *Auteurs chrétiens latins…* (1963), 250ff.; idem, *Juifs et chrétiens…* (1960), passim.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

HILEWITZ, ALTER (1908–1995), talmudic scholar. Hilewitz was born in Zembin, Russia. He studied at the Minsk University while studying the Talmud clandestinely and received his rabbinic diploma in 1929 from Rabbi Menaḥem Gluskin, the chief rabbi of Minsk.

He was active in the struggle for the rights of Russian Jews to immigrate to Israel, for which he was imprisoned five times, but in 1936 he received permission to immigrate as part of an exchange scheme of Polish Communists for Jews. In Israel he was a member of the editorial board and literary secretary of the *Talmudic Encyclopedia* and editor of the section on Talmud in the first five volumes of the *Encyclopaedia Hebraica* and was responsible for the punctuation of the El Ha-Mekorot edition of the Talmud (1948–52). In 1951 he was appointed rabbi to the Ḥasidic synagogue in Johannesburg (which he relinquished in 1970) and in 1954 principal of the Rabbinical Seminary there, heading it until his return to Israel in 1975. In 1951 he received the Rabbi Kook Prize for rabbinic literature from the Municipality of Tel Aviv. His publications include *Leshonot ha-Rambam* (1951) and *Meḥkerei Zemanim* (Part 1 – 1976; Part 2 – 1980).

HILFERDING, RUDOLF (1877–1941), socialist politician and theorist. Born in Vienna into a wealthy Jewish family, he studied medicine but practiced his profession only rarely and reluctantly. He joined the socialist movement as a student. In 1906 he moved to Berlin, where he was foreign news editor for the social democratic daily *Vorwaerts* until 1915. His main theoretical work, *Das Finanzkapital* (1910), often called the modern extension of Marx's *Das Kapital*, is one of the most important works of Austrian Marxism. At the outbreak of World War I he belonged to the minority in the German Socialist Party which was against the ratification of the war bonds, and in 1917 joined the Independent Social Democratic Party, which opposed the war. From 1918 to 1922 he edited the party paper *Freiheit*. After his party's reunion with the socialist majority he played a leading role in the German Social Democratic Party, twice serving as minister of finance (Aug.–Oct. 1923 in the Stresemann cabinet; June 1928–Dec. 1929 in the cabinet of Hermann Mueller). From 1924 to 1933 he published *Die Gesellschaft, Internationale Revue fuer Sozialismus und Politik*. After Hitler seized power, Hilferding lived in Zurich until 1938 and later in Paris, during this time working regularly for *Neuer Vorwaerts*, the organ of the German Social Democrats. In February 1941 he was handed over to the Nazis by the Vichy police. There is some doubt about how he died: according to one account, he committed suicide in prison, but another relates that he was murdered by the Nazis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Braunthal, *Auf der Suche nach dem Millennium* (1948), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** H.Gruber, *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working Class Culture 1919–1934* (1991); E. Unger, *Politische Koepfe des sozialistischen Deutschlands* (1920), 80–84; Kersten, in: *Deutsche Rundschau*, 84 (1958), 843–54; R.S. Wistrich, *Socialism and the Jews: The Dilemmas of Assimilation in Germany and Austria-Hungary* (1982).

HILFSVEREIN DER DEUTSCHEN JUDEN ("Relief Organization of German Jews"), German Jewish organization founded in 1901 to improve the social and political conditions of the Jews in Eastern Europe and the Orient, especially after the pogroms. The Hilfsverein was planned as a central body for German Jewry on the lines of the French *Alliance Israélite Universelle, and its establishment was opposed by the Alliance; some of the German members of the latter created the Deutsche Conferenz Gemeinschaft within the framework of their own organization. On occasions the Hilfsverein policy was guided by pro-German political objectives such as the introduction of German language teaching in its schools in the Balkans and Ottoman Empire. The Hilfsverein established in Palestine a school system from kindergarten to teachers' training college level, with Hebrew as the language of instruction. The attempt to introduce teaching in German at the planned Haifa *Technion in 1913 caused an international furor in Zionist circles. After the Kishinev pogrom, the Hilfsverein called the Vienna Conference of 1903 to organize relief for Russian Jewry, and a similar conference in London in 1905. During the 1905 revolution in Russia it gave financial help to the self-defense groups of the Bund and Zionists. From 1905 to 1914 the Hilfsverein published a weekly, *Russische Korrespondenz*, in German, English, and French, on the position of the Jews and the liberal and revolutionary movements in Russia. Following a policy of assisting only "organized emigration" of Romanian Jews, the Hilfsverein decided in 1902 not to help those emigrants who were stranded in Germany, but instead to help the Jews in Romania itself. The Hilfsverein became the agent of Jacob *Schiff's project to help Russian Jews to emigrate to the southern United States (the Galveston plan), but in view of the autocratic nature of the German regime was unwilling and unable to assist Jewish emigration to Germany.

On the eve of World War I the Hilfsverein had over 10,000 members in Germany, and followers in America, Russia, and Palestine. During the war the Hilfsverein assisted in interdenominational relief work in the occupied territories in Eastern Europe and distributed American relief funds. However, the assimilationist policy of the Hilfsverein and its Eastern European agencies provoked sharp conflicts with the Zionists and other anti-assimilationist groups. As a result the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee began to participate to a greater degree in the allocation of funds formally channeled through the Hilfsverein.

After the defeat of Germany, the Hilfsverein ceased to play a major role in international Jewish matters but joined the Alliance and other non-Zionist organizations, though it refused to take part in the efforts for united Jewish representation at the League of Nations. Through its 290 local committees in Germany (in 1930), the Hilfsverein concentrated mainly on helping Jewish emigration from and via Germany (about 350,000 between 1921 and 1936). After the advent of the Nazi Reich, the Hilfsverein (which in 1935 had to change its name to Hilfsverein der Juden in Deutschland, "Relief Organization of Jews in Germany") was unable to continue with relief work abroad. The Hilfsverein initially advised German Jewry to postpone emigration as long as possible but was forced by circumstances to aid those who wished to leave for destinations other than Palestine. It was officially dissolved in 1939 though it continued to exist until 1941 as an emigration section of the *Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland. Between 1933 and 1941 the Hilfsverein assisted over 90,000 persons to emigrate to overseas countries, with the exception of Palestine. Leading personalities of the Hilfsverein were James *Simon (president until 1932), Eugen *Landau, Paul *Nathan, and Max M. *Warburg.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Festschrift anlaesslich der Feier des 25-jaehrigen Bestehens des Hilfsvereins* (1926); Z. Szajkowski, in: JSOS, 13 (1951), 47–70; 19 (1957), 29–50; 22 (1960), 131–58; idem, in: YLBI, 9 (1964), 131–58; Kahn, in: *Die Arbeit des Hilfsvereins*… (1931), 77–82; E. Feder, in: HJ, 14 (1952), 3–26; E. Cohen-Reiss, *Mi-Zikhronot Ish Yerushalayim*, 2 vols. (1933–36); Wiener Library, London, *German Jewry* (1958), index; M. Rinot, *Pe'ullatah shel "Ḥevrat ha-Ezrah li-Yhudei Germanyah" ba-Ḥinnukh be-Ereẓ Yisrael (1901–1918)*, (1972). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** I. Friedmann, "The Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden, the German Foreign Ministry and the Controversy with the Zionists 1901–1918," in: LBIYB, 24 (1979), 291–320; E. Bar-Chen, "Two Communities with a Sense of Mission – The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden," in: M. Brenner, V. Caron, and U.R. Kaufmann, *Jewish Emancipation Reconsidered* (2003), 111–21; M. Rinott, "The Zionist Organisation and the Hilfsverein," in: LBIYB, 21 (1976), 261–78.

[Ze'ev Wilhem Falk]

HILKIAH (Heb. חִלְקִיָּהוּ, חִלְקִיָּה; "the Lord is my portion"; e.g., Num. 18:20; Ps. 73:26), son of Shallum or Meshullam (I Chron. 5:28–41, 9:10–11; Neh. 11:11), high priest at the time of King *Josiah of Judah and a principal promoter of Josiah's reform. When arranging for the repair of the Temple, in the 18th year of Josiah, Hilkiah found the Scroll of the Law (see *Deuteronomy), which he gave to Shaphan the scribe, who read it to the king. Much impressed by what he heard, Josiah sent a delegation, headed by Hilkiah, to the prophetess *Huldah in order to inquire of the Lord's will about the words of the Law (II Kings 22:3–20).

On Josiah's orders he removed all the appurtenances of pagan worship that had been introduced into the Temple by King *Manasseh (II Kings 23:8). According to the defective genealogy in Ezra 7:1, which can be restored with the help of I Chronicles 5:28–41, this Hilkiah was an ancestor of Ezra. Hilkiah is also the name of several other biblical characters: (1) the father of Eliakim, palace official of *Hezekiah (II Kings 18:18, 26, 37; Isa. 22:20; 36:3, 22); (2) a levite, son of Amzi and descendant of Merari (I Chron. 6:30 [45]); (3) another levite, son of Hosah (I Chron. 26:11); (4) the father of the prophet Jeremiah (Jer. 1:1); (5) the father of Gemariah (Jer. 29:3), probably identical with the high priest at the time of Josiah; (6) one of the priests who returned with Zerubbabel (Neh. 12:7, 21); (7) one of those who stood beside Ezra during the reading of the Law (Neh. 8:11).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the 5th Century B.C.* (1923), 157; S. Yeivin, in: *Tarbiz*, 12 (1940/41), 258; D. Diringer, *Le inscrizioni antico-ebraiche palestine* (1934), 204–10; idem, in: PEQ (1941), 102; S. Moscati, *Epigrafia ebraica antica* (1951), 62; M. Noth, *Geschichte Israels*, 1 (1950), 164; EM, 3 (1965), 161–2. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R. Uitti, in: ABD, 3:200–1.

ḤILLA, town in Iraq on the Lower Euphrates, south of the ruins of ancient Babylon; founded in 1102 by the Arab prince Sayf al-Dawla of the Mazyad dynasty. Before this date, however, there was already a settlement named al-Jāmiʿān ("The Two Mosques"), which also included a large Jewish community. Once the town became the seat of the dynasty, it was transformed into an important commercial center and the Jewish population gradually grew, at least in comparison to the decline of the Jewish population in Babylonia during the late Middle Ages. R. Benjamin of *Tudela, the 12th-century traveler, relates that there were 10,000 Jews and four synagogues in Ḥilla, one of them named after R. Meir, whose tomb was situated next to it. R. *Pethahiah of Regensburg emphasizes that the Muslims also revered this tomb. A lengthy letter (mid-12th century) to the community of Ḥilla and its affiliated communities, in which Solomon, head of the *Baghdad academy, announced the death of his son Samuel, is extant. A collection of sermons *Matteh Oz* ("Staff of Strength") by Isaac Sar-Shalom (beginning of 13th century), which he delivered in various places, including Ḥilla, has survived. According to a Jewish source, many Jews were burned to death in one of the town's synagogues at the time of the conquest of the town by Tamerlane (c. 1390). The community continued to exist and even grew in size during the 19th century, so that by the beginning of the 20th century there were about 1,000 Jews. Over a long period – until the beginning of the 20th century – the Jews were persecuted by their Muslim neighbors, who imposed on them limitations considered as belonging to the Covenant of

Omar: the obligation to wear a red badge on their clothes and the prohibitions of wearing shoes, of riding horses and asses in the town, of touching fruits and vegetables and of buying them, and the ruling that no balcony of a Jew should protrude over the street so that a Muslim should not be compelled to pass under it, etc. The Jews engaged in commerce, goldsmithing and money-changing, agriculture, and brokerage in the transport of goods on the Euphrates. The river flowed through the town until the construction of the Hindiyya Canal, which changed the course of the river. Many of the Jews were poor, especially after the construction of the canal; nevertheless, there were also wealthy families, such as the Menaḥem Ṣāliḥ *Daniel family, which owned extensive properties in the town and its surroundings. The *Alliance Israélite Universelle established a school for boys in 1907 and another for girls in 1921 in Ḥilla. In 1950 there were 210 pupils in the former and 180 pupils in the latter. Ḥilla also possessed a very small *Karaite community; all the Jews of Ḥilla emigrated to Israel, with most of the rest of Iraqi Jewry in the early 1950s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Ben-Jacob, *Yehudei Bavel* (1965), index.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

HILLEL (**the Elder**; end of first century B.C.E. and beginning of first century C.E.), considered one of the "fathers of the world" (Eduy. 1:4; Tosef. Eduy. 1:3) who laid the foundations for the spiritual and intellectual movement of the tannaitic period. Hillel was one of the last pair of **zugot*. At first *Menahem was his colleague but when he withdrew *Shammai succeeded him (Ḥag. 2:2). After the period of the *zugot*, Hillel's descendants established a dynasty which was to dominate rabbinic circles in the land of Israel for more than 400 years. When dealing with rabbinic or proto-rabbinic figures of Hillel's stature, it is always important to distinguish between the earlier and more historically reliable tannaitic sources, and the later talmudic traditions which often have a more legendary character. In the case of Hillel, however, even the earliest extant rabbinic sources are highly legendary in nature. For example, a tannaitic midrash (Sifre Deut. 357) provides the following outline of Hillel's "biography": "'And Moses was 120 years old' – He was one of four who died at the age of 120, and they are Moses, Hillel the Elder, Rabban Joḥanan ben Zakkai, and Rabbi Akiva. Moses was in Egypt for 40 years; in Midian for forty years; served and lead Israel for 40 years. Hillel the Elder came up from Babylonia at the age of 40; studied under the sages for 40 years; served and lead Israel for 40 years. Rabban Joḥanan ben Zakkai engaged in business for 40 years; studied under the sages for 40 years; served and lead Israel for 40 years. Rabbi Akiva began to learn Torah at the age of 40; studied under the sages for 40 years; served and lead Israel for 40 years." Clearly the point of this midrash is to establish a typological connection between these three rabbinic heroes and their biblical model – Moses. Any attempt to glean concrete historical information from this tradition would therefore be misguided. The notion that Hillel came from Babylonia is attested elsewhere (Tosef. Neg. 1:16; Sifra Tazria 9:15), but beyond this we are on shaky ground. For evidence of Hillel's character we have the following tradition from Tosef. Sot. 13:3: "Once the sages were gathered together in the upper chamber of the house of Guria in Jericho, when a heavenly voice came out and said to them: 'There is one here among you who is worth of receiving the holy spirit (prophecy), but his generation does not deserve it'. They all looked at Hillel the Elder. When he died they said: So humble; so pious – a true disciple of Ezra." This aspect of Hillel's personality developed in later *aggadot* into a stereotypical feature, standing in equally stereotypical opposition to Shammai's presumably harsh and difficult personality. Thus in TB Shabbat (31a) we find the story of three candidates for conversion who were rejected by Shammai and accepted by Hillel because of his "humility," though the terms "patience" and "insight" would better characterize Hillel's behavior there. In this context Hillel is reported to have summarized the entire Torah, saying "What is hateful to you, don't do to your companion" (cf. *The Book of Tobit* 4:15, ed. F. Zimmerman, 70, 159 ff.; *Sifra Kedosh*. ch. 4:12 and *Gen. R.* 24). Another late aggadah (Yoma 35b) tells of Hillel's "humble" origins, i.e., his devotion to the study of Torah despite his abject poverty, which nearly led to his freezing to death on the roof of the study hall when, on one occasion, he was unable to pay the entrance fee. The only obvious connection between this famous story and the earlier tannaitic traditions about Hillel is that the first three letters of the Hebrew word for "humble" also spell the Hebrew word for "poor."

The traditions surrounding Hillel's appointment to the office of *Nasi* deserve special attention. Tosefta Pes. 4:13 tells that on one occasion Passover fell on a Sabbath, and "they asked Hillel the Elder" if the offering of the paschal lamb overrode the Sabbath or not. According to the Tosefta, Hillel responded somewhat cryptically: "Is there only one paschal offering which overrides the Sabbath every year? Are there not more than three hundred "paschal offerings" each year which override the Sabbath?" We are then told that "all [those present in] the Temple courtyard descended upon him" (cf. Tosef. Ḥag. 2:11). Hillel apparently was referring to the daily sacrifice which regularly overrides the Sabbath. He then proceeded to present no fewer than four different legal justifications for his ruling. The first three justifications base the ruling in the case of the paschal offering on a legal precedent – the daily sacrifice. All three involve some form of legal reasoning, and the last two seem to use apparently standard tannaitic hermeneutical techniques for the exposition of scripture. The fourth justification consists of an appeal to accepted religious authority: "Moreover, I have received an explicit tradition from my teachers that the paschal offering overrides the Sabbath." After a brief side discussion the Tosefta concludes: "On that very day they appointed Hillel as *Nasi*, and he instructed them in the laws of the Passover." There are many points in this story which demand clarification. Who asked Hillel this question? Who were Hillel's teachers from whom he had heard this *halakhah*, and why was this tradition unknown to the rest of those present? If Hillel indeed had received such a tradition from

his teachers, why did he at first respond cryptically and then offer three independent and presumably original derivations of this law? If Hillel in fact offered three independent derivations of the law that paschal offering overrides the Sabbath and backed it up with an explicit tradition from his teachers, why do three halakhic Midrashim (Mech. Pisḥa 5; Sifre Num. 65, 142) ascribe a very similar midrashic derivation of this very law to R. Josiah, a much later *tanna*? What is the relation of this tradition to another tannaitic tradition (Tosef. Sanh. 7:11; Sifra, Baraita of Rabbi Ishmael) which states that "Hillel used seven hermeneutical methods before the elders of Patera (Batera)"?

To all these questions the later talmudic tradition (TJ Pes. 6:1, 33a; TB Pes. 66a) provides clear and unequivocal answers – though not always the same ones. First of all, later tradition identifies the events surrounding the paschal offering with the traditions concerning Hillel's use of seven hermeneutical methods before the Elders of Patera, who are apparently viewed as representing established authority in the Temple prior to Hillel's appointment (cf. TJ Kil. 9:3, 32b; TB BM 85a). Moreover, Hillel's "teachers" are identified as Shemaiah and Avtalyon, who preceded Hillel and Shammai in the traditional list of *zugot*. Since an explicit tradition from Shemaiah and Avtalyon must have been known to anyone holding legitimate office in the Temple, the talmudic story begins by stating: "This *halakhah* was forgotten by the Elders of Batera" (TJ; TB: Sons of *Bathyra). After being informed that a certain "Babylonian" named Hillel was present, who had studied under Shemaiah and Avtalyon, the Elders of Batera (apparently reluctantly) turned to Hillel to see if he had anything to offer on the subject. At this point the Babylonain and the Jerusalem Talmuds part ways in relating the story. According to the Jerusalem Talmud Hillel offered three interpretations in order to justify his position, but the Elders of Batera refuted every single one of them. Only when Hillel testified that he had received an explicit tradition on this matter from Shemaiah and Avtalyon, were the Elders of Batera willing to accept his view and to appoint him as *Nasi*. In the Babylonian Talmud, Hillel presents two original scriptural interpretations to justify his ruling, and on the basis of these original interpretations alone, they accepted his view and appointed him as *Nasi*. The difference between these two versions would seem to turn, therefore, on the question of the relative weight one should ascribe to original interpretation as opposed to accepted tradition in the deciding of this halakhic question. The talmudic versions of the story probably do not reflect ancient and reliable historical traditions, but are rather a result of later editorial elaboration and reworking of ancient literary sources. Even the earliest forms of these traditions (Tosef. Pes. 4:13; Tosef. Sanh. 7:11; Sifra, Baraita of Rabbi Ishmael) cannot be simply accepted as accurately representing actual historical events in Hillel's life. Nevertheless, even some of the greatest talmudic scholars have assumed that these traditions – in their latest and most highly elaborated talmudic versions – preserve ancient and reliable historical sources, and have used them as such (e.g. Epstein. ITL. 510–511; Lieberman, Hellenism, 54, no. 58).

Relatively few *halakhot* are actually ascribed in tannaitic sources to Hillel himself. Most of these *halakhot* consist of brief statements of no more than two to five words (Eduy. 1:1–3, Sifra, Shemini 9:5; but see Sifre Zuta Num. 30). Other *halakhot* are indirectly attributed to Hillel (Tosef. Neg. 1:16, Sifra Tazria 9:15; Tosef. Ber. 2:22; Tosef.; cf. Tosef.Ketub. 7:9). Similarly two very important rabbinic decrees – *takkanot* – are attributed to him. These *takkanot* provide evidence of Hillel's interest in civil law and economic matters. The first was the *prosbul, designed to prevent the complete cancellation of debts during the sabbatical year, since with changing economic conditions it became difficult to carry out the biblical law, and the economy which was based upon credit and loans was thereby imperiled (Shev. 10:3; Git. 4:3; Sifre Deut. 113). The second *takkanah* was with regard to the houses of the walled cities which, according to biblical law (Lev. 25:29), could be redeemed by the seller only within the year of the sale. In Hillel's time the buyer who desired to acquire the house permanently would disappear until the last day of the year, so that the seller would be unable to redeem his house. Hillel's *takkanah* provided for the seller to deposit the proceeds of the sale in the Temple treasury, to enable him later to acquire the title to his house (Ar. 9:4; Sifra Behar 4:8).

Hillel's ethical-religious teachings have been preserved in a series of proverbs, some in Hebrew (Tosef. Ber. 2:24; 7:24) and some in Aramaic (Avot 1:13; 2:6), such as: "He who magnifies his name destroys it; he who does not increase his knowledge decreases it, and he who does not study deserves to die; and he who makes worldly use of the crown of Torah shall waste away." The belief in reward and punishment is expressed in the statement, "he saw a skull floating on the surface of the water, and said to it, 'Because you drowned someone, you will be drowned, and the end of those who drown you will be that they will be drowned.'" Later sources present Hillel quoting scriptural verses which he used as proverbs. Thus on one occasion when he heard a loud cry on entering the city, he expressed his confidence that it did not proceed from his house by quoting, "He shall not fear an evil report" (Ps. 112:7; TJ, Ber. 9:5, 14b); and once when he differed from his colleague Shammai, who was in the habit of making provision for the Sabbath from the beginning of the week, he quoted the verse: "Blessed be the Lord day by day" (Ps. 68:20; Beẓah 16a). When he wished to explain to his disciples the importance of personal cleanliness, he resorted to the language of paradox interspersed with proverbs: "When he [Hillel] took leave of his students, he used to go off for a walk. His students asked him: 'Where are you walking to?' He answered: 'To perform a meritorious deed.' – They said to him: 'And what is this deed?' – And he said to them: 'To take a bath in the bathhouse.' – They said to him: 'And is this a meritorious deed?' – He answered: 'It is; if the statues erected to kings in the theaters and circuses are washed and scrubbed by those in charge of them… how much more should we, who have been created in His im-

age and likeness, take care of our bodies, as it is written: For in the image of God made He man'" (Gen. 9:6). Another version of this story runs: "'Rabbi, where are you going to?' – To which he answered: 'To do a charitable deed for a guest in my house.' – They said to him: 'Does this guest stay with you every day?' – He answered: 'This poor soul – is it not a guest in the body, here today and gone tomorrow?'" (Lev. R. 24:3).

The personality of Hillel, in which wisdom was combined with righteousness, and humility with simplicity, became a model of conduct for subsequent generations. The changes that he brought about in his day with respect to the study of the Torah and the methods of promulgating legal decisions caused him to be compared with Ezra, who, like him, came from Babylonia and reestablished the Torah (Suk. 20a). Lavish praise was also showered on his disciples: "Hillel the Elder had 80 students: 30 of them were worthy that the *Shekhinah* should rest upon them, like Moses, our teacher; 30 that the sun should stand still for them, as it did for Joshua son of Nun; 20 were average; the greatest among them was Jonathan b. Uzziel and the least among them Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai" (Suk. 28a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 362–73; Frankel, Mishnah (1923^2), 39–41; Derenbourg, Hist, 176–92; F. Delitzsch, *Jesus and Hillel* (1879^3); Graetz, Gesch, 3 (1905^5), 206–11; Schuerer, Gesch, 2 (1907^4), 424–8; Goitein, in: MGWJ, 11 (1884), 1–16, 49–87; Halevy, Dorot, 1 pt. 3 (1923), 89 143, 668–72; Weiss, Dor, 1 (1924), 155–87; A. Buechler, in: *Jahresbericht der Israelitisch-Theologischen Lehrenstalt in Wien*, 9 (1902); Bacher, Tanna'im; P. Rieger, *Hillel und Jesus* (1904); Stein, in: JJLG, 12 (1918), 132–64; Katzenelson, in: *Ha-Tekufah*, 3 (1918), 267–301; Goldberger, in: HḤY, 10 (1926), 68–76; G.F. Moore, *Judaism*, 1 (1927), 72–82; N.N. Glatzer, *Hillel the Elder* (1956); Goldin, in: JR, 26 (1946), 263–77; Kaminka, in: JQR, 30 (1939/40), 107–22; idem, in: *Zion*, 4 (1939), 258–66; Karlin, *ibid.*, 5 (1940), 170–5; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 4 (1950^2), 125–52; E.A. Finkelstein, *Ha-Perushim ve-Anshei Keneset ha-Gedolah* (1950), 1–16; Neusner, Babylonia, 1 (1965), 36–38; I. Konovitz, *Beit Shammai u-Veit Hillel* (1965); E.E. Urbach, *Ḥazal, Pirkei Emunot ve-De'ot* (1969), index.

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica* / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

HILLEL (third century C.E.), scholar. Hillel was the son of *Gamaliel III and the grandson of *Judah ha-Nasi, to whom it would seem in his youth he put halakhic queries (BB 83b). He was the younger brother of *Judah Nesiah. He is mentioned as having paid visits, together with his brother, to Kabul in Lower Galilee and Biri in Upper Galilee, where they were mocked at by the local inhabitants for not acting in accordance with local custom (Tosef., MK 2:15; Pes. 51a). They undertook to conform with the local custom. When they visited R. Zakkai in Kabul "the citizens poured out wine and oil in profusion before them" (Tosef., Shab. 7:17). Hillel is mentioned in several places as a teacher of *beraitot* (Kid. 75a; Git. 37a; Naz. 44b), and he may have been one of the "*tannaim* of the house of Rabbi" (Judah ha-Nasi). Some of the sayings given in tractate *Avot* in the name of "Hillel" may be his. Some regard him as the author of the possibly anti-Christian saying in Sanhedrin 99a: "There shall be no Messiah for Israel, because they have already enjoyed him in the days of Hezekiah" (Graetz).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Graetz-Rabbinowitz, 2 (1893), 318–9, 325, 488; Graetz, in: MGWJ, 30 (1881), 433–42; Krauss, in: JQR, 5 (1892/93), 139–40, 156; Ḥ. Albeck, *Shisah Sidrei Mishnah: Nezikin* (1959), 349–50, n. 12; Epstein, Mishnah, 1 (1964^2), 46–47; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HILLEL (II; 330–365 C.E.), *nasi*, the son of *Judah Nesi'ah and a grandson of *Gamaliel IV. After the crushing of the revolt of the Jews against the emperor Gallus and his commander Ursicinus in 351–52 C.E., which resulted in the destruction of many Jewish communities (Sepphoris, Tiberias, Lydda), new decrees were issued against the internal authority of the communities, and also against the observance of Judaism. The Roman government aspired to limit the privileges of the *nasi* and the freedom of action of the Sanhedrin in Tiberias. Because of the serious condition of the communities of Ereẓ Israel and the deterioration of the Galilean center, Hillel II agreed in principle to limit the authority of the *nasi* and his functions in connection with the proclamation of the New Moon, the fixing of the festivals, and the intercalation of the year. He thereupon published *Sod ha-Ibbur* ("The Secret of Intercalation") and *Kevi'uta de-Yarḥa* ("The Fixing of the New Month"). According to a tradition mentioned by Hai Gaon and quoted in the *Sefer ha-Ibbur* of Abraham bar Ḥiyya (ed. by H. Filipowski (1851), 97) this took place in 358 C.E. Important too is the testimony of Naḥmanides in the *Sefer ha-Zakkut* (Git., ch. 4, Leghorn (1745), 43a): "From the time of Hillel… in the year 670 of the Seleucid era, 4118 A.M. [358 C.E.], the Sanhedrin in Ereẓ Israel ceased and it ceased to have experts, and it was he who regulated the order of intercalation, reckoned the years, and fixed the months for generations to come." Some regard the year 344 as that in which the new *calendar was introduced, and it is possible that it was not immediately publicized to the same degree in all localities (Mahler). The opinion has been expressed that Hillel II was not the original creator of the fixed calendar but that it was the result of centuries of development which aimed at achieving a perfected system of fixing the calendar.

In the well-known letter of *Julian the Apostate to the Jews (written in Antioch in 362) the emperor addressed "the patriach Julius" (Hillel), calling him "brother Julos the patriarch" informing him of the rescinding of the taxes imposed on the Jews in the time of the emperor Constantine, and requesting him to withhold and abrogate the *apostoli* (the payment to the *nasi*) collected by him from the Jews through his emissaries in order to ease their financial position, and at the same time increase their prayers for the welfare of his realm (I. Bidez and F. Cumont (eds.), *Imperatori Juliani epistolae, leges, etc.* (1922), 281).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 374f.; Graetz-Rabbinowitz, 2 (1893), 395, 398, 403–5, 423, 488, 490; Halevy, Dorot, 2 (1901), 393–8; Weiss, Dor, 3 (1904^4), 98–101; A. Schwarz, *Der juedische Kalendar* (1872), 37, 39, 45; Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901^{3-4}), 754; L. Lucas,

Zur Geschichte der Juden im 4. Jahrhundert (1910), 3, 79–81; 85; E. Mahler, *Handbuch der juedischen Chronologie* (1916), 544–79; Schwab, in: *Tarbiz*, 1 no. 2 (1930), 85–110; 1 no. 3 (1930), 107–21; H. Levy, in: *Zion*, 6 (1941), 1–32.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HILLEL, college-campus organization. Jews have been attracted to college and university life since the Haskalah and emancipation opened the doors to higher secular learning. Nowhere has this been more widespread than in the United States where the growth of public and private higher education coincided with expanding economic opportunity and massive European immigration. Colleges and universities in the U.S., reflecting agrarian values, often located in rural areas or small towns far from the major urban Jewish population centers. By the 1920s, more and more Jewish young adults left their homes, communities, and families to matriculate at land-grant public universities where basic Jewish social, educational, and religious needs went largely unmet and where Christian campus ministries and local churches welcomed opportunities to fill the void.

Hillel began as a classic campus ministry in 1923 at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. Edward Chauncey Baldwin, a philo-Semitic Congregationalist English professor, concerned about the absence of organized Jewish life at Illinois, lobbied Jewish businessmen in Chicago to hire a rabbi and establish a Jewish campus ministry. The Chicago funders appointed Benjamin Frankel, a young, charismatic Reform rabbi, as the first director of the fledgling campus ministry who named the organization for the first-century sage, Hillel, a symbol of open inquiry, lifelong learning, and pluralistic values. The name also resonated with Christian clergy and academics who recognized Hillel as an influential teacher and near-contemporary of Jesus. Operating out of a rented room over a barbershop, Frankel framed key elements of the organization. Unlike the Menorah Society, an earlier student-run club founded at Harvard University in 1906, the University of Illinois Hillel created an infrastructure with a campus professional, dedicated space, and a community-supported budget. In order to sustain and expand Hillel, Frankel also sought national sponsorship. Rebuffed by the Reform movement, he convinced B'nai B'rith to adopt the organization in 1925, and then quickly launched a second Hillel at the University of Wisconsin, and a third at Ohio State University before suddenly and tragically passing away in 1927 at the age of 30.

The Reform movement's historic rejection and B'nai B'rith's timely embrace allowed Hillel to adopt a multi-denominational, pluralistic framework as the all-inclusive Jewish community on campus. Ideally positioned to grow, the campus organization, under the aegis of the largest Jewish fraternal organization in the United States, B'nai B'rith, had grassroots support, deep pockets for that time, a strong interest in Jewish youth, and a big-tent philosophy. Under the leadership of Abram *Sachar, a University of Illinois history instructor and Frankel intimate, who would become director of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations prior to founding Brandeis University, Hillel expanded rapidly by hiring rabbis – rabbis attracted to academic life who in the late 20th century might go into Judaic Studies – to provide critical spiritual, cultural, educational, and social services to Jewish campus communities throughout the United States. Local B'nai B'rith lodges undertook efforts to provide Hillel Houses on or near universities enabling Hillel to serve as "the synagogue on campus," a place where Jewish students could celebrate Shabbat and other Jewish holidays, gain access to kosher food and pastoral counseling, participate in informal Jewish learning opportunities, and socialize with other Jews. In an era when young people typically married in their early twenties, Hillel played a significant role in Jewish dating and courtship. On residential campuses, especially, Hillel offered a "home away from home" and a refuge to Jewish students in an often Christian environment. Hillel professionals with strong Judaic backgrounds pioneered serious university-level Jewish learning in the decades before Jewish Studies earned academic acceptance. When Judaic Studies positions opened in the 1960s and 1970s, many moved seamlessly into the academic world. Hillel also partnered with other Jewish organizations to rescue and resettle Jewish academics and university students before, during, and after the Holocaust.

Sachar played a seminal role in shaping the organization through the Great Depression and World War II. His emphasis on Jewish peoplehood, civilization, and diversity largely shielded Hillel from inter- and intra-denominational conflicts. His pluralistic vision and academic orientation drew like-minded rabbis and Jewish educators who eschewed denominationalism, embraced academic life, championed social activism and preferred informal interaction with young adults to more formal ministrations with multi-generational congregants.

Before the 1960s, the world of Jewish college students generally reflected a deeper Jewish connection. Parents or grandparents were likely to have immigrated to the United States from the centers of Jewish life in Europe. Living in or near urban Jewish communities, the majority of Jewish students shared a basic familiarity, if not a complete understanding, of Jewish ritual, language, and culture. Intermarriage rates were low. Affiliation rates were high. In addition, antisemitism reinforced group identity and limited other outlets and options. Admission quotas held down the number and percentage of Jews at many elite universities. Fraternities, sororities, honor societies, and other organizations openly or tacitly restricted their membership to white Christians. Hillel offered no such barriers to leadership, involvement or socialization as the number of Jewish college students grew as a result of the GI Bill of Rights and the entry of more and more Jewish families into the middle class.

Not surprisingly, the social changes of the 1960s had an immense impact on Jewish life on campus. Jewish men and women were among the beneficiaries of the civil rights revolution as barriers fell, new opportunities arose, and Jews in-

creasingly participated in every aspect of campus life. Jewish students also disproportionately embraced and even led the culture wars of the 1960s, with their concomitant intergenerational conflict, sexual freedom, drug use, radical politics, and anti-institutional bias. Like other campus ministries, Hillel struggled to respond to the challenges of a new era and to be taken seriously in an age of diminished support for organized religious life. Although a number of individual Hillels and Hillel directors rose to the challenge and planted the seeds of organizational transformation, the movement as a whole became marginalized, maligned, and factionalized through the next two decades.

The social upheavals of the 1960s also affected B'nai B'rith, the parent organization, as fraternal organizations lost their primacy in America. Financial cutbacks by B'nai B'rith exacerbated Hillel's problems. Hillel lacked the ability to expand to new campuses with large Jewish enrollments; to recruit and retain quality Jewish professionals; and to attract large numbers of Jewish students. Although Jewish federations began to play an increasingly important role in the governance and funding of local and regional Hillels, they offered little organizational vision. Viewed as ineffective and inconsequential, Hillels were often dismissed for serving both too few students and too many of the wrong kind, the proverbial "Jewish geeks and nerds," who were unable to fit in and find a place within the larger campus community. Even the name "Hillel" became a questionable brand and a potential impediment to revitalizing Jewish campus life.

The decision of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation to hire Richard Joel in 1988 symbolized the desperate condition of the organization. Joel was not a rabbi, in an organization historically identified with the rabbinate. He was a Modern Orthodox Jew in an organization desperate to attract non-Orthodox and unaffiliated Jews. A former prosecuting attorney and law school administrator, he had no prior involvement with Hillel as a student, professional, or lay leader.

Joel dramatically transformed Hillel during his fourteen-year tenure. Articulating a vision of a revitalized Hillel able "to provoke" a Jewish renaissance in America, Joel jettisoned the synagogue model to promote a vision of campus communities supporting a wide range of Jewish organizations and interest groups. He eliminated rabbinic ordination as the *sine qua non* of Hillel employment by expanding and diversifying the ranks of Hillel professionals. He encouraged Hillels to eliminate student membership and dues and championed open-architecture participation over the more traditional affiliation model. He encouraged Hillels to become less building-centered, even as more and newer buildings opened each year, to connect with Jewish students in multiple campus and community settings. He attracted major financial support from key Jewish philanthropists and foundations. He engineered Hillel's independence from B'nai B'rith and deepened the partnership with a Jewish Federation system alarmed by the implications of the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS). Like Sachar, Joel would depart from Hillel to become the chief executive of a university with his appointment as Yeshiva University President in 2003.

Hillel entered the 21st century stronger and more vital than ever with a new national headquarters in Washington, D.C., a budget quadruple that of a decade earlier, affiliates at every major university in the U.S. with significant Jewish student populations (except ironically Yeshiva University), a growing presence globally in Israel, the former Soviet Union, and South America and signature programs and partnerships in the areas of Israel advocacy, community service, arts and culture, student engagement, Jewish learning and celebration, and global exchange. With approximately 250 affiliates in the U.S. and Canada serving college and university students on more than 500 campuses, an additional three dozen campus and community-based affiliates in other countries, and a global budget in excess of $60 million, Hillel is viewed widely as one of the early 21st century's major success stories in Jewish organizational life. Thirty-four percent of Jewish undergraduate students in the U.S. participate in Hillel activities, according to a market research study conducted in 2005. Although significantly higher than in prior eras and higher than other Jewish campus organizations, Hillel would face unending challenges in its efforts to double the percentage of Jewish university students searching for memory, meaning and connection in a dangerous and rapidly changing world.

[Jay Rubin (2nd ed.)]

HILLEL, SHELOMO (1923–), Israeli politician and diplomat; member of the Second, Third, and Seventh to Twelfth Knessets and Speaker of the Eleventh Knesset. Hillel was born in Baghdad and immigrated with his family to Palestine in 1933. He studied at the Herzlia Gymnasium in Tel Aviv and was a member of kibbutz Ma'agan Mikha'el, 1941–58. After leaving the kibbutz he settled in Jerusalem and studied economics and public administration at the Hebrew University. In 1946–51 he was involved in organizing the exit of the Jews of Iraq, leading "Operation Ezra and Nehemiah" in the early 1950s, which involved the mass exodus of most of Iraq's Jews to Israel. In 1948–49 he was also involved in organizing illegal immigration from Syria and Lebanon. Hillel was elected to the Second Knesset on the *Mapai list, resigning from the Third Knesset to be appointed Israel's first ambassador to Guinea, where he served in 1959–61. In 1961–63 he served as ambassador to the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Niger, and Dahomey. In 1963–67 he was a member of the permanent Israeli delegation to the United Nations, while also holding the position of director of the African Department in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In 1967–69 he served as deputy director general for Middle Eastern Affairs.

After being reelected to the Knesset in the elections to the Seventh Knesset on the Alignment list, Hillel was appointed minister of police in 1969, holding the position until 1977. He also served briefly as minister of the interior in 1974 and again in 1977, giving way to Joseph *Burg when the NRP joined the government of Yitzhak *Rabin. In the Ninth Knesset he served

as chairman of the Knesset Interior and Environment Committee. In the Tenth Knesset he served on the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, and in the Eleventh, elected in 1984, was elected speaker of the Knesset. In this post he promoted education for democracy both among youths and adults and acted to stop MK Rabbi Meir *Kahane from presenting racist legislation. During his term as speaker, legislation was passed to prevent lists rejecting Israel as a Jewish and democratic state or advocating racism from running in Knesset elections. After leaving the Knesset in 1988 he was chosen to serve as head of the Foundation Fund in the Jewish Agency. He retired in 1998. Throughout his active political career Hillel supported increased representation for Sephardi members on the Labor Party list and the demand for the return of Jewish property left behind in the Arab states. He is the author of *Operation Babylon* (1987).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

HILLEL BEN ELIAKIM (c. 12th century), talmudic scholar of Greece. Hillel lived in Salaviri near Constantinople, and is variously cited as Hillel of Greece and Hillel of Romania (i.e., Byzantium; S. Krauss, *Studien zur byzantinisch-juedischen Geschichte* (1914), 118). Hillel is best known for his commentaries on the tannaitic Midrashim, some of which are quoted in the works of contemporary tosafists (Sot. 15a; 38a), the *Ittur* of Isaac b. Abba Mari, *Samson b. Abraham of Sens, *Isaiah di Trani the Elder, and other authorities. His commentary on the *Sifrei* was published from a manuscript by S. Koleditzky. In this commentary, which excels in its clarity and simplicity, he establishes the correct text, compares the statements in the *Sifrei* with the parallel passages in the Talmud, and translates the difficult words into Greek. He also includes commentaries from *Hai Gaon, R. Nissim, and *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome. His commentary is of particular importance in establishing the original text of the *Sifrei*. In addition Hillel wrote a commentary on the *Sifra* (also published by S. Koleditzky), a commentary on the order *Tohorot*, and also responsa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Koleditzky, *Sifrei… im Perush… Rabbenu Hillel b. Eliakim* (1948); idem, *Sifra… im Perush… Rabbenu Hillel b. Eliakim* (1961); A. Freimann, in: *Sefer Zikkaron… S.A. Poznański* (1927), 170–80 (Heb. sec.); J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire* (1939), 61–62, 226–8.

[Zvi Meir Rabinowitz]

HILLEL BEN NAPHTALI ẒEVI (**Herz**; 1615–1690), Lithuanian rabbi. Hillel was apparently born in Brest-Litovsk, where he was a pupil of the rabbi Hirsch Darshan and, perhaps, of Heshel b. Jacob. In 1650/51 he was appointed a member of the *bet din* of Moses b. Isaac Judah *Lima in Vilna and was one of the signatories to a halakhic decision to the effect that a woman could not be deprived of her right to oppose divorce against her will. He remained in Vilna until 1666, and after serving in various Lithuanian towns, the last of which was Keidany, he was appointed rabbi of Altona-Hamburg in 1670. Shortly after his arrival the joint communities of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck, following a schism which had taken place, again united. One of the conditions of unification was that there be one rabbinate for the three communities, and Hillel served in this office from 1671. Various communal *takkanot* were enacted for the united communities during his period of office. In 1680 he returned to Poland and was appointed rabbi of Zolkiew, where he remained for the rest of his life. Hillel was active in the *Councils of the Lands in Jaroslaw, taking part in various consultations of the Council in 1684, as well as in the formulation of *takkanot* in halakhic matters and in the life of the Jews of Poland.

In his old age, Hillel requested his son Moses – who was *av bet din* and preacher in Vilna and later *av bet din* of Kepno – to arrange his novellae on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh, and in his will bequeathed his estate to that purpose. His son, however, succeeded in publishing only the novellae to *Yoreh De'ah* and *Even ha-Ezer*, under the title *Bet Hillel* (Dyhernfurth, 1691) with the approbation of the Council of Jaroslaw. He omitted from his father's work, however, halakhic rulings in which his father had been anticipated by earlier scholars and added his own glosses. Hillel's novellae to the other parts of the Shulḥan Arukh have remained in manuscript, as has a homiletical and kabbalistic commentary to the Pentateuch. His importance as a halakhist is reflected in Jacob *Emden's designation of him as "the pious rabbi and halakhic authority, Bet Hillel."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no. 799; S.J. Fuenn, *Kiryah Ne'emanah* (1915²), 88f.; H.N. Dembitzer, *Kelilat Yofi*, 2 (1893), 566ff.; H.N. Maggid (Steinschneider), *Ir Vilna* (1900), 82f.; S. Buber, *Kiryah Nisgavah* (1903), 23–25; E. Duckesz, *Iwoh Lemoschaw* (1903), 5–7 (Ger. pt. 4–6); D. Kaufmann (ed.), *Die Erstuermung Ofens* (1895), 16; I. Markon, in: *Studies… A.S. Freidus* (1929), 373–6; Halpern, Pinkas, 201, 219, 470; I. Wolfsberg, in: *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 2 (1948), 8, 24.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HILLEL BEN SAMUEL (c. 1220–c. 1295), physician, talmudic scholar, and philosopher. Since it has been held that Hillel lived in Verona, he has also been called Hillel b. Samuel of Verona; but, in fact, only his grandfather lived in that city. Little is known about Hillel's personality, place of birth, or life. It is known that he came from a rabbinic family, and that his grandfather, *Eliezer ben Samuel, was a tosafist and *av bet din* at Verona. Hillel is first mentioned in a legal document of 1254. He lived in Naples and then in Capua, where he practiced medicine and studied philosophy with Abraham *Abulafia. Earlier he had lived in Rome, where he became friendly with Zerahiah b. Shealtiel *Gracian and with the physician Isaac b. Mordecai (Maestro Gaio), who later served as the physician of Pope Nicholas IV. Most information about Hillel is derived from correspondence between him and these friends. Some scholars, relying upon Hillel's own, rather dubious, testimony, have concluded that between the years 1259 and 1262 Hillel lived in Barcelona, where he was a disciple of *Jonah Gerondi. Hillel's statement that he studied medicine in Montpellier finds no corroboration in other sources. Hillel played a major role in the controversies of 1289–90 concerning

the philosophical works of Maimonides (see *Maimonidean Controversy). Defending Maimonides, Hillel addressed a letter to his friend Maestro Gaio asking him to use his influence with the Jews of Rome against Maimonides' opponents. He also advanced the bold idea of gathering together Maimonides' defenders and opponents in one of the towns on the shores of the Mediterranean, in order to bring the controversy before a court of Babylonian rabbis, whose decision would be binding on both factions. From a second letter to Maestro Gaio, it appears that Hillel's efforts were partially successful: the rabbis of Babylonia, Ereẓ Israel, and Italy supported his idea and placed a ban of excommunication on the instigator of the opposition to Maimonides, *Solomon b. Abraham of Montpellier. Both letters are included in *Ḥemdah Genuzah* (ed. by Ẓ.H. Edelmann (1856), 18a–22b). The first also appears in *Ta'am Zekenim* (ed. by A. Ashkenazi (1854), 70b–73a). Hillel's position may be understood against the background of the religious-philosophical controversy prevalent at that time among the Christians. Under the influence of Christian scholasticism, Hillel believed that the threat to faith stemmed from the adherents of *Averroes, whose views concerning the human intellect brought them to deny the immortality of the individual human soul. While Hillel generally followed Maimonides' rationalistic position, he deviated from Maimonides, who tended toward an allegorical interpretation of miracles and prophetic visions, by holding that these must be taken literally (see *Oẓar Neḥmad*, 2 (1857), 124–43). Hillel's major work is *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh* (written in 1288–91; published from an imperfect manuscript by S. Halberstamm in 1874). The book is divided into two parts. The first part, which itself contains seven sections and is the major portion of the book, deals with the nature of the soul and the intellect, and relies heavily on the earlier literature on this topic. Thus, the first two sections of the first part are mainly a translation of Dominicus Gundissalinus' *De Anima*, also called *Liber Sextus Naturalium*; the third and fifth sections are based on the *Tractatus de Animae Beatitudine* ("Treatise on the Beatitude of the Soul") attributed to Averroes; the sixth section is a copy of the three treatises by Averroes on the conjunction of the hylic and active intellects, from the Hebrew translation by Samuel ibn *Tibbon; and the seventh is a translation of Thomas *Aquinas' *De Unitate Intellectus*. The second part of the book, which deals with the question of the soul's retribution, reflects the influence of *Naḥmanides' *Sha'ar ha-Gemul*. Hillel wrote this work, as he says, to explain the nature of the soul to the Hebrew reader in order to save him from the dangers inherent in blind, non-philosophical faith, on the one hand, and from the extreme conclusions of philosophic speculation, on the other. Hillel, in *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh*, maintains that the soul is a "formal substance" which is spiritual and emanates directly from the supreme being, God. The ultimate aim of the soul is to unite with the active intellect. On the question of whether there exists an infinite number of independent souls or a single soul for all individuals, Hillel follows Averroes in maintaining that there is a universal soul, from which the souls of individuals emanate like rays from the sun. However, while Averroes believed in collective immortality, Hillel, following Aquinas, believed in individual immortality. The arguments which Hillel used to prove that the immortality of the soul is individual were actually those of Thomas Aquinas. Hillel advanced these proofs of the individual immortality of the soul mainly in order to substantiate his notion of reward and punishment which he discusses in the second part of the work. In Hillel's view, which was also influenced by the Christian scholasticism of his day, the soul's retribution was spiritual rather than physical – its reward consisting in drawing close to God, its punishment in removal from God. Though Hillel does remain faithful to Jewish tradition in his description of *Gan Eden* and *Gehinnom* (heaven and hell), details of his description reflect the influence of Christian scholasticism. In addition to *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh*, Hillel wrote a commentary on the 25 propositions appearing at the beginning of the second part of the *Guide*, and three philosophical treatises, which were appended to *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh*: the first on knowledge and free will; the second on the question of why mortality resulted from the sin of Adam; the third on whether or not the belief in the fallen angels is a true belief. It is uncertain whether the commentaries on three philosophical treatises by Maimonides (published in *Ḥemdah Genuzah*, 31b–36a) which are attributed to Hillel were actually written by him. In *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh* Hillel mentions a work that he wrote himself, entitled *Ma'amar ha-Darban* (or *ha-Darkan*), dealing with tales of miracles in the *aggadah*. However, preserved excerpts of the work (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Héb., 704; published by Goldblum in *Mi-Ginzei Yisrael be-Paris*, 1894) offer only an explanation of philosophical terms. Hillel also translated the pseudo-Aristotelian *Liber de causis* under the title *Ma'amar Lamed Bet Hakdamot* (extracts contained in *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh*). In composing this translation he apparently relied on Aquinas' commentary on this work. He also translated several important medieval works from Latin into Hebrew, which served in his time as textbooks for teaching medicine: (1) *Sefer Keritut* (*Chirurgia Magna*) of Bruno de Lungoburgo, which was written in 1254 (Parma, De Rossi Ms. 1281; the preface is found in *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh*, 43a–44b); (2) parts of Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* with Galen's commentaries; and (3) *Melekhet Ketannah*, Galen's *Micra Techne*, according to the Latin translation by Gerard of Cremona. Hillel, whose strength lay in his translations rather than in his original philosophical works, was a characteristic figure of the height of the scholastic period. The subjects with which he dealt, especially the question of the soul's retribution, are also dealt with by Thomas Aquinas, Dante, and *Immanuel of Rome. Despite his rationalism, Hillel emphasized, to a greater extent than did his predecessors, the dangers to faith inherent in philosophic speculation. Hillel's importance in the history of medieval Jewish philosophy results from his attempt to deal systematically with the question of the immortality of the soul, which Maimonides had avoided discussing at length.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Guttmann, Philosophies, 157, 197–200; Husik, Philosophy, 312–27; Teicher, in: *Tarbiz*, 7 (1936), 366, 372; Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, index; Vogelstein-Rieger, 1 (1896), 400–10, 415–8; Elbogen, in: *Annuario di studi ebraici*, 2 (1935–37), 99–105; J.B. Sermoneta, in: *World Congress of Jewish Studies, Synopses of Lectures*, 4 (1961).

[Joseph Baruch Sermoneta]

HILLEL OF ERFURT (d. before 1426), talmudic scholar. Known also as Hillel the Elder, he was a pupil of Meir b. Baruch ha-Levi of Vienna. From the fact that contemporary rabbis relied on the forms of *gittin* (bills of divorce) drawn up by him in Erfurt, it may be assumed that he occupied a rabbinic position there. Bruell identifies him with a "Hillel" mentioned in a document of 1416 as having been appointed by the margrave chief rabbi of Thuringia, of which Erfurt was the most important Jewish community. In fulfillment of a vow he set out for Ereẓ Israel, but on reaching Vienna was persuaded that his absence would adversely affect Jewish studies at Erfurt, and was absolved from his vow by the local rabbis. He then returned to Erfurt. Responsa and customs of his are quoted by *Isserlein and other scholars.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Jaraczewsky, *Die Geschichte der Juden in Erfurt* (1868), 51; Bruell, in: *Jeschurun* (ed. by Kobak), 6 (1868), 203–5 (Ger. section); J. Freimann (ed.), *Leket Yosher*, 2 (1904), XXVI, no. 32.

[Yedidya A. Dinari]

HILLELS, SHELOMO (1873–1953), Hebrew writer. Hillels was raised in Bessarabia, and he served as principal of the Jewish public school of Marcolesti (1902–17). In 1918 he headed the Office of the Federated Councils which was established in Romania to aid the refugees fleeing the Ukraine in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution. In 1921 he moved to Kishinev where he was appointed supervisor of the *Tarbut Hebrew schools in Bessarabia. In 1925 he settled in Palestine where he taught in the Mikveh Israel agricultural school (1925–35) and was the director of Beit Bialik (Bialik House) in Tel Aviv (1935–39). During World War II he lived in the United States. His early pieces appeared in the 1890s in *Ha-Ẓefirah* and in *Ha-Meliẓ*. However, his best works were written after he went to Palestine. His novel *Har ha-Keramim* (Mount of Vineyards, 1931, rev. ed. 1951), a realistic portrait of Bessarabian Jewish farmers, won great acclaim. He wrote stories of Jewish life during the revolutions and pogroms in Bessarabia and the Ukraine: *Be-Himmot Areẓ* (When Earth Totters, 1935); *Taḥat Shemei Besarabyah* (1942); *Arẓah* (1945); and an autobiography, *Tabba'ot be-Sharsheret* (Links in a Chain, 1950). His writings are realistic, and tempered by a profound faith in man. His collected works appeared in six volumes (1950–53). To mark his 80th birthday, the commemorative volume *Shai li-Shelomo* (A Tribute to Solomon) was published by K.A. Bertini and Eliyahu Meitus in 1953.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kressel, Leksikon, 1 (1965), 610.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

HILLER, ARTHUR (1923–), Canadian director. Born in Edmonton, Alberta, to Harry Hiller and Rose (née Garfin), Hiller attended the Victoria School for the Performing and Visual Arts, but his studies were cut short due to World War II. Hiller served as a navigator in the Royal Canadian Air Force, fighting the Nazis over Europe. Despite earning a master's degree in psychology from the University of Toronto, he took a job in programming with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in 1949. After moving to Los Angeles, he directed numerous television shows, including *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* (1955), *Playhouse 90* (1956), *The Naked City* (1958), *Gunsmoke* (1959), *Route 66* (1960), and the pilot episode of *The Addams Family* (1964). His first feature film was *The Careless Years* (1957) and his first big-budget film was *The Americanization of Emily* (1964). Hiller is best known for directing the 1970 film *Love Story*, which garnered him his only Oscar nomination and the Golden Globe for best director. In the early 1970s, Hiller and his wife smuggled clothing and books about Judaism to Russian refuseniks. Hiller went on to direct a variety of well-received films, including *Silver Streak* (1974), *The In-Laws* (1979), *Making Love* (1982), *Author! Author!* (1982), *The Lonely Guy* (1984), *Teachers* (1984), and *The Babe* (1992). From 1989 to 1993, Hiller served as president of the Directors Guild of America, and from 1993 to 1996 he was president of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. Hiller was given the Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award at the 74th annual Academy Awards in honor of his charity work.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

HILLER, FERDINAND (1811–1885), composer and conductor. Son of a Frankfurt merchant, Justus Hiller (originally Isaac Hildesheim), he studied in Weimar and went to Vienna in 1827. He visited Beethoven just before the latter's death. From 1828 to 1835 Hiller was a music teacher and successful pianist in Paris, and was the first to play Beethoven's "Emperor" concerto in that city. He subsequently converted to Christianity, held various positions in Germany and Italy, and was the friend of outstanding composers such as Schumann and Wagner.

In 1850 he founded the Conservatory of Cologne, which he directed almost until his death. Hiller's oratorio *Die Zerstoerung Jerusalems* (1840) is considered his best composition. He also wrote the oratorio *Saul* (1853), cantatas, among them *Rebecca*, operas, symphonies, chamber and vocal music, and settings of the Psalms. Few of his works attained great success. He therefore devoted himself to conducting and to writing the lives of the Romantic composers of his generation, particularly Schumann, Mendelssohn, Chopin, Berlioz, Meyerbeer, and Liszt. His book on musical theory, first published in 1860, was reissued many times (26th edition, 1924). In 1849 he was elected a member of the Berlin Academy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Sietz (ed.), *Aus Ferdinand Hillers Briefwechsel (1826–1885)*, 5 vols. (1958–66); Baker's Biog Dict; Grove's Dict; Riemann-Gurlitt; MGG.

[Josef Tal]

HILLER, KURT (1885–1972), German socialist theoretician and author. Born in Berlin, Hiller worked as a freelance writer there. In 1926 he was elected president of the Gruppe revolutionaerer Pazifisten. In 1933 the Nazis imprisoned him in the Oranienburg concentration camp, but he escaped to Prague a year later. Hiller lived in London from 1938 until 1955, when he returned to Germany and settled in Hamburg. He had a dialectical mind and considerable literary talent. He attracted many disciples whom he organized into activist groups. The first of these was Der neue Club (1909), out of which came the Neopathetisches Cabarett and the Gnu, the latter sponsoring literary *soirées* for young poets and intellectuals. In 1912 Hiller published *Der Kondor,* the earliest anthology of expressionist poetry. Hiller was an early supporter of socialism and radical pacifism and in 1915 formed an activist movement in which he called for an international federation of the intellect and for politically conscious writers to change the world. He aimed at rule by the intellectuals and the "actualization of the intellect in the state" (*Verwirklichung des Geistes im Staat*, 1925). Hiller was the founder and president of the Neusozialistischer Bund of Hamburg (1956) and described his creed as "libertarian socialism." His ideas are reflected in the titles of his works, which range from *Geist, werde Herr* ("Spirit, Take Over," 1920) to *Rote Ritter* ("Red Knights," 1951). In 1969 Hiller published his autobiography *Leben gegen die Zeit* ("Life against the Time").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Deutsche Bibliothek, Frankfurt am Main, *Exil-Literatur* (exhibition catalog, 1965). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Habereder, *Kurt Hiller und der literarische Aktivismus. Zur Geistesgeschichte des politischen Dichters in den fruehen zwanziger Jahren* (1981); R. v. Bockel, *Kurt Hiller und die Gruppe Revolutionaerer Pazifisten (1926–1933). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Friedensbewegung und der Szene linker Intellektueller in der Weimarer Republik* (1990); idem, *Kurt Hiller Ein Leben in Hamburg nach den Jahren des Exils* (1990); R. v. Bockel, H. Lützenkirchen, *Kurt Hiller Erinnerungen und Materialien* (1992); W. Beutin (ed.), *Zu allererst antikonservativ. Kurt Hiller (1885–1972)*, (1998); *Schriften der Kurt Hiller-Gesellschaft*, 1 (2001).

[Kurt Pinthus]

HILLESUM, ETTY (1914–1943), writer, religious thinker, and victim of Nazi genocide. Hillesum was born in Middleburg, Netherlands, the eldest of three children of Louis Hillesum, a teacher of classical languages, and Rebecca (Bernstein) Hillesum. Her Russian-born mother suffered from psychological disorders, as did her two gifted brothers, and Hillesum also struggled with depression and mood swings. No one in her middle-class, assimilated family survived the war.

Hillesum studied law, Slavic languages, and psychology at the University of Amsterdam, earning a law degree in 1939. The German invasion of the Netherlands in 1940 terminated her studies. She was strongly influenced by Julius Spier (b. 1887), a Jungian psychoanalyst émigré from Berlin, who became her lover, mentor, and spiritual guide. At his urging, Hillesum began keeping a journal, beginning March 9, 1941 and continuing until her deportation to Auschwitz in September 1943. When the Nazis began rounding up Dutch Jews, the Hillesum family was taken to the Dutch transit camp of Westerbork. Here Hillesum worked for the Jewish Council, the organization charged with implementing Nazi orders in the Jewish community; for a time, her position accorded her some measure of privilege and freedom of movement between Westerbork and Amsterdam. She also worked in Westerbork's hospital, refusing offers of a safe haven outside the camp. Deported to Auschwitz with her family in September 1943, Hillesum was murdered on November 30.

Writing was the emotional center of Hillesum's life. Initially, the journal was less a memoir of the time and more an exploration of her inner life, focusing on philosophical, psychological, and spiritual issues. Eventually, the Nazi genocide cast a shadow over the writing and both the journals and her massive correspondence contain detailed descriptions of the Jews imprisoned at Westerbork, the atrocious conditions in which they were kept, and the brutality of the guards. The writing also speaks of her commitment to give succor to the interned Jews; accepting that she could not alter what awaited Westerbork's inhabitants, Hillesum was determined to be the "thinking heart" of the camp. She struggled to find a way to understand and accept the horrors of the world in which she found herself, and to maintain a sense of meaningfulness even as death became inevitable.

Hillesum entrusted the eight or so notebooks of her journal to her friend Maira Tuinzing, who passed them along to writer Klaas Smelik. In 1981, a selection of her journals was published, receiving great popular and critical acclaim, as *Het verstoorde leen* ("An Interrupted Life"); an English version followed in 1982. Her collected letters appeared in 1982 as *Het dendende hart van de barak* ("The Thinking Heart of the Camp"); they were later published in English as *Letters from Westerbork* (1986). A critical edition of her writing appeared in the Netherlands under the title *Etty: De nagelaten geschriften van Etty Hillesum: 1941–1943* ("Etty: The Posthumous Writings of Etty Hillesum: 1941–1943") in 1986.

[Sara R. Horowitz (2nd ed.)]

HILLESUM, JEREMIAS (1863–1943), Dutch librarian, bibliographer, and historian. He made the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana in Amsterdam, of which he was librarian, a center of Jewish studies for students and scholars throughout the world. He was the author of numerous monographs and articles, including *Uri ha-Levi, eerste Mohel, Chazzan en Predikant der Portugeesche Joden te Amsterdam in het jaar 1593* (1904); *Menasseh ben Israel* (1899), and several auction catalogues. During the German occupation of Holland he was deported to a concentration camp, where he died.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Shunami, Bibl, index; L. Lamm, *Die Rosenthaliana in Amsterdam: zum 40-jaehrigen Amtsjubilaeum ihres Leiters Jeremias Hillesum* (1930); L. Hirschel, *De Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana onder beheer van Jeremias Meijer Hillesum 1890–1930* (1930). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A.K. Offenberg, in: *Studia Rosenthaliana,* 20 (1986), 210–16; F.J. Hoogewoud, in: *Studia Rosenthaliana,* 20 (1986),

217–29; J. Meijer, *Jeremias Meijer Hillesum 1863/1943: roerganger der Rosenthaliana* (1989).

[Frederik Jacob Hirsch]

HILLMAN, BESSIE "BAS SHEVA" ABRAMOWITZ (1889–1970), labor activist and executive board member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA). The fourth daughter of 10 children born to Sarah (Rabinowitz) and Emanuel Abramowitz, Hillman spent the first 15 years of her life in Linoveh, a small town located near Grodno, Russia. Her family enjoyed modest economic success and employed a private tutor for their children. Learning of her pending arranged marriage, Hillman left home and immigrated to Chicago, where she worked briefly in a garment factory. Dismissed when she protested low wages, Hillman was placed on a hiring blacklist. Using an assumed name, she found new employment at Hart, Shaffner, and Marx, another garment factory. When a wage cut was announced, Hillman led a walkout of 16 female co-workers, the catalyst for a strike which eventually involved over 35,000 garment workers. During this time, she met Sidney *Hillman, a fellow garment worker and strike leader. Recognizing Bessie Hillman's leadership skills, the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL) asked her to become an organizer. Over the next five years, she worked closely with Sidney on various labor efforts and supported his candidacy to become the president of an emerging labor union, which became the ACWA in 1915. During this period, the couple fell in love and married in 1916. After marriage, Hillman chose to resign her paid position as a WTUL organizer but remained an active union volunteer until Sidney's death in 1946. With the creation of the ACWA, the Hillmans relocated to New York City, and it was there that their two daughters were born, Philoine in 1917 and Selma in 1921. In additional to her continued involvement in both the WTUL and the ACWA, Hillman also served as the educational director of the Laundry Workers Joint Board and tirelessly campaigned for worker organization, particularly in industries employing large numbers of women. At the end of World War II, Hillman learned that most of her immediate family members in Europe, including three sisters, had perished in the Holocaust. Soon after, Sidney suffered a fatal heart attack and died at the age of 59. Hillman remained active, accepting a paid position of secretary/treasurer of the ACWA. In later years she also involved herself in many other organizations committed to labor and women's issues such as the Office of Price Administration, and upon President John F. Kennedy's appointment, the President's Commission on the Status of Women. Hillman dedicated herself to union recruitment and organization until her death at the age of 81.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: "Bessie Hillman, Long Leader of Clothing Workers, Dies at 81," in: *New York Times* (Dec. 24, 1970), 24; K.G. Pastello, "A Power Among Them: Bessie Abramowitz Hillman and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America," dissertation, Binghamton University (2001); S. Fraser, *Labor Will Rule: Sidney Hillman and the Rise of American Labor* (1991), 98–99.

[Shira Kohn (2nd ed.)]

HILLMAN, DAVID (1895–1974), British artist. Hillman was born in Courland and brought up in Glasgow, Scotland, where his father, Rabbi S.I. *Hillman, was rabbi. He was influenced by the work of his teacher, the portrait painter Solomon J. *Solomon, who also produced works of Jewish biblical interest, but Hillman devoted himself to stained glass in which he made his main reputation. His Jewish background and learning played a fundamental role in his art. He designed some 300 stained-glass windows for Jewish buildings in Britain and Israel. The themes were biblical or related to Jewish traditions. He was the pioneer of a new kind of Orthodox synagogue decoration which used Jewish content without disturbing traditional attitudes to the depiction of form. The principal London synagogues incorporating his work are at Cricklewood, St. John's Wood, and Hampstead Garden Suburb, and include the Central Synagogue; in Israel he contributed to the Hechal Shlomo Synagogue, the President's Synagogue, and Bar-Ilan University. He was a member of the British Society of Master-Glass Painters. In 1914 he was a founder member of the Jewish Association of Arts and Sciences.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

HILLMAN, SAMUEL ISAAC (1868–1953), Lithuanian rabbi and *dayyan* of the London *bet din*. After serving as rabbi of Berezino, Hillman was appointed rabbi of Glasgow in 1908. He was the moving spirit in calling a conference of rabbis of East European origin in Leeds (1913), which marked a turning point in the recognition of those rabbis in England and the beginning of their influence in the communal and religious life of Anglo-Jewry. In 1914 he was appointed a member of the London *bet din* and, with his profound talmudic knowledge, became its recognized halakhic authority. Shortly after his appointment World War I broke out and Hillman energetically worked to provide for the needs of the many Belgian-Jewish refugees who came to England. As a result he received a reward from the king of Belgium for his services. He was the London correspondent for the great Eastern European rabbis of his time, including H.O. *Grodzinski and *Israel Meir ha-Kohen (the "Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim"). A number of the letters of the former to him have been published (see bibliography). Resigning his post in 1934, he settled in Jerusalem where he established a yeshivah.

Rabbi Hillman devoted himself to the Talmud and the halakhic midrashim. He wrote on practically every tractate of the Babylonian Talmud, including the *minor tractates (6 vols., 1921–45), tractates of the Jerusalem Talmud (2 vols., 1947–48), all the halakhic Midrashim (2 vols., 1949–50), and the *Yad ha-Ḥazakah* of Maimonides. These works are of special importance to the scholar as they include references to all the relevant novellae scattered through the extensive responsa literature. A volume of sermons also appeared under the same title. Hillman had two children, DAVID HILLMAN, London portrait artist and worker in stained glass, who was an active Zionist, and SARAH, who married R. Isaac ha-Levi *Herzog.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EẒD, 2 (1960), 84–86; *Ha-Ẓofeh* (Elul 29, 5713 and Sivan 17, 5718); *Mikhtevei H.O. Grodzinski* (1970).

HILLMAN, SIDNEY (1887–1946), U.S. labor leader. Hillman was born in the small town of Zagare in Lithuania, son of an Orthodox flour merchant and grandson of a rabbi. He received a traditional *ḥeder* education, and at the age of 14 was sent to study at a yeshivah in Kovno. There he rebelled against both religion and his father, and became involved in revolutionary socialist politics, spending six months in prison as a result of his participation in the abortive revolution of 1905. Soon after his release Hillman emigrated to England, then to the United States (1907), where, after a short stay in New York, he settled in Chicago. In 1909 he went to work in the Hart, Schaffner & Marx clothing factory and a year later he helped head a strike that spread from the plant to all of the city's 35,000 garment workers. For the next five years Hillman was active as a union organizer and was instrumental in getting the Chicago garment trade to accept the principle of the "union shop." This experience was fundamental in shaping his concept of "industrial constitutionalism," that is, the idea of a structured harmony between labor and management, that was to be his main contribution to the American labor movement.

In 1914 Hillman returned to New York as chief clerk of the Cloakmakers Joint Board in the women's garment industry. Soon after, the United Garment Workers split in two and Hillman was elected president of one of the factions, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, which in 1915 won recognition as chief bargaining agent of New York City's garment workers. As president of the Amalgamated, Hillman set out to achieve sweeping reforms in the industry, by negotiation where possible, through strikes where not. In 1918 the union won a 44-hour week, and in 1920 it was granted a contract that called for a union shop, guaranteed unemployment insurance, and the right to help set production standards. The union also pioneered by going into banking, by means of which it managed to tide many garment businesses through difficult times with loans and stock purchases. The period of the New Deal saw Hillman rise to positions of national leadership. He was appointed to the National Recovery Administration during President Roosevelt's first term and in 1938 he joined Philip Murray and Walter Reuther in forming the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), becoming head of the executive council of its Textile Workers of America. With the outbreak of World War II Hillman became Roosevelt's chief labor adviser. He was appointed labor member of the National Advisory Committee in 1940 and associate director general of the Office of Production Management in 1941. He also served on the Supply Priorities and Allocation Board and was director of the labor division of the War Production Board. At the same time he remained active in the CIO and helped found its Political Action Committee, which sought to commit the labor movement to increased political militancy. After the war his interest also turned to the international labor movement and he was vice president of the World Federation of Trade Unions at the time of his death.

Throughout his career Hillman was sympathetic to the goals of the Jewish labor movement in Palestine. He was chosen one of the "non-Zionist" members of the Jewish Agency Executive in 1929 and as a confidant of President Roosevelt sought to win him over to a more pro-Zionist position.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Soule, *Sidney Hillman, Labor Statesman* (1939); M. Josephson, *Sidney Hillman* (1952); C.E. Zaretz, *Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America* (1934), passim; M. Epstein, *Jewish Labor in U.S.A. 1914–1952*, 2 (1953), 390–5; S. Perlman and P. Taft, *Labor Movement* (1935), 313–6.

HILLQUIT, MORRIS (1869–1933), U.S. socialist. Hillquit was born in Riga, Latvia. He settled in New York City in 1886 and was soon involved in the vigorous radical intellectual life of the Lower East Side. In 1888 he helped organize the United Hebrew Trades as a first step in the unionization of immigrant Jewish workers. Entering the Socialist Labor Party, Hillquit led the revolt in the late 1890s against the party's control by Daniel *De Leon. Hillquit opposed De Leon's hostility to the American Federation of Labor, and he fought the attempt to destroy established trade unions through the creation of rival socialist unions. Hillquit insisted that socialists could convince unionized workers that radical change was feasible and desirable, and accordingly he envisioned socialist control of existing trade unions.

In 1900 the Socialist Party of America was formed from an amalgamation of several groups, and Hillquit played a leading role in its affairs until his death. He was an able spokesman for the moderate elements that were in control, and also had a decisive influence in developing the program and ideology of the party. Hillquit's concept of socialism falls within the Marxian Revisionism so popular in the early 20th century. He stressed the compatibility of Marxism with social reform and an ascending standard of living for the worker. A socialist state would result from the conversion of the people, not through violent or direct means, and political action was thus the very essence of the socialist's method. It educated men about socialism, and through electoral victories socialists gained office where they might improve conditions for the workingman, thus accelerating the acceptance of radical social change.

Although often characterized as a compromiser, Hillquit helped write the defiant position of the Socialist Party against American entrance into World War I, and he ran for mayor of New York City in 1917 on a peace platform. He was also unyielding in his opposition to left-wing attempts to take control of the Socialist Party; and though he defended due process in many court battles involving radicals and trade unionists, he was prepared to discard due process when necessary in the continuing strife among factions of the Socialist Party. During the Socialist Party's rapid growth in 1908–12, as in the desperate days of the early 1930s, Hillquit constantly predicted the ultimate victory of socialism in the United States. But clearly success and political power were not immediate possibilities, and they cannot account for Hillquit's lifelong commitment to socialism. As he put it near the end of his life: "To me the socialist movement with its enthusiasm and idealism, its comradeship and struggles, its hopes and disappointments, its

victories and defeats, has been the best that life has had to offer." Among his writings are *Socialism in Theory and Practice* (1909), and *Loose Leaves from a Busy Life* (1934).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Kipnis, *American Socialist Movement, 1897–1912* (1952), index; H. Quint, *Forging of American Socialism* (1964), 335–87; D. Egbert and S. Persons (eds.), *Socialism and American Life*, 2 vols. (1952), index; Z. Szajkowski, in: JSS, 32 no. 4 (1970), 286–306.

[Irwin Yellowitz]

HILLULA (Aram. הִלּוּלָא, "festivity"), especially a wedding celebration (cf. Ber. 30b–31a). Later the term was also used for the anniversary of the death of famous rabbis and scholars because such occasions were often celebrated by popular pilgrimages and rejoicings. According to a late homiletic interpretation (Moses Alsheikh on Job 30:23) the death of a saintly man is a kind of "mystical marriage" of his soul with God. Public *hillula* celebrations take place on Lag ba-Omer, the traditional anniversary of the death of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai (see *Hillula de-Rabbi Shimon bar Yoḥai), and on the 14th of Iyyar, the anniversary of the death of R. *Meir Ba'al ha-Nes, at their respective gravesides in Meron and Tiberias, in Galilee. Outside Palestine, this anniversary was observed with great solemnity in the Jewish community of Djerba (Tunisia). It consisted of a procession with a richly ornamented candlestick (*menorat Shimon bar Yoḥai*), which was followed by eating and drinking with musical accompaniment. A similar *hillula* was observed in Libya and Morocco (and now in Israel) on the first day after Passover, called *Maimuna in honor of the anniversary of the death of Maimonides, who died on Passover.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.T. Levinsky (ed.), *Sefer ha-Mo'adim*, 6 (1956) 407–46.

HILLULA DE-RABBI SHIMON BAR YOḤAI, THE FESTIVITY (*hillula) of R. *Simeon b. Yoḥai held in *Meron on *Lag ba-Omer. It originated in the 16th–17th centuries. As early as in the time of Isaac *Luria (16th century) Jews went on Lag ba-Omer to the traditional graves of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai and his son R. Eleazar, where they would "eat, drink, and be merry." Even Luria himself "brought his small son there together with his whole family and they cut his hair there according to the well-known custom and they spent a day of feasting and celebration" (R. Ḥayyim Vital, *Sha'ar ha-Kavvanot*, 2 (1963), 191). The "kindling" is characteristic of the *hillula* in Meron, where the celebrants threw costly garments and money into the burning oil. At the end of the 19th century the rabbis were still strongly protesting the burning of clothes, which they saw as a transgression against the prohibition of purposeless waste, but to no avail. The "kindling" is accompanied by singing and ecstatic dancing. On the next day the ceremony of *ḥalaqa* (from Arabic "to cut hair") is held in which young boys are given their first haircut. The locks of hair are also thrown in the fire. In Israel great numbers from the various communities make the pilgrimage to Meron.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Braslavi (Braslavski), *Le-Ḥeker Arẓenu, Avar u-Seridim* (1954), 342–58; J.T. Levinsky (ed.), *Sefer ha-Mo'adim*, 6 (1956), 336–441; A. Yaari, in: *Tarbiz*, 31 (1961/62), 72–101; M. Benayahu, in: *Sefunot*, 6 (1962), 9–40.

HILSENRATH, EDGAR (1926–), German writer. Born in Leipzig and descending from a family with an East European Orthodox background, Hilsenrath grew up in Nazi Germany with the experience of permanent threat. In 1938 he fled with his mother and brother to Bukovina; in 1941 they were deported to a Romanian ghetto. He described the darkest experience of this time in his first novel, *Nacht* (1964). After 1944 Hilsenrath succeeded in getting to Palestine, from there in 1947 to France, and 1951 to the U.S., where he lived as a writer in New York before moving permanently to Berlin in 1975. Hilsenrath reflects on the catastrophe of the 20th century in his second novel *The Nazi and the Barber* (1971), constituting his literary breakthrough in Germany when the translated version, *Der Nazi & der Friseur*, appeared in 1977. After literary polemics – criticizing the U.S. in the form of an autobiographical satire in *Bronskys Gestaendnis* (1980) and Turkey in the form of a fairy tale in *Das Maerchen vom letzten Gedanken* (1989) – Hilsenrath turned again to Bukovina in his last novels, *Jossel Wassermanns Heimkehr* (1993), an epitaph on the lost world of Eastern Jewry, and *Die Abenteuer des Ruben Jablonski* (1997). Like other survivors of the Holocaust from Jurek *Becker to Georg *Tabori, Hilsenrath developed a non-aesthetic approach to writing, trying to break taboos and speak the unspeakable in an appropriate form.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Brecheisen, *Literatur des Holocaust* (1993); T. Kraft, *Edgar Hilsenrath* (1996); G. Lauer, in: *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift* (1999), 215–45; A. Fuchs and F. Krobb, *Ghetto Writing* (1999).

[Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

HILSNER CASE, blood libel trial held in Bohemia at the beginning of the 20th century. When on April 1, 1899, the corpse of a murdered seamstress, Anežka Hrůza, was found in a forest near Polna, Bohemia, with a deep cut on the neck, the *blood libel spread immediately and was taken up by the Czech, German-National, and Christian-Social antisemitic press. Leopold Hilsner of Polna, a 22-year-old Jewish vagabond of ill repute and low intelligence, was arrested. The basis of the accusation was the statement of the investigating physicians that only a minute quantity of blood was found in and around the body. Both the investigation and the trial at the Kutna Hora court were conducted with a strong bias against Hilsner – though suspicion was voiced against Hrůza's brother, who immigrated to the United States – and many measures requested by his counsel were not admitted, such as a test of the chief witness' eyesight. The jury condemned Hilsner to death. As the medical faculty had doubted the first medical statement, Hilsner was retried in Pisek. On this occasion he was also charged with the murder of Mary Klima, who had been missing since July 1898, because her corpse was found covered with branches like that of Hrůza. Hilsner named two Jewish accomplices in the

murder, but both had unassailable alibis. He was once more condemned to death.

The central antisemitic personality in both trials was Karel Baxa (1862–1938), counsel for the Hrůza family, who was financed by a joint German-Czech committee and whose invective was spread by the antisemitic press, which named him the "savior of Christendom." (He was later to refute his opinions, and in 1923 was elected mayor of Prague for Beneš' National Socialist Party with the support of the *Židovská Strana (Jewish Party); his later attitude in all Jewish matters was positive.) Of importance was the intervention of T.G. *Masaryk, later the first president of Czechoslovakia, who published two pamphlets demanding a revision of the trial "not to defend Hilsner, but to defend the Christians against superstition." Because of this action, Masaryk became the object of mob demonstrations and his lectures at the university were suspended. However, the popularity he acquired by his stand was to help his cause during World War I, mainly in the United States. Hilsner's sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. Repeated endeavors to renew the trial were unsuccessful, but Hilsner was pardoned when Charles I succeeded to the Hapsburg throne (1916). Until his death in 1927, he traveled as a beggar through the successor states of the Hapsburg monarchy under the name of Heller. When Masaryk, as president, declined to grant him an audience, he reproached him with ingratitude, as he considered that he had made Masaryk famous.

The affair was accompanied by an antisemitic campaign throughout Europe, conducted by the Vienna blood libel "specialist," Ernst Schneider. It led to riots in several towns in Bohemia and Moravia and was one of the main factors contributing to the increase of antisemitism in the Bohemian countryside and to the exodus of many small rural Jewish communities. Its repercussions were felt for many years. After the German invasion (1939), a Czech Nazi-sponsored Fascist organization opened an appeal for funds to erect a monument on the site where Hrůza's body had been found, but it met with no response.

In 1961, a rumor spread in Czechoslovakia that Jan Hruza, brother of the murdered Anežka, made a deathbed confession in the hospital of Havličkov Brod that he had killed his sister. He had wanted to receive the entire inheritance after their parents. After the murder, he allegedly left for the United States. The priest confessor allegedly refused to receive the confession. The Communist authorities, according to the rumor, did not publicize the case for fear that it would add popularity to the memory of the beloved late president Masaryk. There was no verifiable evidence to substantiate the rumor. The Czechoslovakian-born Israeli chargé d'affaires in Prague, Eliahu Kurt Livne (Liebstein), gathered a good deal of evidence about the rumor and sent it to the Israeli Foreign Office.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Červinka, in: YLBI, 13 (1968), 142–57; E. Rychnovsky (ed.), *Thomas G. Masaryk and the Jews* (1941); A. Nussbaum, *Polnaer Ritualmordprozess* (1906²); idem, in: HJ, 9 (1947), 57–74; T.G. Masaryk, *Notwendigkeit der Revision des Polnaer Prozesses* (1899); idem, *Bedeutung des Polnaer Verbrechens fuer den Ritualmordglauben* (1900); M. Paul-Schiff, *Prozess Hilsner* (1908); B. Adler, *Kampf um Polna; Ein Tatsachenroman* (1934); K. Čapek, *President Masaryk Tells His Story* (1934), 187–9; H.L. Strack, *Das Blut* (1911⁸), 163–7; R. Iltis, in: *Věstník židovských náboženských obcí v československu*, 30, no. 12 (1968), 5–6; B. Cerny, *Vražda v Polné* (1968). ON BAXA: *Selbstwehr*, 17 (Oct. 5, 1923), 1; 17 (Oct. 19, 1923), 1; 32 (Jan. 7, 1938), 8; *Židovské zprávy*, 21 (Jan. 7, 1938), 3. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Pojar, *Milsnerová Afera A Českás Poločnost 1899–1998* (1999).

[Meir Lamed / Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

HIMMELFARB, GERTRUDE (1922–), historian of Victorian England. Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., to Max and Bertha (Lerner) Himmelfarb, she received her B.A. from Brooklyn College in 1942 and also attended the Seminary College of Jewish Studies at the Jewish Theological Seminary. Himmelfarb earned her M.A. in 1944 and her Ph.D. in 1950 at the University of Chicago. Presumably because it was difficult for a married woman with two young children to pursue an active academic career during those years, Himmelfarb was an independent scholar from 1950 to 1965. She became professor of history at Brooklyn College in 1965, teaching there until 1978, when she was named distinguished professor of history at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York; following her retirement in 1988, she became professor emerita.

Gertrude Himmelfarb devoted her scholarly career to understanding the intellectual foundations of British political culture in the 19th century. A prolific and admired scholar, her books include *Lord Acton: A Study in Conscience and Politics* (1952); *Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution* (1959); *Victorian Minds* (1968); *On Liberty and Liberalism: The Case of John Stewart Mill* (1974); *The Idea of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age* (1983); *Poverty and Compassion: The Moral Imagination of the Late Victorians* (1991); and *The Roads to Modernity: The British, French, and American Enlightenments* (2004). She also published *Marriage and Morals among the Victorians: Essays* (1986).

In addition to her work on Victorian culture, Himmelfarb addressed contemporary political and cultural issues, criticizing contemporary culture for falling short of the ideals and civic virtues of the Victorian liberals. Her criticism is in line with the conservative political views she shares with her husband, Irving Kristol, and their son William Kristol, likewise important exponents of neo-Conservatism in American politics. Books pointing out the moral failures of contemporary society include *On Looking into the Abyss: Untimely Thoughts on Culture and Society* (1994); *The De-Moralization of Society: From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values* (1995); and *One Nation, Two Cultures* (1999), which calls for a return to such Enlightenment values and Victorian virtues as shame, responsibility, and self-reliance. In *The New History and the Old: Critical Essays and Reappraisals* (1987; revised edition, 2004), Himmelfarb critiqued social history for its leftist inclinations, its moral relativism, and its aversion to the major political transformations of the past, and argued that post-modernism distorted history and harmed the historical profession.

Himmelfarb was the recipient of many awards and honors. She was a member of the council of the National Endowment for the Arts from 1982; the council of scholars of the Library of Congress from 1984; the board of trustees of the Woodrow Wilson Center in 1985–96; and the council of academic advisors of the American Enterprise Institute from 1987.

[Marsha L Rozenblit (2nd ed.)]

HIMMELSTEIN, LENA (**Lane Bryant Malsin**; 1881–1951), U.S. chain store founder. Born in Lithuania, Himmelstein was taken to the United States at the age of 16. After the death of her first husband, David Bryant, she opened a small dressmaking shop in uptown New York City. In 1907 a customer asked her to design and make a maternity dress, then unknown in the country, so that she would not be forced to remain in seclusion, as was then the case with women during pregnancy. Himmelstein's design was an immediate success and, with the help of her second husband, Albert Malsin (d. 1923), her business was enlarged. In 1916 the firm was incorporated under the name of Lane Bryant, Inc., and in 1969 it consisted of more than 100 stores and affiliations. By 1917 sales exceeded $1 million and by 1968 they reached almost $200 million. In addition to maternity dresses, Lane Bryant began to design dresses and accessories for special "plus" sizes, and these became a substantial part of the firm's turnover. She was a pioneer in employee benefits, offering employee support beyond wages. By 1950, the more than 3,500 Lane Bryant employees participated in profit-sharing, pension, disability, and group life insurance plans, and fully reimbursed physician's visits and hospitalizations. Both Lane Bryant Malsin and her husband advocated prenatal care and gave generous support to its advancement. Both were also active in the American Red Cross, the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, and *HIAS.

Her son, RAPHAEL BRYANT MALSIN (1900–1995), at one time worked as a reporter for the *New York Journal*. In 1929 he was persuaded to enter his mother's firm and in 1938 became its president and helped to expand it. He was also chairman of the boards of Town and Country Distributors and the Coward Shoe Company, Inc. In 1982 the chain was bought by The Limited. For many years Malsin was president of Music for Westchester. He was also chairman of the board of trustees of New York's Hospital for Joint Diseases and was a generous supporter of many Jewish philanthropic causes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Mahoney, in: *Independent Woman*, 29 (Oct. 1950), 310–1; *Americana Annual 1952* (1952), 431–2.

[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HIMMELWEIT, HILDEGARD (1918–1989), British social psychologist. Born Hildegard Litthauer in Berlin, the daughter of a chemist whose family had been prominent in German culture, Himmelweit emigrated to Britain in 1934 after her father's death and was educated at Cambridge. In the early 1940s she qualified as a clinical psychologist at London University, but gained a lasting reputation as a social psychologist and was professor of social psychology at the London School of Economics from 1964. Himmelweit became known for her studies of the effects of television, co-authoring *Television and the Child* (1958), and for her studies of political voting patterns and how individuals came to alter them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

°**HIMMLER, HEINRICH** (1900–1945), Nazi leader and one of Hitler's principal lieutenants. Son of a Bavarian school teacher, Himmler received military training in 1918 but never participated in military action during WWI. After the war he studied agriculture, was active in right-wing and paramilitary organizations, joined the Nazi Party in 1923, and participated in November of the same year in the Munich *putsch*. In 1929, appreciating Himmler's devotion and organizational talents, Hitler appointed him chief of the *SS, the elite guard of the Nazi leadership, which, under his rule, increased from several hundred members to a huge organization of several hundred thousand men. On June 30, 1934, it played a key role in the "Night of the Long Knives," the purge of the leadership of the SA ("storm troops"), the old rival of the SS. By 1939, with the aid of *Heydrich, Himmler had made the SS the mainstay of Nazi rule. Himmler molded the SS into a racist order, based on the presumed existence of a "Nordic race" to be improved and restored to its former greatness by eugenics. Himmler therefore admitted only "Nordics" as members of the order on the basis of their right to rule "inferior races."

With the Nazi accession to power, Himmler became first chief of the Munich police and then commander of the Bavarian Political Police. By spring 1934 he had managed to get the Political Police Forces of all German states, including the Prussian Gestapo, under his control, and by June 1936, he was appointed chief of German police. He incorporated existing concentration camps in Germany into his system of police terror. The defeat of *Poland in September 1939 enabled Himmler to realize his social fantasies further. Appointed Reichskommissar "for the strengthening of Germandom," he ordered the deportation of the Jewish and Polish population from the annexed provinces into the territory of the *Generalgouvernement*, to be replaced by "Reichsdeutsche" and ethnic Germans from all over Eastern Europe, and carried out the confiscation of the evacuees' property. When Hitler charged the SS in 1941 with the "Final Solution" (see *Holocaust: General Survey), Himmler became the butcher of Europe's Jews. He regarded the murder of the Jews as a glorious chapter in German history and gave orders to adapt death camps for the "Final Solution," enabling them to effect the mass murder – the Nazi term was liquidation – of thousands of persons daily and the disposal of their corpses. In a speech to SS Gruppenfuehrer at Posen in October 1943 Himmler praised the integrity of his men, "To have stuck this out and – excepting cases of human weakness – to have kept our integrity, that is what has made us hard." He spoke but urged silence. "This is an unwritten and never-to-be-written page of glory [in German history]."

In the rear of the room his words were recorded for history. In late 1941 and 1942, Himmler ordered the utilization of the concentration camp inmates for war production. Hundreds of thousands of prisoners, including Jews set aside in the "selections" from immediate death in the gas chambers, died as slave laborers of malnutrition and ill-treatment. Thousands more were victims of pseudoscientific experiments that were carried out on Himmler's specific orders. Himmler gradually changed his tactics as Germany began to suffer defeat. In May 1944 he permitted negotiations to exchange Hungarian Jews for trucks needed for the war effort (see Joel *Brand). In November 1944 he assumed that for all practical purposes the Jewish question had been solved, and ordered the dismantling of the gas installations. Before the end of World War II, he allowed the transfer of several hundred prisoners to Switzerland and Sweden, hoping thus to exact better peace terms. As a result, Hitler ordered the arrest of Himmler, before committing suicide himself. In May 1945 Himmler was finally dismissed by Doenitz, Hitler's successor, and killed himself the same month following his capture by the British Army.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Manvell and H. Fraenkel, *Heinrich Himmler* (Eng., 1965), includes bibliography; H. Hoehne, *Der Orden unter dem Totenkopf* (1967), index; IMT, *Trial of the Major War Criminals*, 24 (1949), index; R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1961, 2003[3]), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** P. Padfield, *Himmler: Reichsfuehrer-SS* (1990); R. Breitman, *The Architect of Genocide: Himmler and the Final Solution* (1991); B.F. Smith, *Heinrich Himmler: A Nazi in the Making* (1971).

[Yehuda Reshef / Peter Longreich (2nd ed.)]

ḤIMYAR, the name of a large tribe in S. Arabia which settled in the mountains south of *Ḥabbān. The name Ḥimyar is found in Greek secular and Church literature in the form ʾΟμηρῖται (also Ιμμιρηνοί), as well as in the *Bet She'arim inscriptions on the series of graves of Jews from *Arabia. The tribe succeeded in expanding its territory of settlement by defeating the inhabitants of neighboring territories, the south Arabian kingdoms, and in stabilizing the last independent south Arabian kingdom before the rise of Islam. There is evidence to support the opinion that the beginning of the Ḥimyarite Era (115 B.C.E., according to most scholars, although there are some who set it a year or two earlier or later, i.e., 117–113 B.C.E.) also designates the beginning of the kingdom of Ḥimyar. In official inscriptions engraved in stone the kings of Ḥimyar preserved the historic titles of the preceding dynasties, each addition to a title designating an additional conquest and the expansion of sovereignty over new territories. The title "king of Sabaʾ, Dhū Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt [Hadhramaut] and Yamanāt and of their Arabians [Bedouins] in the mountains and in the Tihāma [the plains]" (540 CIH, from the year 564 Him., i.e., 449 C.E., engraved by King Sharaḥbʾil Yaʿfur in commemoration of the repair of the Maʾrib Dam, was aimed at emphasizing both the geographic expansion of the Ḥimyarite rule in south Arabia and his historic continuation of the kingdoms which preceded him, after wars lasting hundreds of years. In fact, during the time of Shamir Yuharʿish (305–315) all of south Arabia was under the control of the Ḥimyarites. Later, however, the Abyssinian kingdom on the other side of the Red Sea, which was a dangerous enemy of the Ḥimyarites – especially after Abyssinia accepted Christianity at the time of Constantine the Great (c. 327) – regained its power. After a few years the Abyssinians infiltrated south Arabia, and a Christian mission began to operate among the Ḥimyarites in the middle of the century. Philostorgios, a church scribe who recounts this, admits that Christian propaganda in Ḥimyar was received with great opposition on the part of the Jews. This is the first indication in literature of the existence of Jews in south Arabia. It is reasonable to assume, however, that Jews had lived in this area for hundreds of years previously, and that at least part of the Jewish brigade sent by King Herod with Aelius Gallus (25 B.C.E.) to south Yemen settled in this country (see *Arabia). The attempts by the Christian Abyssinians to conquer Ḥimyar opened the eyes of its inhabitants to the dangers threatening the independence of their land from the Christians, and drew them closer to Judaism and Jewish ideas, which posed no political threats. It is related that the king Ab Karib Asʿad (385–420), who was well known for expanding the borders of Ḥimyar, converted to Judaism. This is the background for the normal Jewish-Arab relations in the south. To a great extent this also explains the activity of the king *Yūsuf ʾAsʾar Yathʾar Dhū Nuwās (Masrūq) in the sixth century. During the following period many south Arabians converted to Judaism. The fourth–fifth centuries C.E. saw the beginning of the national and cultural decline of Ḥimyar-south Arabia. The major reason for this may be seen in the socioeconomic changes which occurred during the decline of the Roman Empire as a result of the victory of Christianity. The decline of interterritorial trade led to the neglect of agriculture and the irrigation of lands, the erosion of dams, reservoirs, and watersheds with resultant floods, etc., and a series of disasters which brought about the wanderings of south Arabian tribes and their settlement in north Arabia. Some of them, the Aws and the Khazraj, settled in the vicinity of *Medina (Yathrib), in the Jewish sections. The decline of south Arabia was caused by a combination of political factors (the Abyssinian conquest), economic factors (the decline of trade with lands of the Roman Empire), and cultural factors (the social schisms between Christians, converts to Judaism, and adherents of traditional gods). The Byzantine conquest, 525–75, was a very difficult period for the country, while the period of Persian rule, 575–630, was also not easy. Nevertheless, with the advent of *Islam the general level of south Arabia was still incomparably higher than that of the *Hejaz.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.Z. Hirschberg, *Yisrael ba-Arav* (1946), 50–72; J. Ryckmans, *L'Institution monarchique en Arabie méridionale avant l'Islam* (1951); H. von Wissmann and M. Hoefner, *Beitraege zur historischen Geographie des vorislamischen Suedarabien* (1953), index, esp. 116–21; A. Grohmann, *Arabien* (1963), 27–31; F. Altheim and R. Stiehl (eds.), *Araber in der alten Welt*, 4 (1967), 306–18; 5 pt. 1 (1968), 373–84.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

HINDUS, MAURICE GERSCHON (1891–1969), U.S. author. Hindus, who was born in Bolshoye Bikovo, Belorussia, was taken to the United States in 1905. A prolific contributor to the press from 1917 onward, he wrote many books about the Soviet Union, which he visited in 1923 on an assignment for *Century Magazine* and on a number of other occasions as a freelance writer. These accounts of his travels in the U.S.S.R. include *Humanity Uprooted* (1929), which discussed social conditions and policies in post-revolutionary Russia; *Red Bread* (1931); *The Great Offensive* (1933); *Mother Russia* (1943) and *The Cossacks* (1945), two World War II books; and *House Without a Roof* (1961). Hindus also wrote three novels, *Moscow Skies* (1936), *Sons and Fathers* (1940), and *Magda* (1951). In time his initial sympathy for the Soviet regime gave way to disenchantment with the totalitarian nature of Russian communism. In his autobiography, *Green Worlds* (1938), Hindus described his boyhood in a Russian village and his search for employment on a farm after his arrival in the U.S. This work includes an interesting assessment of the contrasts between country life in the United States and in Russia.

HĪNENI HE-ANI MI-MA'AS (Heb. הִנְנִי הֶעָנִי מִמַּעַשׂ; "Behold, I the poor in deeds"), initial words of the silent prayer recited by the *ḥazzan* before *Musaf on *Rosh Ha-Shanah and the *Day of Atonement, according to the Ashkenazi ritual. In this prayer the *ḥazzan* confesses his imperfection and prays that he be worthy despite his own shortcomings to be the congregation's delegate to bring its supplications before God. The prayer, of anonymous authorship, originated in Europe during the Middle Ages. In the *Reform ritual main parts from it were chosen as *The Rabbi's Prayer,* to be recited at his discretion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Davidson, Oẓar, 2 (1929), 155, no. 912; M. Silverman, *High Holiday Prayerbook* (Conservative, 1939), 124 (with Eng. transl.); CCAR *Rabbi's Manual* (1961^2), 5.

HINRICHSEN, family of music publishers. In 1880, Dr. MAX ABRAHAM (1831–1900), founded the Edition Peters and the Peters Music Library. After Abraham's death the business was inherited by his nephew HENRI HINRICHSEN (1868–1942). Under his direction the firm developed a personal association with such famous composers as *Mahler, *Schoenberg, Richard Strauss, and Hugo Wolf. In 1931 his sons MAX (1901–1965) and WALTER (1907–1969) joined the firm. The original Leipzig headquarters were confiscated by the Nazis in 1939. In 1938 Max settled in London, and established Hinrichsen Edition, Ltd. Walter Hinrichsen, who had emigrated to the United States in 1936, founded C.F. Peters Corporation in New York in 1948. In 1950, new headquarters were founded by the two brothers and Dr. J. Petschull in Frankfurt/Main (C.F. Peters Musikverlag). The firm succeeded in reestablishing Edition Peters as one of the most important music publishers in West Germany. In 1989, the Leipzig firm came into the hands of C.F. Peters-Frankfurt. Today the companies make available globally over 15,000 titles ranging from the Renaissance to the avant-garde compositions of today.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; I. Lawford-Hinrichsen, *Music Publishing and Patronage: C.F. Peters, 1800 to the Holocaust* (2000).

[Naama Ramot (2^{nd} ed.)]

ḤĪRA (Ar. **al-Ḥīra**), capital city of the Lakhmid Arab vassal state of the Sassanid emperors in Persia, located on the Euphrates. The kingdom and the Jewish community supposedly date from the time of *Nebuchadnezzar (sixth century B.C.E.). It flourished during the early centuries C.E., particularly in the fourth century under the prince Imru ʾal-Qays. Contemporary Arab poetry describes several Jewish ceremonies (e.g., *Kiddush*) and attests that Jews were masters of the art of writing, unlike many Arabs of the period. An academy, headed by the Babylonian *amora* *Hamnuna, also flourished at that time. There was close contact between the community at Ḥīra and the leading centers of nearby Babylonian Jewry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Rothstein, *Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Hira* (1899); Baron, $Social^2$, 3 (1957), 61; H.Z. Hirschberg, *Yisrael ba-Arav* (1946), index; I. Lichtenstaedter, in: PAAJR, 10 (1940), 185; EIS^2, 3 (1969), 462–3 (incl. bibl.).

HIRAM (Heb. חִירוֹם, חִירָם, "My-(divine) Brother-is-Exalted," apparently shortened from Aḥiram, a longer form attested as the name of a king of Byblos).

(1) King of Tyre, contemporary of David and Solomon. According to the quotations from Dius and Menander preserved by Josephus (Apion, 1:112–121; Ant., 8:144–149), Hiram was the son of Avibaʿal (Abibalus). He was 19 years old when he ascended the throne, and reigned 34 years (c. 969–936 B.C.E.). Under his rule Tyre became the leading city on the Phoenician coast, and the beginnings of its empire spreading over the whole Mediterranean must be dated from this time. Menander says that Hiram campaigned personally against a revolt of the people of Citium (Kition) (= Larnaka in Cyprus). Furthermore, it is known that he enlarged the island city by uniting it with a smaller island, on which the temple of Zeus (Baal Shamêm) stood. He beautified Tyre and its temples and engaged in extensive constructions, such as embankments and marketplaces. All this demonstrates the rise of the overseas trade, and also the necessity for a bigger harbor for the large "ships of Tarshish." He demolished the ancient temples and built new ones to Heracles (= Melqart) and Astarte. This building program must have influenced the Hebrew kings. The Bible tells of the friendly relations between Hiram and David. W.F. Albright has suggested that the power of the Philistines was broken by an alliance between the Tyrian kings Avibaʿal and Hiram on the one hand (at sea), and David on the other (on land). The messengers of Hiram who brought cedar trees and artisans to build a palace for David (II Sam. 5:11; I Chron. 14:1) presumably had political and mercantile assignments as well. It appears that when David took the census of Israel, the kingdom of Hiram was only a small strip on

the coast; however, in the days of Solomon it must have been much wider, because the land of *Cabul ceded by Solomon to Hiram (I Kings 9:11ff.) must have bordered on Hiram's realm in the west. According to the Bible, the relations between Solomon and Hiram were on a basis of equality. When Solomon succeeded to the throne, Hiram, while congratulating him, took advantage of the opportunity of initiating closer contacts between the two states. After the congratulatory mission had been sent from Tyre, there was an "exchange of letters" (cf. I Kings 5:16ff.; II Chron. 2:2ff.) between Hiram and Solomon until an agreement was signed. According to Josephus "many of the letters… are preserved at Tyre to this day" (Apion, 1:111). In Antiquities (8:50–54) these letters were paraphrased by Josephus (and later by Eupolemos; in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 9:33ff.). Tyrian aid, skill, and building material, chiefly cedar wood from the Lebanon, were given in exchange for wheat and oil. Furthermore, Hiram received mercantile concessions in exchange for assistance in sending a merchant fleet from Ezion-Geber to Ophir (I Kings 9:26–28). Both Dius and Menander knew of an exchange of riddles between Hiram and Solomon, a story which reminds one of the story of the queen of Sheba "to prove him [Solomon] with hard questions" (I Kings 10:1). B. Mazar has suggested that there may be a direct connection between the cult of Baal-Shamêm, whose worship apparently grew from the 10th century, and Hiram's help in planning, building, and equipping the Temple of Solomon. The date of the founding of the Temple at Jerusalem in the 11th (Jos., Ant., 8:62) or in the 12th (Jos., Apion, 1:126) year of Hiram, which is given by Josephus as based on the Tyrian chronicles, should be rejected; these dates should be applied to the temples rebuilt by Hiram in Tyre. It should be added that Hiram left the throne of Tyre to his son Baal-Ezer. In the *aggadah* Hiram plays a prominent role, because of his assistance in the building of the Temple (cf. Ginzberg, Legends, index).

(2) Another Hiram, whose title "King of the Zidonians" (cf. I Kings 16:31) is found on a bowl discovered in the vicinity of Limassol (Cyprus), was king in Tyre at the time of Tiglath-Pileser III. This Hiram is also mentioned (as Ḫi-ru-um-mu) by the Assyrian king in a list of kings paying tribute to him (next to Rezin of Damascus and Menahem of Samaria; Pritchard, Texts, 283; Tadmor, 89). In another text Hiram is accused of conspiring with Rezin (Wiseman, in: *Iraq*, 18 (1956), 117ff. = Tadmor, 186–87).

(3) Hiram, half-Phoenician, half-Israelite metal craftsman employed in casting the copper (or bronze?) objects for Solomon's Temple (I Kings 7:13–45; II Chron. 2:12–13; 4:11–16).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bright, Hist, 183, 191, 201; J. Flemming, *The History of Tyre* (1915), 16ff.; Mazar, in: PIASH, 1 no. 7 (1964), 15ff.; Katzenstein, in: BM, 28 (1966), 28ff.; W.F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (1968), 190–1, 199–200; EM, 3 (1965), 122–4 (includes bibliography). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** K. Whitelam, in: ABD, 2, 203–5; H. Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III…* (1994), 186–87; H. Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (1997²); M. Cogan, I *Kings* (2000), 225–33, 259–73.

[H. Jacob Katzenstein]

HIRSCH, ARON SIEGMUND (1858–1941?), German industrialist. Hirsch, who was born in Halberstadt, became one of the principals of the Halberstadt metal business of Aron Hirsch and Sons which his grandfather, ARON HIRSCH (1783–1842), had established in 1806 and in which his own father was a partner. Aron Siegmund early recognized the importance of unifying trade and industry in the production and sale of metals, and he devoted himself to the reorganization of the firm. In 1906, on his initiative, the copper and brass foundry Hirsch Ltd. was founded, and the original firm of Aron Hirsch and Sons was merged in the new concern. The Kupferwerke Ilsenburg und Harz and the Messingwerke at Eberswalde were added later to form one giant enterprise under Aron Hirsch's direction and the enlarged firm achieved a leading role in German economic life. Hirsch held an important place in the life of the Jewish community and was a noted philanthropist. He was chairman of the administrative council of the Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. Zielenziger, *Juden in der deutschen Wirtschaft* (1930), 199–205. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** P. Schulze, "Vom Handelshaus 'Aron Hirsch & Sohn' zu den 'Hirsch Kupfer- und Messingwerken,'" in: J. Dick (ed.), *Wegweiser durch das jüdische Sachsen-Anhalt* (1998), 290–99.

HIRSCH, AUGUST (**Aron Simon**; 1817–1894), German physician, founder of the branch of historical and geographical pathology. Hirsch, who studied in Leipzig and Berlin, had originally intended to enter the Anglo-Indian service. His monumental work, *Handbuch der historisch-geographischen Pathologie* (2 vols., 1860–64), was translated into English (1883). It deals with the geographical distribution of diseases and with their appearance and disappearance throughout the ages. It became a standard textbook on the subject. From 1863 until his retirement he held the chair of medical history at Berlin University. Hirsch was active in the fight against cholera and the plague. He was cofounder of the German Public Health Association and its president from 1871 to 1885. In this capacity, he described various outbreaks of cholera in Prussia and Russia. Hirsch was a prolific writer and made numerous contributions on medical historical subjects. He was also interested in ophthalmology and his *Geschichte der Augenheilkunde* was published in 1877. From 1884 to 1888 he was one of the editors of the *Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Aerzte aller Zeiten und Voelker.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.R. Kagan, *Jewish Medicine* (1952), 554.

[Suessmann Muntner]

HIRSCH, EMIL GUSTAVE (1851–1923), U.S. rabbi, scholar, and civic leader. Hirsch was born in Luxembourg and went to the United States in 1866 when his father, Samuel *Hirsch, the chief rabbi of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, served a Reform congregation in Philadelphia. After graduating from the University of Pennsylvania (1872), Emil Hirsch studied at the universities of Berlin and Leipzig. His rabbinic studies were pursued at the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Ju-

dentums at Berlin, which brought him under the influence of Abraham *Geiger, Hermann Heymann *Steinthal, and Moritz *Lazarus. Briefly occupying pulpits in Baltimore and Louisville, Rabbi Hirsch moved to the Chicago Sinai Congregation in 1880, where he remained until his death. For many years he taught rabbinic literature and philosophy at the University of Chicago, which he helped found. He was also the editor of the Bible section of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, and he contributed scholarly articles to it and to the Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. Rabbi Hirsch was generally recognized as the outstanding spokesman for the radical wing of Reform in the United States. As editor of and prolific writer in *The Jewish Reformer* (1886) and *The Reform Advocate* (1891–1923), he widely extended the influence of his forceful preaching. In eloquent prose laced with satirical wit, he defended an evolutionary concept of Judaism – nurtured by German idealistic philosophy – in which the disciplines of *halakhah* yielded to the primacy of the ethical idea. "The Jew was by history called to be the proclaimer of an ethical view of the universe and of man, of ethical monotheism" (*The Reform Advocate*, 2 (1891), 362) summarizes his outlook. Identifying the primary mission of the emancipated Jew with a commitment to social justice, Hirsch championed the rights of organized labor and supported pioneering welfare reforms in Chicago.

Although an opponent of Jewish nationalism, Hirsch spoke of the Jews as a people (*Volk*) and conceded that "the mission of Israel is by no means incompatible with the possible re-nationalization of a Jewish political life. A Jewish state, if truly Jewish, would be founded on the precepts of the prophets and as such be the organized effort of rendering justice real in the interrelations of state and state and man and man" (*My Religion* (1925), 290). For all his liberalism, Hirsch was mordantly critical of Jewish apostates and did not spare kinsmen who turned to Ethical Culture, founded by his friend Felix *Adler. Hirsch summoned the Jew to remain steadfast to his particular vocation until the age of universal humanity dawned.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Martin, in: AJA, 4 (1952), 66–82; D.E. Hirsch, *Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, The Reform Advocate* (1969).

[Samuel E. Karff]

HIRSCH, ERIC DONALD, JR. (1928–), U.S. literary scholar and educator. Born in Memphis, Tennessee, Hirsch was educated at Cornell University (B.A., 1950) and Yale (M.A., 1953; Ph.D., 1957) and served in the U.S. Navy during the Korean War (1950–52). He taught at Yale (1956–66) and the University of Virginia (1966–2002), where he became university professor of education and humanities, emeritus; he was a visiting professor at Northwestern and Oxford universities and a visiting fellow at the Hoover Institution. He was the founder and chairman of the Core Knowledge Foundation.

A respected academic literary critic whose work was concerned with problems of interpretation and the history of the Romantic movement, Hirsch in 1987 published *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know*, a book that told an increasingly conservative country that its schools were failing to teach its children the basic information they needed to succeed, and worse, failing to establish a common, shared culture which Hirsch believes is essential to maintaining democracy. It became a bestseller and launched Hirsch on a new career as an educational reformer. He followed this with *The Dictionary of Cultural Literacy* (1988; revised edition 1993; with Joseph Kett and James Trefil), which collected much of the vital information whose absorption would make for a common culture and economic success. Hirsch also founded the Core Knowledge Foundation (originally the Cultural Literacy Foundation) which has developed a detailed, comprehensive curriculum for elementary schools, intended to "[foster] autonomous and knowledgeable citizens, [give] every person an equal chance, and [foster] community." The curriculum calls for uniform content and instruction by age group and abandonment of "progressive" ideas that he believes rule American public schools and destroy the chances of poverty-stricken students. Critics, while agreeing that content is important, have challenged Hirsch's assumptions and have particularly singled out his refusal to take seriously such issues as racial inequality and underfunding as factors in poor outcomes.

Hirsch's critical works include *Wordsworth and Schelling: A Typological Study of Romanticism* (1960), *Innocence and Experience: An Introduction to Blake* (1964), *Validity in Interpretation* (1967), *The Aims of Interpretation* (1976), and *The Philosophy of Composition* (1977). His educational-reform oeuvre includes, beside *Cultural Literacy* and *The Dictionary of Cultural Literacy*, *A First Dictionary of Cultural Literacy: What Our Children Need to Know* (1991), *The Schools We Need and Why We Don't Have Them* (1996), and an edited volume, *Books to Build On: A Grade-by-Grade Resource Guide for Parents and Teachers* (1996, edited with John Holdren).

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCH, JOHN STEPHEN (1930–1989), Canadian theater director. John Hirsch was born in Siofok, Hungary. He lived with his family in Endrod (today Gyoma Endrod). When he was 14, his parents and brother were murdered during the Holocaust. Hirsch was first hidden from the Nazis by a maid who secreted him to the Budapest ghetto where he survived the war. A Jewish orphan in postwar Europe, he was part of a group of 175 Jewish children smuggled out of a Displaced Person's camp into Romania. From there he was taken to Greece, then Palestine, before finally coming to Canada. He arrived in Winnipeg, Manitoba, in 1947, where he and another orphan boy were welcomed into the home of a local Jewish family.

Hirsch first studied English in classes organized by the National Council of Jewish Women and went on to study at the University of Manitoba. In 1957 he co-founded (with Tom Hendry) Theatre 77, which, in 1958, joined with Winnipeg Little Theatre to become the country's first regional theater, the Manitoba Theatre Centre. Hirsch was the company's first artistic director. He went on to become associate director of the Stratford Festival in 1967–69 and was its director between

1981 and 1985. He was head of CBC television drama from 1974 to 1978. He directed at the National Arts Centre, Toronto Arts Productions (now CanStage), Young People's Theatre (now Lorraine Kimsa Theatre for Young People), and the Shaw Festival. He also directed in the United States, where he won Obie, Outer Critics, and Los Angeles Critics awards for his productions. Hirsch was awarded the Order of Canada in 1967 and was one of the first high-profile Canadian artists to die of AIDS. Before his death he made a bequest to the Jewish Immigrant Aid Service which has been used to set up a Scholarship Fund to support students in the arts and performing arts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Knelman, *A Stratford Tempest* (1982).

[Joel Greenberg (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCH, JOSEPH (1910–1981), U.S. painter and lithographer. Born in Philadelphia, Hirsch studied at the School of Industrial Design (1928–31) before he moved to New York. As a Works Progress Administration artist he painted the mural *Football* for Benjamin Franklin High School in Philadelphia. During World War II Hirsch produced around 75 paintings and drawings as an artist-correspondent for the U.S. Navy in the South Pacific and for the U.S. Army in Europe. He is best known for his social realist work in the 1930s in which he rendered the human condition in a representational manner.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F.K. Pohl, *In the Eye of the Storm: An Art of Social Conscience, 1930–1970* (1995).

[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCH, JUDD (1935–), U.S. actor. Hirsch was born in the Bronx, New York. His first success on Broadway was in a revival of Neil Simon's *Barefoot in the Park* (1966). Hirsch followed this with two off-Broadway hits, *Scuba Duba* (1967) and *Hot L. Baltimore* (1973). He then moved back to Broadway in Jules Feiffer's play *Knock Knock* (1975) and won the Drama Desk Award for Best Featured Actor of 1975–76. Hirsch then starred in Neil Simon's *Chapter Two* (1977) and Lanford Wilson's *Talleys' Folly* (1980), for which he won an Obie Award for Best Actor and was nominated for a Tony Award. He then had a successful run with Herb Gardner's comedy *I'm Not Rappaport* (1985–88), garnering a Tony Award for Best Actor in 1986. Gardner's *Conversations with My Father* (1992–93) earned Hirsch another Best Actor Tony in 1992. His subsequent Broadway performances were in *A Thousand Clowns* (1996), *Art* (1998), and the short-lived *Sixteen Wounded* (2004).

Hirsch starred in the popular television sitcom *Taxi* (1978–83), winning two Emmy Awards (1981, 1983) for his role as the affable cabbie Alex Rieger. He starred in several other TV series as well, although none were as successful as *Taxi*. These include *Dear John* (1988–91), for which he shared a Golden Globe in 1989 for Best Actor in a Comedy Series with Richard Mulligan and Michael J. Fox. He also served as the narrator of the 2003 documentary miniseries *Heroes of Jewish Comedy.*

Hirsch began his film career with a small role in the 1971 movie *Jump* and a bit part in *Serpico* (1973). He then landed a major role in *Ordinary People,* for which he received an Oscar nomination for Best Supporting Actor in 1980. His subsequent major film appearances include *Without a Trace* (1983); *The Goodbye People* (1984); *Teachers* (1984); *Running on Empty* (1988); *Independence Day* (1996); *Out of the Cold* (1999); *A Beautiful Mind* (2002); and *Zeyda and the Hitman* (2004). Hirsch was also the narrator of the 1986 film *Isaac in America*. Nominated for an Academy Award for Best Documentary, it tells the story of author Isaac Bashevis *Singer.

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCH, JULIUS (1882–1961), economist. Born in the Rhineland, Germany, Hirsch began teaching at the Graduate Business School in Cologne in 1911. During World War I he was deputy head of the German price control administration. As secretary of state in the German Ministry of Economics from 1919 to 1923, he took part in negotiations on German reparations, designed plans for the stabilization of German currency, and was instrumental in drafting anti-trust legislation and creating economic advisory councils. A visit to the United States in 1924 resulted in *Das amerikanische Wirtschaftswunder* (1926), a study of U.S. mass production and distribution, and of the non-Marxist policies and tactics of the U.S. labor movement. From 1926 to 1933 Hirsch taught in Berlin, both at the university and at the Graduate Business School, and served as a consultant to many public institutions. He left Germany for Denmark in 1933, and for several years was a professor at the Copenhagen Graduate Business School. In 1941 he emigrated to the United States, where he taught at the New School for Social Research. He also served as chief consultant for the U.S. Office of Price Control, and later as a private economic consultant.

Hirsch's professional interests were focused on two major topics – distribution and quantitative economic analysis – and both are reflected in his numerous publications. These include *Das Warenhaus in Westdeutschland* (1910), *Die Filialbetriebe im Detailhandel* (1913), *Die deutsche Waehrungsfrage* (1924), *Deutschlands Betriebskapital* (1927), and *New Horizons in Business* (1955).

His wife EDITH (1900–2003), the daughter of the Berlin banker Adolph Jarislowsky, was active from 1931 to 1933 in establishing kitchens for the unemployed based on the principle of self-help. In the United States she was active in her husband's firm. Her special interests were agro-economics, the world food situation, and commodity problems. Specializing in agricultural trends and food distribution, she served as a consultant to the Department of Agriculture in the 1940s and 1950s. In 1946 she wrote *Food Supplies in the Aftermath of World War II*. To give the book more credibility, it was issued under her husband's name; but in 1993 it was republished under the name of its rightful author. She was a professor of economics at the New School of Social Research. She was a board member of the *Leo Baeck Institute in New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K.C. Behrens (ed.), *Der Handel heute: In Memoriam Julius Hirsch* (1962).

HIRSCH, MARKUS (**Mordecai Amram;** 1833–1909), rabbi. Born in Tiszabö, Hungary, Hirsch studied at the yeshivot of Pressburg (Bratislava) and Miskolc-Csaba. From 1853 he studied at the yeshivah of S.J. *Rapoport in Prague, and also attended lectures at the university there, served as rabbi of Karcag, and of Tiszabö, and between 1861 and 1880 of Obuda (Alt-Ofen, now part of Budapest). Under Hirsch's leadership this community began to flourish again. He founded a yeshivah and undertook various civic functions. He was appointed to the government commission charged with the arbitration of conflicts within the Jewish communities of Hungary. In 1864, with Rabbi S. Brill of Pest and J. Steinhardt of Arad, Hirsch was entrusted with the task of reorganizing the Jewish elementary school system, as well as with preparing a curriculum for the new rabbinical seminary. He endeavored to mediate between the progressive and Orthodox trends in Judaism, and played the role of conciliator at the General Jewish Congress of Hungary in 1868–69. From 1880 he served the community of Prague and in 1889 became chief rabbi of Hamburg, where he was known as a leader of the enlightened Orthodox movement. His works published in Hebrew, German, and Hungarian include *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet*, and sermons.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Reich, *Beth-El; Ehrentempel verdienter ungarischer Israeliten*, 3 (n.d.), 30–50; *Hagyomány*, vol. 5, 245–7; E. Duckesz, *Iwoh Lemoschaw* (1903), 130–2 (Heb. pt.), xxxii (Ger. pt.).

[Jeno Zsoldos]

HIRSCH, BARON MAURICE DE (**Moritz Freiherr von Hirsch**; 1831–1896), German financier and philanthropist. Born in Munich, Hirsch was the son of Baron Joseph von Hirsch auf Gereuth (1805–1885, from 1869 Baron) and grandson of Baron Jacob von Hirsch (1765–1840, from 1818 von Hirsch auf Gereuth), founder of the family fortune and the first Jewish estate owner in Bavaria. His mother, Karoline Wertheimer, ensured that Maurice de Hirsch received the best instruction in Hebrew and religion. In 1851 Hirsch joined the banking firm of Bischoffsheim & Goldschmidt in Brussels and four years later married Clara, daughter of Senator Jonathan *Bischoffsheim, head of the firm. He did not, however, become a partner; instead, he pursued his own business interests, mainly the Oriental Railway scheme linking Constantinople to Europe, which was financed by the Turkish Lottery Bonds (1869 concession). Hirsch was granted control of the railway concession by the Turkish government and by personal supervision and skillful engineering ensured the success of the venture. The railway project and pioneer enterprises in the sugar and copper industries brought Hirsch's fortune to an estimated $100,000,000 by 1890, and gained for him a reputation as an outstanding industrialist and financier.

During this period Hirsch became acquainted with the plight of Oriental Jewry and gave the *Alliance Israélite Universelle one million francs for the creation of schools. He provided additional sums for the establishment of trade schools and eventually consolidated his donations to the Alliance in a foundation yielding an annual income of 400,000 francs. Thereafter, he established his own organization, the Baron de Hirsch Foundation, for educational work in Galicia and Bukovina (1888); the *Baron de Hirsch Fund, in New York, for assisting and settling immigrants to the United States (1891) and later Canada; and the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) to facilitate mass emigration of Jews from Russia and their rehabilitation in agricultural colonies particularly in *Argentina and Brazil. With these foundations (with a capital of several million U.S. dollars), Hirsch became the first Jewish benefactor to plan large-scale resettlement of Jews. The ICA was formed in 1891 after the czarist government had refused Hirsch's offer of 50 million francs to alleviate the miserable conditions of Russian Jewry by establishing a modern education system for the Jews because it was not given complete control over the allocation of the funds. Within a few years the ICA capital stood at about 180 million francs. The objective of the ICA was defined as the purchase of large tracts of land for "… establishing colonies in various parts of North and South America and other countries for agricultural, commercial and other purposes." A central committee was formed in St. Petersburg in 1892 to organize the emigration of Russian Jews (with the agreement of the Russian government), and a governing body was set up in Argentina to direct work in the colonies. Most of the settlers later drifted to the towns. Later the accumulated funds of the JCA were largely directed to agricultural projects in Israel. In 1955 the JCA was therefore renamed the Israeli Colonization Association (ICA). The foundations in the former Habsburg Empire had lost most of their fortunes after World War I and were dissolved by the successor states.

Countering widespread antisemitic prejudice, Hirsch was firmly convinced of the ability of Jews to be successful in agriculture if they were provided with suitable conditions. In an article in *The Forum* (August 1891), he wrote: "My own personal experience, too, has led me to recognize that the Jews have very good ability in agriculture … and my efforts shall show that the Jews have not lost the agricultural qualities that their forefathers possessed. I shall try to make for them a new home in different lands, where as free farmers on their own soil, they can make themselves useful to that country." The main concern of his idea of philanthropy was less relief than improvement through education. Thus he maintained a certain autocratic approach and preferred to guide his donations through the ICA, the Alliance Israélite Universelle, and a few other organizations that had his confidence. His agricultural projects led the Ḥovevei Zion and later *Herzl to request Hirsch's support for the Zionist movement, but Hirsch, who regarded the creation of a Jewish state as a fantasy, refused assistance. It is impossible to assess accurately the amount of money Hirsch devoted to benevolent purposes. He donated large sums to London hospitals and a Canadian fund for helping immigrants, and gave all his horse-racing winnings to phil-

anthropic causes, saying that his horses ran for charity. On the death of his only son Lucien in 1887, he replied to a message of sympathy with the words "My son I have lost, but not my heir; humanity is my heir." His generous donations were made possible by his outstanding economic and personal skills, assets which had made him a central figure in European society; he was counted among the intimates of the Bulgarian Prince Ferdinand, of the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII, and of the Austrian archduke Rudolph.

[Hanns G. Reissner / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

His wife, CLARA (1833–1899), was a cultivated woman and accomplished linguist. As a niece of Solomon H. Goldschmidt, the president of the AIU, and a daughter of Jonathan Bischoffsheim, she was conversant with business affairs and philanthropic organization already in her youth. She worked as a secretary first for her father and, after her marriage to Moritz von Hirsch, for her husband, in whose charity interests she played a guiding and counseling role. As well as assisting in the work of founding colonies and developing schools and farms, she worked to relieve the misery of individuals and supported alms-houses and soup kitchens, distributed clothes for children, and financed loan banks for traveling hawkers. Between 1892 and 1895, she donated over 200,000,000 francs. When her husband died in 1896 she became sole administrator of his vast fortune. She continued her husband's work, turning her home in Paris into her administrative office. During the three remaining years of her life she donated $15,000,000 to charitable works in New York, Galicia, Vienna, Budapest, and Paris. In her will she left a further $10,000,000 to endow philanthropic foundations.

[Moshe Catane / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Prys, *Die Familie von Hirsch auf Gereuth* (1931); S. Joseph, *History of the Baron de Hirsch Fund* (1935); S. Adler-Rudel, in: YLBI, 8 (1963), 29–69; K. Grunwald, *Tuerkenhirsch* (Eng., 1966), incl. bibl. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** H. Avni, *Argentina, the Promised Land* (1973); D. Frischer, *Le Moïse des Amériques* (2002).

HIRSCH, MENDEL (1833–1900), educator and writer. The eldest son of Samson Raphael *Hirsch, from 1855 he taught Jewish and general subjects at the high schools founded by his father in Frankfurt. From 1877 he was their principal and for 17 years was also headmaster of the Jewish elementary school. He contributed a series of articles on pedagogical subjects to the monthly *Jeschurun*, published by his father. Among his other works are *Das reine Menschentum im Lichte des Judentums* (1893; *Humanism and Judaism*, 1928); a German translation of and commentary on the *haftarot, Die Haftorot uebersetzt und erlaeutert* (1896, 1913[2]; also Eng., 1966); on the minor prophets (*Die zwoelf Propheten, uebersetzt und erlaeutert*, 1900); and on Lamentations (*Die Klagelieder*, 1903). In a published lecture (*Der Zionismus*, 1898) Hirsch adopted a stand against political Zionism, while recognizing it as an admission that assimilation had failed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Weyl, *Direktor Dr. Mendel Hirsch* (1901); H. Schwab, *Chachme Ashkenaz* (Eng., 1964), 75. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition* (1992), passim.

HIRSCH, OTTO (1885–1941), leader of the German-Jewish community under Nazi rule. Born in Stuttgart, Hirsch studied law. In 1912 he entered the legal profession and was in charge of the municipal Food Control Office of Stuttgart during World War I. In 1919 he was appointed a senior official in the Ministry of the Interior. Hirsch was a member of the board of the *Centralverein, belonging to its pro-Zionist wing, and deputy member of the Jewish Agency and promoted emigration to Palestine and adult Jewish education. In 1919 he became head of the Union of Jewish Communities in Wuerttemberg, and in 1933 he was elected executive chairman of the Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland (later the Nazi-imposed *Reichsvereinigung), a post in which he devoted his efforts to the twofold process of organizing emigration and ameliorating the situation of the remaining Jews. His courageous interventions to free Jews under arrest led to his imprisonment several times by the German authorities, but he rejected several offers from abroad to emigrate and take up another post. He was finally arrested (spring 1941) by *Eichmann, who disliked Hirsch's fearless behavior, including his attempts to influence the Gestapo. Hirsch was murdered at Mauthausen camp on June 19, 1941. A memorial for him was set up in 1959 in Shavei Zion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baeck, in: YLBI, 1 (1956), 54–56; Gruenwald, *ibid.*, 57–67; Simon, *ibid.*, 68–75; Adler, *ibid.*, 5 (1960), 292–5; A. Leber, *Das Gewissen entscheidet* (1957), 12–17; Marx, in: BLBI, 6 no. 24 (1963), 295–312. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** P. Sauer, "Otto Hirsch 1885–1941 – Director of the Reichsvertretung," in: LBIY, 32 (1987) 341–68; idem, *Fuer Recht und Menschenwürde – Lebensbild von Otto Hirsch* (1985).

[Yehuda Reshef]

HIRSCH, RACHEL (1870–1953), German physician. She was the first Jewish woman to receive the title of professor of medicine in Prussia (1913). In 1905, while working at the Charité Hospital in Berlin, she was the first to describe the unchanged passage of orally given starch grains into the blood vessels through absorption from the intestine. She described the mechanism whereby corpuscular elements, passing through the system of lymphatic vessels, are finally eliminated from the blood through renal capillaries. At that time nobody took her seriously and, greatly disappointed, she discontinued her research. The phenomenon was "rediscovered" some 50 years later by Gerhard Volkheimer, working in the same hospital. At his suggestion the process was named the "Rachel Hirsch Effect." Hirsch was the granddaughter of Samson Raphael *Hirsch, founder of the neo-Orthodox movement in Germany. Miss Hirsch left Berlin when Hitler seized power, and she died in London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Muntner, in: *Korot*, 3 (1964), 337f.

[Suessmann Muntner]

HIRSCH, RICHARD (1926–), U.S. Reform rabbi and Zionist leader. Hirsch was born in Cleveland and earned his B.A. from the University of Cincinnati and B.H.L. from *Hebrew Union College (HUC) in 1947. He received his ordination and M.H.L. from HUC-JIR in 1951. The seminary later honored him with a Doctor of Divinity degree (1976) and a D.H.L. (1999).

After serving as rabbi of Chicago's Temple Emanuel (1951–53) and Denver's Temple Emanuel (1953–56), he was appointed director of the Chicago Federation and Great Lakes Council of the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations (1956–61). In this capacity, he was instrumental in establishing new Reform synagogues, initiated the Live and Learn Institutes (an intensive adult education retreat program), and organized the Chicago Interreligious Conference on Religion and Race.

Hirsch was the founding director of the UAHC Religious Action Center (RAC) in Washington, D.C., charting the course of the Reform movement's national center for political action and social justice from its inception in 1962 until 1973. He invited the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the United Negro College Fund, and the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty to set up their headquarters in the RAC; in effect, it became Martin Luther King's Washington office, and much of the legislation of the United States' Civil Rights Acts was formulated on its premises. As a civil rights leader, he organized Jewish participation in the March on Washington (August 28, 1963) and Jewish response to King's call to Selma, Alabama. Hirsch also served as the Washington representative of the *Synagogue Council of America as well as of the *National Conference for Soviet Jewry, testifying frequently before Congressional Committees.

In 1972, he was elected the executive director of the *World Union for Progressive Judaism, accepting the position on condition that the International Headquarters be moved to Jerusalem. The Reform movement acquiesced; and in 1973, he and his family moved to Israel.

In 1978, Hirsch helped found the Association of Reform Zionists of America (ARZA) and later ARZENU, the International Body of Reform Zionists. He was instrumental in helping organize kibbutz Yahel, dedicated in 1976, and kibbutz Lotan, dedicated in 1983. Hirsch advocated building attractive facilities for synagogue-community centers and was influential in planning and raising funds for the construction of many buildings, including Beit Daniel in Tel Aviv and Or Hadash in Haifa.

Hirsch was also assuming leadership positions in the broader Zionist world. He was elected chairman of the Zionist General Council (1987–92); served as chairman of the *World Zionist Committee for Redesign and Reorganization of the WZO (1993–96); elected president in 1997 of the 33rd World Zionist Congress, and co-chairman of the Jewish Agency's Commission on the Former Soviet Union, a full-time position he continues to hold. He also remains a member of the Executives of both the WZO and the Jewish Agency.

Upon his retirement from the WUPJ in 1999, Hirsch was elected honorary life president of the World Union. The auditorium in Mercaz Shimshon was designated the Bella and Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch Theater. The following year, Hirsch published his fifth book: *From the Hill to the Mount – A Reform Zionist Quest* (2000); his previous works include *Judaism and Cities in Crisis* (1961); *There Shall Be No Poor* (1965); *The Way of the Upright* (1973); and *Thy Most Precious Gift* (1974). In addition, he contributed chapters and introductions to more than a dozen other books as well as articles to numerous publications, in both English and Hebrew.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed)]

HIRSCH, ROBERT PAUL (1925–), French actor and director. Hirsch was a member of the Comédie Française from 1948 and distinguished himself as a comic actor and mime. He appeared in several films including *Notre Dame de Paris, 125 Rue Montmartre*, and *Maigret et l'affaire Saint Fiacre*. In 1965 he made a film in Israel, *Pas question le samedi* (Never on Saturday), in which he played several parts.

HIRSCH, SAMSON (**Ben**) **RAPHAEL** (1808–1888), rabbi and writer; leader and foremost exponent of *Orthodoxy in Germany in the 19th century. Born in Hamburg, Hirsch studied Talmud with his grandfather Mendel Frankfurter there. His education was influenced by the enlightened Orthodox rabbis Jacob *Ettlinger and Isaac *Bernays, and by his father, R. Raphael, an opponent of the *Reform congregation at the temple in *Hamburg but also a supporter of *ḥakham* Bernays who included secular studies in the curriculum of the talmud torah of the city. Bernays had a great influence on Hirsch's philosophy of Judaism. Hirsch attended the University of Bonn for a year (1829), where he studied classical languages, history, and philosophy. He formed a friendship there with Abraham *Geiger, and with him organized a society of Jewish students, ostensibly to study homiletics but with the deeper purpose of drawing them closer to Jewish values. The friendship of these two future leaders of the two opposing movements of German Jewry, was disrupted after Geiger published a sharp though respectful criticism of Hirsch's first publication (see below).

During the years 1830–41 Hirsch served as *Landrabbiner* of the principality of Oldenburg, a period in which he wrote his most significant works, *Neunzehn Briefe ueber Judentum* (*Iggerot Ẓafon*; "Nineteen Letters on Judaism"), first published under the pseudonym "Ben Uziel," Alatona 1836 (it has since appeared in many editions, including English, 1899; revised 1966), and *Choreb, oder Versuche ueber Jissroels Pflichten in der Zerstreung* (1837, 1921[5]; *Horeb – Essays on Israel's "Duties" in the Diaspora*, 1962). These two works form a complete unit, in which Hirsch laid down his basic views on Judaism which were elaborated and explained in his subsequent writings. The first made a profound impression in German Jewish circles. It takes the form of an exchange of letters between a spokesman for the "perplexed," who expresses in the first letter the doubts of a young Jewish intellectual, and an older representative of

traditional Judaism, who formulates his answers in 18 letters. Thus Hirsch employs a semi-dialogical form for his apologetic polemic. H. *Graetz, who was deeply impressed by the "Nineteen Letters," came to Oldenburg in 1837 and remained there for three years in order to complete his Jewish education under the guidance of Hirsch.

In 1841 Hirsch moved to Emden, where he served as rabbi of Aurich and Osnabrueck in Hanover. From 1846 to 1851 he lived in Nikolsburg (Mikolov) as *Landrabbiner* of Moravia. Here Hirsch took an energetic part in the struggle to obtain emancipation for Austrian and Moravian Jewry during the 1848 revolution, and was unanimously elected chairman of the Committee for the Civil and Political Rights of the Jews in Moravia. In Nikolsburg he also applied himself to reorganizing the internal structure of Moravian Jewry and drafted a constitution for a central Jewish religious authority for the whole country. Hirsch adopted moderate Orthodox positions in various areas, including ritual practices and *Talmud Torah* (the study of Torah), thereby provoking opposition among the extreme Orthodox element in Nikolsburg. In 1851, Hirsch was called to serve as rabbi of the Orthodox congregation *Adass Yeshurun in Frankfurt on the Main, a position he held for 37 years until his death. Here he found a small circle of like-minded friends whose encouragement and moral support helped him develop and crystallize his conception of Judaism. The Orthodox congregation of Frankfurt, whose institutions, especially the educational system that he established and supervised, embodied Hirsch's ideas, served as a paradigm for other *neo-Orthodox congregations in Germany and abroad.

Hirsch on Jewish Education

Hirsch based his educational ideal on the rabbinic saying (Avot 2:2): "*Talmud Torah* is excellent when combined with *derekh ereẓ*." Hirsch interpreted *derekh ereẓ*, originally meaning worldly involvement, or ethical behavior and respect toward fellow persons, as referring to the entire domain of worldly occupation, namely secular culture. His ideal of the educated Jew – the *Jisroel-mensch* – was that of an enlightened Jew, deeply engaged in the higher levels of general (i.e., non Jewish) culture and civilization, who remains fully loyal to the Torah and faithfully observant of the *halakhah*. In contrast with the ultra-Orthodox, he viewed secular education as a valuable means for the perfection of the Jew and not merely a practical means for a better adjustment to the non-Jewish society and economy. In that sense the most significant component of this slogan is the word "combined" (*im*), namely the constant effort to bridge the gap between traditional Jewish learning and practice on the one hand and the modern identification with general culture (in its German, Central European version) on the other hand. It was this idea that Hirsch endeavored to embody in the three schools he founded: a primary school, a secondary school, and a high school for girls. Besides the Hebrew language and Jewish subjects, the school curriculum included secular studies (such as German, mathematics, and natural sciences). This modern notion of Jewish education clearly diverges both from the traditional notion of *ḥeder* and yeshivah education and the modern non-Orthodox Jewish schools that were established in Germany in this generation and tended towards assimilation.

Hirsch's attitude to Reform and Secession

Besides Jewish education, the chief contemporary issue that Hirsch faced was the rapid and speedy growth of Liberal Judaism in Germany and its demand for radical reforms in religious and communal life. The challenge of the Liberal-Reform movement put Hirsch's conception of Judaism and his attitude towards emancipation and modernity to a test. In 1854 he published a pamphlet *Die Religion im Bunde mit dem Fortschritt* ("Religion Allied with Progress") in which he attempted to refute the argument of the Liberals that it was impossible to combine traditional Judaism and secular education. In this pamphlet he acknowledged that there was a need for revision within Judaism of external and esthetic elements, but rejected changes affecting the very principles of Jewish faith proposed by the Reform rabbis, or alterations in the observance of the Law. In Hirsch's opinion it was not Judaism that needed to be reformed by the Jews but rather the Jews who needed to be reformed by Judaism; there was not a need for "progress" but for "elevation." For Judaism to have access to the cultural life of Europe it was essential for Jews to rise to Judaism's eternal ideals rather than to bring it down to adjust to contemporary requirements, which he perceived as merely the expression of a desire for a more comfortable life.

Hirsch introduced some external improvements in the liturgy, such as a choir under the direction of a professional director, participation of the congregation in the singing, and preaching twice a month in German. At the same time he defended the traditional Jewish synagogue (*Schul*) against attacks by the Liberals and stressed the "inner harmony" within it. Similarly, he defended the Hebrew language as the sole language for prayer and instruction of Jewish subjects. On the other hand Hirsch removed the *Kol Nidrei* prayer on the ground that it was susceptible to misunderstanding.

Hirsch considered a formal, institutional separation between Orthodox and Reform Judaism to be unnecessary, so long as the latter exercised caution in its demand for reforms and remained attached to halakhic tradition. However, in 1844 the Liberal rabbinical synod at Brunswick took a radical direction in regard to several prohibitions, especially those relating to the dietary and marriage laws. Hirsch urged them to reconsider their decision, warning that this approach of the Liberal rabbis would lead to a point where rupture within "the House of Israel" would be unavoidable. From the Liberal point of view, his demands were unacceptable.

As authority in the congregations increasingly passed to the hands of the Liberals, a breach between the Orthodox and Reform and formal separation became a main focus of Hirsch and his supporters. As a precedent, Hirsch pointed to the congregation in Hungary, where the government in 1871

had recognized the Orthodox congregations as separate bodies. In a memorandum written by Hirsch (published in his writings, vol. 4, 239 ff.), the representatives of Orthodox Judaism in Prussia asked "to permit the Jews to leave their local community organizations for reasons of conscience." In 1873 the Prussian *Landtag* debated a bill which would permit every person to leave his church or religious congregation and added to that bill a statement "that a Jew is permitted to leave his local congregation, for religious reasons, without leaving Judaism." In July 1876 the move was completed when the "Law of Secession" ("*Austrittsgesetz*") was passed and a legal basis created to establish a specific, organizational framework for neo-Orthodoxy.

The "separatist" movement ("*die Austrittsgemeinde*") was joined, besides Hirsch's own congregation, only by small groups of the Orthodox in the congregations of Berlin, Koenigsberg, Wiesbaden, Cologne, and Giesen. These groups then created a complete system of religious services and congregational life, including *kashrut*, education, and a rabbinical seminary. Nevertheless, to Hirsch's deep disappointment, the large majority of Orthodox Jews in Germany continued to remain within the framework of the general community (*Gemeindeorthodoxie*).

In 1885 Hirsch established the *Freie Vereininung fuer die Interessen des orthodoxen Judentums* ("The Free Society for the Advancement of the Interests of Orthodox Judaism") with its seat in Frankfurt. This organization remained restricted during the lifetime of Hirsch and was broadened only after 1907.

Hirsch's Modern-Traditionalist Conception of Judaism

Hirsch's essentialist view of Judaism led him to oppose the conception of the historical development of Judaism, as advocated by H. Graetz and Z. *Frankel. He regarded genuine Judaism as the expression of Divinity, revealed both in nature and in the Torah. Since the Torah is the revealed expression of the Divine will, fully parallel to the law of nature, none of its principles may be denied, even when they transcend human comprehension. It is incumbent on man to search for the revelation of God's wisdom in the Torah, as in nature; nevertheless, this search should be based on the evidence that this wisdom is actually contained in the *mitzvot* to no lesser extent than in natural laws. The character of the Torah as an objective reality lies in the fact that its central pivot is the Law. The Law is an objective disposition of an established order that is not dependent on the will of the individual or society, and hence not even on historical processes. Although the historical process is alien to the eternal Divine law, humanity attains religious truth through experience acquired in time. As a pledge and guarantee, however, that humankind will reach its religious goal, one people was created to whom the religious truth was given directly. Accordingly, that people has no need to learn the truth through experiences acquired in time. Hence that people is not dependent on the historical process. *Menschentum* (humanity), as a concept based on ancient classical civilization and on humanism, is merely an intermediate preparatory stage, which attains its highest expression in *Jisroeltum*.

This view also largely determined Hirsch's attitude to the modern, academic research of Judaism (*Wissenschaft des Judentums). For him there was one criterion according to which Jewish studies were to be measured, namely whether they contributed to the preservation and strengthening of actual "Jewish life." Where faithfulness in observance of the commandments is not put before speculation about them, the speculation becomes imprudent and deleterious.

Interpretation of the Commandments and Their Classification by Various Levels of Rationale

Hirsch's interpretation of the commandments places him in an intermediate position between the Liberal non-halakhic approach and the ultra-Orthodox one. While opposing sharply any view of the observance of *mitzvot* as conditioned on their reasons and their relevance for contemporary Jewish life, Hirsch emphasized the significance of the reasons for *mitzvot*, both on the level of each individual commandment and on the level of comprehending the entire halakhic system as an educational one, aiming at the perfection of human life. According to Hirsch, it is not the practical observance of the *mitzvah* alone that endows it with religious meaning, but rather the conscious deed rooted in understanding its rationale.

Hirsch viewed the entire halakhic life as a holistic educational process consisting of six dimensions: (a) teachings (*torot*) – the principles of the Jewish faith, namely the theoretical groundings of religious life; (b) laws (*mishpatim*) – precepts concerning human relations and ethics; (c) ordinances (*ḥukim*) – commandments the refer to ecological issues and treatment of animals; (d) commandments (*mitzvot*) – expressions of the humanistic domain of religious life, namely the duty to love all fellow humans; (e) testimonies (*edot*) – commandments that constitute and strengthen the memory of the sacred history of Israel; (f) worship (*avodot*) – prayer and sacrifice as an expression of human loyalty to the Divine. Through this multidimensional system, the observant Jew can elevate his or her life and sanctify it.

Hirsch's reasoning with regard to each individual commandment is based on a method of "speculative etymology" or philosophical etymology (a term coined by F. Schlegel). It views the various halakhic deeds and their names as components of a symbolic system, which is at the essence of the Jewish "language" that places human life before God.

Translations of the Bible and its Exegesis

Since Moses *Mendelssohn's Bible translation project, German Jews had repeatedly translated the biblical texts. From the 19th century on, modern Jews repeatedly issued translations and adoptions of the *siddur* (Jewish prayer book). Hirsch too devoted a considerable part of his spiritual energy to the translation of and commentary on the biblical texts, including the Pentateuch (*Der Pentateuch uebersetzt und erklaert*, 5

vols., 1867–78; 1920^{8}; English translation of the commentary, 1956–62), the Book of Psalms (*Psalmen uebersetztund erklaert*, 1883; 1924^{3}; and *The Psalms*, 2 vol., 1960–66). He also issued a German translation of the prayer book (*Israels Gebete, uebersetzt und erleutert*, 1895; English: *The Hirsch Siddur*, Jerusalem 1969). These translations by Hirsch of traditional texts paralleled those of his Liberal contemporaries, who like him responded to the fact that German Jewry could no longer cope with the Hebrew texts of the scriptures and the prayers, and who viewed the Bible and the prayer book as the two main foci of the Jewish heritage. At the same time, those translations clearly distinguish his attitude from theirs. While the Liberal prayer books reflected the view that synagogue worship should be reformed and should be held largely in German, Hirsch's translation aims to preserve and strengthen the traditional forms, which ought to be implemented entirely in Hebrew even when many of the congregants needed an aid in order to follow and understand it. The same is true for his Bible translation.

Views on Jewish Nationalism

Hirsch believed that God established Israel as a people and not merely as a religious community. In his writings a love for Zion can be easily traced. "The Jewish people, though it carries the Torah with it in all the lands of its dispersion, will never find its table and lamp [i.e., its economic and spiritual development] except in the Holy Land" (*Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 3, p. 411). Nevertheless, in contrast to the first proto-Zionist thinkers, Z. *Kalischer and M. *Hess, he opposed the negation of *galut* by "both Jews and non-Jews whose description of *galut* is always accompanied by a violation and derogation of our rights" (ibid., vol. 4, p. 82). Israel's mission, as Hirsch sees it, is to teach the nations "that God is the source of blessing." For this reason "there was given to it as a possession the Land and its blessings; it was given a state system; but these were not conferred as an end in themselves but as the Torah." These views, particularly in conjunction with the other aspects of his philosophy became in the course of time – through the efforts of his son-in-law, S.Z. *Breuer, his grandson Isaac *Breuer, and Jacob *Rosenheim – the ideological basis of *Agudat Israel.

Hirsch was the founder and editor of the German periodical *Jeschurun* (1854–70; new series 1883–90, edited by his son Isaac Hirsch), which served as a vehicle for the dissemination of his ideas. In that journal, Hirsch published his essays, some of which were later republished in his *Gesammelte Schriften* (6 vols., 1902–12). In English, Hirsch's collected essays appeared as *Judaism Eternal* (ed. and tr. by I. Grunfeld; 2. vols., 1960–66); an anthology of his writings, *Timeless Torah*, appeared in 1957.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Grunfeld (ed. and tr.), in: S.R. Hirsch, *Horeb – Essays on Israel's Duties in the Diaspora* (1962), xviii–clxii; idem, *Three Generations: the Influence of Samson Raphael Hirsch on Jewish Life and Thought* (1958), incl. extensive bibliography; idem (ed.), in: S.R. Hirsch, Judaism Eternal, 1 (1959), xlix–lxi (a complete list of Hirsch's publications); Rosenbloom, in: JSOS, 24 (1962). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** N.H. Rosenbloom, *Tradition in an Age of Reform: The Religious Philosophy of Samson Raphael Hirsch* (1976); *The Living Hirschian Legacy* (1988; no editor mentioned); D. Ellenson, "German Jewish Orthodoxy: Tradition in the Context of Culture," in: Jack Wertheimer (ed.), *The Uses of Tradition* (1992), 5–22; M. Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition: The Social History of Orthodox Jewry in Imperial Germany* (1992); M. Breuer (ed.), *Torah im Derekh Ereẓ* (1987); E. Schweid, *Toldot Filosofiyat ha-Dat ha-Yehudit ba-Zeman he-Hadash*, vol. 2 (2002), 108–19; R. Horwitz, "Yaḥaso shel ha-Rav Shimshon Repha'el Hirsch le-Ereẓ Israel," in: *Yahadut Rabbat Panim* (2002), 387–407.

[Simha Katz / Yehoyada Amir (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCH, SAMUEL (1815–1889), rabbi, philosopher of Judaism, and pioneer of the Reform movement in Germany and the United States. Samuel Hirsch belonged to the first generation of modern European rabbis who, combining traditional Jewish learning with university training, founded the *Wissenschaft des Judentums ("science of Judaism"). He was born at Thalfang, Prussia, and served as rabbi in Dessau (1839–41), and as chief rabbi of Luxembourg (1843–66). He then emigrated to America, where he led the Reform congregation Keneseth Israel in Philadelphia until 1888. He spent the last year of his life in Chicago with his son Emil G. *Hirsch, who was the leading Reform rabbi in the United States at the turn of the century.

In his major philosophic work, *Die Religionsphilosophie der Juden* (1842), Hirsch interpreted Judaism as a dialectically evolving religious system. In the manner of the contemporary speculative idealism, which tended to comprehend all of reality under a single unifying concept, Hirsch's system was based on man's self-awareness. Conscious of his distinctive self, man comes to know the freedom of his sovereign will by which he alone among all creatures transcends the determinism of nature. This capacity for freedom is something "given" and implies a transcendent Source, "an Essence that bestows freedom upon him… This Essence he calls God" (*Religionsphilosophie*, 30). A critical disciple of Hegel, Hirsch rejects his philosophic master's contention that Judaism holds a rank inferior to Christianity on the scale of religions. In Hirsch's view, Judaism and Christianity are both equally valid. Judaism is "intensive" religiosity, a way of living with the true God who has entered Israel's midst, while Christianity represents "extensive" religiosity, whose function is the proclamation of this God to the pagan world. Both religions are destined to become perfected as absolute religiosity in the messianic era when the Christians will complete the conversion of the pagans and the Jews will obey the true God freely, no longer by compulsion.

Hirsch opposed sporadic and unprincipled attempts at religious reform by radical lay groups, such as the Frankfurt Verein, who in 1843 disavowed the authority of the Talmud and belief in the Messiah. He was a leading participant at the rabbinic conferences of 1844–46 at Brunswick, Frankfurt, and Breslau, which formulated the basic positions of the Reform movement. Hirsch upheld the rite of circumcision and the use of Hebrew in public services; yet he was the first rabbi to

advocate the transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday, which he actually carried out as rabbi of Keneseth Israel in Philadelphia. Though at first adopted by a number of communities, this innovation was gradually abandoned by nearly all American Reform congregations.

Hirsch was president of the first Conference of American Reform Rabbis, which convened in Philadelphia in 1869 and played a leading role in framing the so-called "Pittsburgh Platform" (1885); this platform set the course of American Reform Judaism until the advent of the Hitler era (see *Reform Judaism). Hirsch founded the first American chapter of the Alliance Israélite Universelle and was a frequent contributor to Jewish journals. His other works include *Messiaslehre der Juden in Kanzelvortraegen* (1843), and the polemical *Briefe zur Beleuchtung der Judenfrage von Bruno Butler* (1843).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Philipson, *Reform Movement in Judaism* (1967[3]); Guttmann, Philosophies, 313–21; N. Rotenstreich, *Jewish Philosophy in Modern Times* (1968), 120–36; Katz, in: REJ, 75 (1967), 113–26; M. Kaplan, *Greater Judaism in the Making* (1960), 258–65. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E. Fackenheim, "Samuel Hirsch and Hegel: A Study of Hirsch's *Religionsphilosophie der Juden* (1842)," in: A. Altmann (ed.), *Studies in Nineteenth Century Jewish Intellectual History* (1964), 171–201; J. Reinharz and W. Schatzberg (eds.), "Reform Jewish Thinkers and Their German Intellectual Context," in: *The Jewish Response to German Culture* (1985).

[Joshua O. Haberman]

HIRSCH, SOLOMON (1839–1902), U.S. politician and merchant. Hirsch was born in Wuerttemberg, Germany. He immigrated to America in 1854 and worked as a clerk in the East before entering business with his brother, Edward (1836–1909), in Oregon in 1858. In 1864 he was a founder of the Fleischner, Mayer Company in Portland, which became the West's largest general wholesale and dry goods firm outside San Francisco. Taking an interest in politics, Hirsch secured his brother Mayer's (1829–1876) election as Republican National Convention delegate in 1864. In 1872 Solomon was elected a Republican state representative. In 1874, 1878, and 1882 he was elected state senator, serving as senate president in 1880 and as Republican state chairman in 1882. He was defeated in the election for U.S. senator by one vote in 1885. Hirsch served as minister to Turkey during 1889–92, and declined the nomination as minister to Belgium in 1897. He was president of Portland's Congregation Beth Israel during 1900–01. His brother Edward was state treasurer of Oregon for two terms.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.H. Bancroft, *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth*, 2 (1892), 594–603; J.J. Nodel, *Ties Between: A Century of Judaism on America's Last Frontier* (1959), passim; H.W. Scott, *History of Portland, Oregon* (1890), 511–4.

[Robert E. Levinson]

HIRSCHBEIN, PERETZ (1880–1948), Yiddish dramatist, novelist, journalist, travel writer, and theater director. Born in Kleszczele, Poland, Hirschbein left home at the age of 14 to study in various yeshivot, moving first to Grodno and then to Vilna. Beginning in 1901, he published Hebrew poetry and Yiddish short stories. Soon he shifted to drama, starting with *Miryam* (1905), the story of a prostitute, which he wrote in Hebrew and later translated into Yiddish. In 1904, he moved to Warsaw, where he associated with Ḥ.N. *Bialik, I.L. *Peretz, and S. *Asch, all of whom were impressed with his first efforts as a dramatist and encouraged him to continue. *Miryam* and other early plays, published in the fortnightly *Ha-Zeman*, 1904–06, dealt with proletarian themes. Such works included other naturalist dramas like *Nevelah* ("Carcass"), which would later enjoy great success in its Yiddish version, *Di Neveyle*. Before long, Hirschbein, strongly influenced by Maeterlinck, shifted from naturalism to symbolism, in such works as *Oyf Yener Zayt Taykh* ("Across the River," 1905), *Olamot Bodedim* ("Lonely Worlds," 1906), and *Di Erd* ("The Earth," 1907), in which he expressed his distaste for city life and his yearning for nature, a major motif in his later works. Other important plays from this period include *In der Finster* ("In the Dark," 1907) and *Der Tkies-Kaf* ("The Pact," 1909).

After moving to Odessa in 1908, Hirschbein took a far more active role in the production of his own plays. With the support and encouragement of Bialik and students from an Odessa acting studio, Hirschbein organized a dramatic group in Odessa to produce Yiddish plays of quality. For two years this group, under Hirschbein's direction, toured a number of Russian cities and towns with productions of plays by Sholem *Asch, David *Pinski, Jacob *Gordin, and *Sholem Aleichem, as well as Hirschbein's own plays and Yiddish translations of dramas by Semyon Yushkevitsh and Hermann Heijermans. When the Hirschbein Troupe, as it came to be known, disbanded, Hirschbein began a series of journeys that eventually took him to the U.S. Between 1912 and 1917 he wrote a series of folk dramas, which were staged with great success by the New York Yiddish Art Theatre after 1918. His *Di Puste Kretshme* ("The Idle Inn," 1914) was produced in New York under the title *The Haunted Inn* (publ., 1921). During this period he also wrote his famed pastoral romance *Grine Felder* ("Green Fields," 1923).

In 1920 Hirschbein married the poet Esther *Shumiatcher, and they traveled around the world for two years. His travelogues, among the best in Yiddish literature, were serialized in the Yiddish daily, *Der Tog*, and appeared in book form entitled *Arum der Velt* ("Around the World," 1927). Wherever Hirschbein traveled he sought out Jewish inhabitants whom he found even in the most remote corners of the world. His impressions of a trip to Palestine appeared in *Ereẓ Israel* ("The Land of Israel," 1929), where he displays much sympathy for the pioneers who, amid great difficulties, were trying to develop new modes of living in the kibbutzim. Other travels took him to India, Japan, and China.

In 1930 Hirschbein settled in New York, and from 1940 until his death he lived in Los Angeles. During this period he wrote a historical tragedy about the life of King Saul, *Der Ershter Melekh fun Yisroel* ("The First King of Israel," 1934), the novels *Royte Felder* ("Red Fields," 1935) and *Bovl* ("Babylonia," 1942), as well as the collection *Monologn* ("Monologues,"

1939). A five-volume edition of 26 plays was issued in 1916. The first five volumes of a projected edition of his collected works appeared in 1951. Hirschbein translated a group of Tolstoy's stories into Yiddish, and some of his own writings have been translated into Hebrew, English, Russian, and German. Seven of his plays, originally written in Yiddish or translated into Hebrew by the author, were published in the volumes *Deramot* ("Dramas," 1922) and *Maḥazot* ("Plays," 1923).

During the early period of his literary activity, when he was under the influence of Peretz and Bialik, Hirschbein tried to achieve a synthesis of naturalism and symbolism, but in the course of time he became a neo-realist. However, even his most realistic stories are imbued with lyricism. His plays display mastery of natural dialogue, and despite the occasional stereotype of character, his figures are robust and alive. Hirschbein is an important personality among the Yiddish writers of the postclassical period who combined new European literary forms with Jewish tradition.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, Leksikon, 1 (1926), 839–47; Z. Zylbercweig, *Leksikon fun Yidishn Teater*, 1 (1931), 613–28; S. Niger and M. Elkin (eds), *Perets Hirshbeyn: Tsu Zayn Zekhtsikstn Geboyrntog* (1941); B. Rivkin, *Undzere Prozaiker* (1951), 157–93; LNYL, 3 (1960), 147–58; S. Liptzin, *Flowering of Yiddish Literature* (1963), 156–62. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** I. Goldberg, in: *The Drama of Transition* (1922), 329–434; A. Mukdoiny, in: J. Shatzky (ed.), *Arkhiv far der Geshikhte fun Yidishn Teater un Drame* (1930), 341–421; J. Mestel, *Literatur un Teater* (1962), 87–101; N. Oyslender, in: *Yidisher Teater: 1887–1917* (1940), 237–58; Sh. Rozhansky (ed.), *Peretz Hirshbeyn: Teater, Velt-Rayzes, Zikhroynes* (1967).

[Sol Liptzin / Joel Berkowitz (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCHBERG, ḤAÏM Z'EW (1903–1976), Israel historian. Hirschberg born in Tarnopol, Galicia, studied at the Israelitisch-Theologische Lehranstalt and the University of Vienna. He was rabbi in Czestochowa, Poland (1927–39), and in 1943 he emigrated to Ereẓ Israel, where he held a number of teaching posts and was a research fellow at the Hebrew University (1947–56). In 1960 he began teaching Jewish history at Bar-Ilan University and he headed the Institute for Research on the History of the Jews in the Eastern Countries (1970).

Hirschberg's published work includes *Yaḥas ha-Aggadah la-Halakhah* (with B. Murmelstein, 1929, "The Relation of *Aggadah* to *Halakhah*"); *Der Diwan des as-Samau'al ibn Adija* (1931); *Juedische und Christliche Lehren im vor-und fruehislamischen Arabien* (1939); *Yisrael ba-Arav* ("Jews in Arabia," 1946); *Be-Ẓel ha-Islam* ("In the Shadow of Islam," 1957); *Me-Ereẓ Mevo ha-Shemesh* ("From the Land of the Setting Sun," 1957); and his major work *Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Afrikah ha-Ẓefonit* (2 vols., "History of the Jews in North Africa," 1965). Hirschberg also translated *Nissim b. Jacob's *Ḥibbur Yafeh me-ha-Yeshu'ah* (1954) with notes and an introduction. In his introduction he presents a history of the Jewish scholars of Kairouan and a biography of Nissim b. Jacob. He was coeditor of two geographical studies, *Ereẓ Kinnarot* (1950) and *Kol Ereẓ Naftali* (1968) as well as of memorial volumes for P. Churgin (1963) and S. Bialoblocki (1964). He was editor of the division of the history of Islamic lands and departmental editor of Islam and Judaism, the Muslim world, Arabia, Ereẓ Israel (640–1917), Muslim Spain, and Yemen for the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (first edition).

HIRSCHBERG, JULIUS (1843–1925), German ophthalmologist. Hirschberg, the son of a small merchant in Potsdam, studied medicine in Berlin and served as assistant to the famous Albrecht von Graefe, under whose influence he specialized in ophthalmology. He soon became a renowned teacher and in 1869 opened a private eye clinic where poor patients were treated free of charge. A year later he became lecturer in ophthalmology at Berlin University. In 1877 Hirschberg founded a specialist monthly, *Centralblatt fuer praktische Augenheilkunde*, which he edited for over 40 years. He was a most prolific writer, covering the whole field of ophthalmology, and a very successful ophthalmic surgeon of international repute. Correlating clinical ocular findings with those of the pathological laboratory, he was one of the first to define the specific ocular complications of a number of general diseases, including diabetes and syphilis. His most important contribution to clinical practice was the use of a hand magnet for extracting foreign bodies from the eye. His greatest work, however, was an encyclopedic study of the history of ophthalmology entitled *Geschichte der Augenheilkunde* (9 vols., 1899–1918). This work, together with a series of special historical monographs and translations – with the help of two Arabists – of the manuscripts of eminent Arabian medieval writers, placed him in the ranks of medical historians. Though an ardent champion of German national culture, Hirschberg never denied his Jewishness and was therefore refused the post of a professor ordinarius, for which he had the highest qualifications.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Friedenwald, *Jews and Medicine*, 2 vols. (1967²), index; Wininger, Biog, 3 (1928), 125–6; S.R. Kagan, *Jewish Medicine* (1952), 517.

[Aryeh Feigenbaum]

HIRSCHEL, LEVIE (**Louis**; 1894–1944), Dutch bibliographer and librarian. Born in Amsterdam, Hirschel graduated from the rabbinical seminary and the University of Amsterdam, later serving as a teacher at the seminary and at a grammar school in Alkmaar. In 1923 he was appointed assistant librarian of the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, succeeding J.M. Hillesum as chief librarian in 1930. He remained in this post until his dismissal by the German authorities during the occupation of Holland. He was also minister and later assistant rabbi of the synagogue Be'er Mayim Ḥayyim in east Amsterdam until his deportation, first to Westerbork concentration camp and then transported to Poland, where his death was registered on March 31, 1944.

Hirschel's field of specialization was the history of Dutch Jewry and Dutch Jewish writers of Hebraica and Judaica. He was secretary of the Society of Jewish Knowledge in the Netherlands and wrote an historiographical study of the Jews of the Low Countries. His system of a uniform transcription from

Hebrew into Dutch was applied in many scientific studies, and he also compiled the bibliographical biographies of L. *Wagenaar (1925) and the historian A.M. Vaz Dias (1940), and edited a selection of the former's works (1932). Hirschel contributed many articles to Jewish and non-Jewish magazines, proving in *Amstelodamum* (1934) that Hebrew had been printed in Holland before 1627, the year in which Manasseh Ben Israel started his printing office. During World War II he wrote for *Het Joodse Weekblad*, the only Jewish periodical permitted by the Germans. His last contribution was in November 1942. He prepared a systematic catalogue of the Rosenthaliana collection (five parts until 1940) and looked after some smaller libraries (Beth Hamidrash), private collections, and archives. Some fragments of his thesis about Dutch Christian Hebraists, which was written partly at the Westerbork concentration camp, were posthumously published in *Studia Rosenthaliana* (1967).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Druyff, *Bij den honderdsten geboortedag van J.H. Duenner* (1933), 50; J. Meyer, in: *Maandblad voor de geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland* (1947). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A.K. Offenberg, in: *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 20 (1986), 210–16; idem, in: *Studia Rosenthaliana,* 20 (1986), p. 230–41 (94 nrs.); H. de la Fontaine Verwey, in: *Studia Rosenthaliana,* 38 (2005).

[Jacob H. Copenhagen]

HIRSCHEL (Herschel), SOLOMON (1762–1842), chief rabbi of Great Britain. Hirschel, the son of Ẓevi Hirsch *Levin (Hart Lyon), was born in London while his father was serving as a rabbi there. However, he was educated on the continent and became rabbi in Prenzlau, Prussia. In 1802 he was appointed rabbi of the principal Ashkenazi London synagogue, the Great Synagogue, in succession to R. Tevele *Schiff, his authority also being acknowledged by the provincial communities which were becoming prominent. He was thus the first formally recognized chief rabbi of Britain; his authority also extended to the British possessions overseas. He was basically a European rabbi of the old type, with an imperfect knowledge of English and out of touch with the new currents beginning to permeate the community. He preached in Yiddish, opposed even mild reform, and his literary production was virtually nothing. After his death, his library, comprising also a number of important manuscripts, passed to the London *bet ha-midrash*. A biography of Hirschel, *Forty Years a Chief Rabbi,* by H.A. Simons has been published (1979). His son, known as R. DAVID BERLINER (or Hirschel), settled in Jerusalem, where he was murdered in 1851.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Duschinsky, *Rabbinate of the Great Synagogue, London* (1921), ch. 3; C. Roth, *History of the Great Synagogue, London* (1950), ch. 13; A.M. Hyamson (ed.), *British Consulate in Jerusalem*, 1 (1939), 28; 2 (1941), lxviii; DNB.

[Cecil Roth]

HIRSCHENSOHN, family of rabbis, who were among the first in the revival of settlement in Ereẓ Israel in the 19th century.

JACOB MORDECAI HIRSCHENSOHN (1821–1888), rabbi and yeshivah administrator, was born in Pinsk. He studied in the yeshivot of Lithuania and Belorussia and served as rabbi in several communities there before emigrating to Ereẓ Israel in 1848. He settled first in Safed, but moved to Jerusalem in 1864, remaining there for the rest of his life. In both cities he administered yeshivot. He was connected with the Yishuv Ereẓ Israel movement founded by Ẓevi *Kalischer and Elijah *Gutmacher.

His elder son, ISAAC HIRSCHENSOHN (1845–1896), rabbi and scholar, was born in Pinsk. In his youth he was educated in Safed and as a young man studied in various yeshivot in Europe. He settled in Jerusalem and on his father's death succeeded him in yeshivah administration in that city. He contributed to the *Ha-Ẓevi* of Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda and signed his name as its responsible editor. He was persecuted by zealots who accused him of heretical views. Isaac pursued research into *variae lectiones* of the Talmud on the basis of old manuscripts and published articles on talmudic themes. He also published various works from manuscripts, including the novellae of *Nissim Gerondi to the tractate *Megillah* (1884). He moved to London where in 1896 he published *Teḥiyyat Yisrael*, a religious Zionist weekly, and there he died.

ḤAYYIM HIRSCHENSOHN (1857–1935), Jacob Mordecai's second son, was born in Safed. In 1864 he went with his father to Jerusalem. In addition to studying Torah, he applied himself to secular studies, and as a result he too was persecuted by zealots. He also worked for Zionism; he supported Eliezer Ben-Yehuda in his effort to revive spoken Hebrew and was one of the founders of the *Safah Berurah* ("Plain Language") society in Jerusalem. From 1885 to 1889 he edited and published a monthly for Jewish scholarship entitled *Ha-Misderonah*. In 1892/93 he published in Jerusalem – together with his wife Eve and his brother Isaac – a Yiddish paper, *Beit Ya'akov*, as a supplement to the *Ha-Ẓevi* of Ben-Yehuda. In 1904 he went to the U.S., where he was appointed rabbi of the four communities of Hoboken, New Jersey, and died there. Ḥayyim wrote many books on Jewish subjects, including *Ateret Ḥakhamim* (1874), on the relationship between the views of scientists and those of the talmudic aggadists; *Yamim mi-Kedem* (1908), on biblical chronology; *Malki ba-Kodesh* (6 parts, 1919–28), on the laws which should govern a Jewish state according to the Torah. He was the father of Tamar, wife of David de Sola *Pool, and Tehilla Lichtenstein head of the Jewish Science movement (see *Christian Science).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ON ISAAC: S. Halevy, *Ha-Sefarim ha-Ivryyim she-Nidpesu bi-Yrushalayim* (1963), 22f.; Kressel, Leksikon, 1 (1965), 606. ON ḤAYYIM: *Sefer Zikkaron le-Soferei Yisrael ha-Ḥayyim Ittanu ka-Yom* (1889), 35; Malachi, in: *Lu'aḥ Ereẓ Yisrael*, 16 (1910), 135f.; Salkind, in: *Haolam*, 9 no. 46 (1920), 12; J.O. Eisenstein, *Oẓar Zikhronotai* (1929), 329–34; A.R. [Malachi], in: *Hadoar*, 14 (1936), 691; Lewinsohn, *ibid.*, 736; C. Tchernowitz (Rav Ẓa'ir), in: *Sefer ha-Shanah shel Histadrut Benei Ereẓ Yisrael ba-Amerikah*, 5 (1936), 13–15; D. Idelovitz

(ed.), *Koveẓ Ma'amarim le-Divrei Yemei ha-Ittonut be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1936), 127–9; Kressel, Leksikon, 1 (1965), 604f.; EẒD, 2 (1960), 93–100; Ḥ. Hirschensohn, *Malki ba-Kodesh*, 1 (1919), 126–36 (bibl.).

[Zvi Kaplan]

HIRSCHENSOHN-LICHTENSTEIN, JEHIEL ẒEVI HERMANN (1827–1912), apostate and missionary. Born in Russia, he converted to Christianity in 1855 at Jassy, Romania, but keeping this secret he spent some time among the Ḥasidim of *Lubavich and worked on his *Derekh ha-Kodesh* ("The Way of Holiness," 1872), which deals with the fundamentals of the Jewish faith, but betrays the author's Christianizing tendencies. From 1868 to 1878 he worked, under the name of Hermann Lichtenstein, for the Protestant mission in Berlin. He then returned to Russia where, disguised as a ḥasidic rabbi, he distributed his book. He married in Kishinev, Moldavia, a sister of Joseph *Rabinovich who later, probably under Hirschensohn's influence, founded the sect called Community of Evangelian Jews. His true character discovered, he had to leave Russia, and became lecturer at Franz *Delitzsch's Institutum Judaicum at Leipzig. He also wrote *Ḥizzuk Emunat ha-Emet* ("Support of the True Faith"), directed against the *Ḥizzuk Emunah* of the Karaite Isaac *Troki; *Sheva Ḥokhmot* (1883), an anthology of rabbinic statements on science (geography in particular), with annotations; *Toledot Yeshu'a* ("The Life of Jesus," 1883); and *Yeshu'a ve-Hillel* ("Jesus and Hillel," 1894), based on Delitzsch's work under the same title.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Deinard, *Zikhronot Bat Ammi*, 2 (1920), 135; S.L. Zitron, *Me-Aḥorei ha-Pargod*, 2 (1925), 105ff.; Zeitlin, in: ZHB, 19 (1916), 41.

[Shimon Ernst]

HIRSCHFELD, AL (**Albert**; 1903–2003), U.S. caricaturist. Born in St. Louis, Hirschfeld moved with his family to New York where he was 12 and had already started art lessons. He attended the Art Students League. By 18 he was art director for Selznick Pictures. In 1924 he went to Paris, where he continued his studies in painting, sculpture, and drawing. On a trip to Bali, where the intense sun bleached out all color and reduced people to "walking line drawings," he recalled, he became "enchanted with line" and concentrated on that technique. At the theater in New York in 1926 he doodled a sketch in the dark on the program. Asked to repeat it on a clean piece of paper, he produced a sketch that appeared on the front page of the *New York Herald Tribune*, which gave him more assignments. Some weeks later he was engaged by the *New York Times* to sketch Harry Lauder, the Scottish entertainer, who was on one of his innumerable farewell tours. Thus began a lifelong relationship with the *Times*. His sketches over a 75-year career captured the vivid personalities of theater people. He was a familiar figure at first nights and at rehearsals, where he had perfected the technique of making a sketch in the dark, using a system of shorthand notations that contributed to the finished product. He drew Barbra *Streisand birdlike, with wide-open mouth and lidded eyes. Zero Mostel, the original Tevye in *Fiddler on the Roof*, appeared as a circle of beard and hair with fierce eyes peering upward, as at a heaven that did not understand. Hirschfeld's work also appeared in books and is in the collections of many museums, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Museum of Modern Art, and the Whitney Museum of American Art in Manhattan. In the 1930s and 1940s he wrote articles on comedians, actors, Greenwich Village, and films for the *Times*. In the 1920s and 1930s, imbued with a sense of social concern, Hirschfeld did serious lithographs that appeared, for no fee, in the *New Masses*, a Communist-line magazine. Eventually he realized that the magazine's interest was politics rather than art. After a dispute about a caricature he did of the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, the right-wing, antisemitic priest, he renounced a political approach to his work. He was represented by the Margo Feiden Galleries, which once estimated that there were more than 7,000 Hirschfeld originals in existence. In 1991 the United States Postal Service issued a booklet of five 29-cent stamps honoring comedians as designed by the artist. In 1996 a film documentary of the artist's life by Susan W. Dryfoos, *The Line King*, rich in tributes from those he had drawn and from those he worked with, was nominated for an Academy Award. That year he was also named one of six New York City landmarks by the New York Landmarks Conservancy. A few days before the end of his life, he was notified that the American Academy of Arts and Letters had elected him a member and President George W. Bush notified him that he was one of the recipients of the National Medal of Arts. On June 21, 2003, his 100th birthday, the Martin Beck Theater of West 45th Street in New York was renamed the Al Hirschfeld Theater.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCHFELD, EPHRAIM JOSEPH (c. 1758–1820), author and active Freemason at the end of the 18th century. Hirschfeld was born in Karlsruhe, the son of the learned cantor Joseph Hirschel Darmstadt. In his youth his talents came to the attention of Prince Charles Frederick of Baden who enabled him to study in the high school of Karlsruhe and then to study medicine in Strasbourg. Hirschfeld did not complete his studies but acquired a wide general background in addition to his traditional education. From 1779 to 1781, Hirschfeld was a tutor in the house of David *Friedlaender; he frequented the home of Moses *Mendelssohn and was in contact with the Haskalah circles of Berlin. His sensitive character and his quarrelsome nature were conspicuous in his relations with others. In 1782 he worked in Innsbruck, where he met with the founder of the order of masons of a theosophic bent, the Asiatic Brethren, an order organized by the cooperation among monks with theosophic tendencies, Freemasons, and aristocrats. One of its founders was an important Frankist convert to Christianity, Franz Thomas von Schoenfeld (see *Dobrushka), who introduced into the writings of the order portions of Shabbatean literature in German translation. Hirschfeld was received into the order and for several years was secretary to its founder, Hans Ecker von Eckhofen, who opened the order to Jewish fi-

nanciers, members of the Enlightenment who wished to form closer ties with Christian society. As was customary in mystical orders of Freemasons, he took a pseudonym, Marcus ben Binah. Hirschfeld occupied an important position in the order, especially after the departure of Schoenfeld. Until 1786 he lived in Vienna where he first assumed the name Hirschfeld, and later, until 1791, in Schleswig, which had become the center of the order. Because of a quarrel with Ecker, Hirschfeld was expelled from the order and in 1790, placed under house arrest for several months. However, several important Jews in the organization came to his defense. During those years, Hirschfeld was active as translator of the mystical writings of the order, making it seem as if they had been originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic, and he interpreted the mystical teachings of the order. In 1791 his former friend Schoenfeld took him to Strasbourg, but Hirschfeld left him and returned to Germany. From 1792 until his death he lived alternately in Frankfurt and in nearby Offenbach and maintained close contact with the Frankists who had their center there. His aspiration toward a religious fusion of Judaism and Christianity within a kabbalistic framework was close to the spirit of Frankism. But Hirschfeld never converted to Christianity and died a Jew.

In 1796 he and his brother Pascal published *Biblisches Organon*, a kabbalistic-theosophic translation and commentary on the beginning of Genesis, intending this to be the start of a large work elaborating mystical insights on biblical topics. Hirschfeld moved away from the Haskalah spirit and lived in the intellectual milieu of the order, dreaming of its reestablishment after its decline around 1791. He was close to the Catholic professor Franz Josef *Molitor, later a distinguished student of Kabbalah in Frankfurt, who was greatly influenced by Hirschfeld. In the lively disputes in Masonic circles over the acceptance of Jews into their organizations Hirschfeld was prominent and he was attacked vehemently by opponents of their admission. Even after his death, important persons in these organizations attempted to obtain manuscripts rumored to be in his legacy. He was completely forgotten in the 19th century because his mysticism was not to the taste of the Jewish Freemasons of that period. Much material on Hirschfeld is preserved in the archives of the Freemasons in The Hague and Copenhagen. He was a unique figure at the beginning of the Emancipation, both because of his many-sided personality and because of his activities as a Jew in organizations which then generally were inimical to Jewish membership.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Katz, Jews and Freemasons in Europe 1723–1939 (1970), index; idem, in: *Zion*, 30 (1965), 171–250; idem, in: BLBI, 28 (1964), 295–311; Scholem, in: YLBI, 7 (1962), 247–78. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** K. Davidowicz, "Zwischen Aufklaerung und Mystik," in: G. Biegel and M. Graetz (eds.), *Judentum zwischen Tradition und Moderne* (2002), 135–47.

[Gershom Scholem]

HIRSCHFELD, GEORG (1873–1942), German playwright and novelist. Dissatisfied with a business and industrial career in his father's Berlin factory, in 1893 he read humanities at the Munich University. He began to write plays, encouraged by Gerhart Hauptmann and Otto *Brahm. Hirschfeld's first drama, *Die Muetter* (1896), was his most effective work and a stage success for many years. Written in the tradition of Ibsen and Hauptmann, this example of German naturalism brings to life characters drawn from the Jewish bourgeoisie. Hirschfeld's own experiences inspired his hero's struggle between bourgeois respectability and artistic yearning, between obligations to others and loyalty to his own personality. A second drama, *Agnes Jordan* (1897), also dealt with Berlin's Jewish society. Although Hirschfeld continued to write naturalistic, neoromantic, and sensational plays, he never fulfilled the hopes roused by his first drama. He also published a short story about Kleist, *Daemon Kleist* (1895), and one outstanding novel, *Der Bergsee* (1896). Hirschfeld's later tales were, however, essentially sentimental and entertaining. In 1905 he moved to Dachau, where he became member of the local artist's colony; from 1912 he lived in Muenchen-Grosshadern. He died in Munich.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Heynen, *Mit Gerhart Hauptmann* (1922), 117–38. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Becker, in: W. Killy (ed.), *Literaturlexikon* 5 (1990), 350.

[Sol Liptzin]

HIRSCHFELD, GUSTAV (1847–1895), German archaeologist. Hirschfeld, who was born in Pyritz, Pomerania, was a specialist in Greek and Roman epigraphy. One of the first Jewish scholars to become a fellow of the important Institute of Archaeological Correspondence in Rome, he worked in Italy, Greece, and Asia in the early 1870s and from 1875 to 1877 directed the German government's excavations at Olympia which uncovered the Heraion and the Temple of Zeus. He helped to raise the immortal Hermes of Praxiteles and the statue of Nike by Paionios. It was he who first proposed the excavation of Pergamum, which was eventually carried out by other German archaeologists. Baptized in 1877, Hirschfeld was given an appointment by the University of Koenigsberg, where he was made professor of archaeology in 1879. His writings include *De Cn. Manlii Consulis Itinere ex Pamphylia in Galatiam Facto* (1879) and *Aus dem Orient* (1897). He wrote the section "Knidos, Halikarnassos, and Branchidae" in the *Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* (part 4 section 1, 1893) and articles for the publications of the Prussian Academy for Science.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ADB, vol. 50, 367–72; NDB, vol. 9, 225; R. Lullies, *Archaeologenbildnisse – Portraets und Kurzbiographien von klassischen Archaeologen deutscher Sprache* (1988), 88–89; N.T. de Grummond, *Encyclopedia of the History of Classical Archaeology*, vol. 1 (1996), 592–93.

[Penuel P. Kahane / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCHFELD, HARTWIG (1854–1934), scholar of Judeo-Arabic literature. Hirschfeld, who was born in Thorn, Prussia, received his doctorate from Strasbourg (1878). He immigrated to England in 1889 and taught first at Montefiore College in Ramsgate. In 1901 he became both librarian and professor of Semitic languages at Jews' College, London, and

lector in Hebrew, Semitic epigraphy, and Ethiopian at University College, London, where he was appointed full professor in 1924. Hirschfeld's chief interest lay in the interplay between the Arab and Jewish cultures as well as in the Arabic literature of the Jews. He published *The Book Chasari (Kusari) by Judah ha-Levi* (1886), a critical edition of the original Arabic text and the Hebrew translation by Judah ibn Tibbon, and also a German (1885) and an English translation of this work (1905; enlarged edition 1931); the Hebrew translation of *The Book of Definitions* by Isaac Israeli (*Steinschneider-Festschrift*, 1896); various studies on the Koran (*Jewish Elements in the Koran* (dissertation, 1878); *Contributions to Explication of the Koran* (1901), among others); *Arabic Chrestomathy in Hebrew Characters* (1892); *Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew Mss. of the Montefiore Library* (1904); *Yefet ibn Ali's (Karaite) Arabic Commentary on Nahum* (1911); *Qirqisānī Studies* (1918); and *Literary History of Hebrew Grammarians and Lexicographers* (1926). In addition, Hirschfeld wrote numerous articles in various journals concerning problems of Arabic and Hebrew philology and bibliography; of especial importance is a series of essays concerning the Arabic fragments in the Cairo **Genizah* (JQR, vols., 15–20, 1903–08).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Heymann, *Orientalisches Taschenbuch* (1912), 18; I. Harris, in: *Jews' College Jubilee Volume (1906), cxii ff.; I. Epstein, in: S. Federbush (ed.), Ḥokhmat Yisrael be-Ma'arav Eiropah*, 4 (1959), 497f.

HIRSCHFELD, HEINRICH OTTO (1843–1922), German historian. Hirschfeld, born in Koenigsberg, Prussia, studied classical philology. While at Berlin he was strongly influenced by Theodor *Mommsen, and became his protégé and close collaborator. He was lecturer at Goettingen (1869), and professor at Prague (1872), Vienna (1876), and Berlin (1885), where he succeeded Mommsen. Hirschfeld was one of the group of scholars who collaborated in the preparation of the *Inscriptionum Galliae Narbonensis latinae…*, as planned by Mommsen. Between 1888 and 1904 he published the Latin inscriptions of Gaul for this work. Hirschfeld's principal scholarly interests were Roman imperial administration and Roman Gaul. His work on Gaul illustrated his concept of the imposition of Roman civilization throughout the empire as a most important aspect of Roman history. Hirschfeld was one of the founders of the Archaeological and Epigraphical Seminar of the University of Vienna, and worked on the systematic investigation of the ancient remains in the Austro-Hungarian provinces. This early work provided the basis for the study of Roman civilization in Central Europe and the Balkans. In addition to his volumes of the *Inscriptionum*, Hirschfeld's major published work is *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian* (1905^2). Most of his numerous smaller works are collected in his *Kleine Schriften* (1913).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wilcken, in: *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1922), xcvii–civ; Muenzer, in: *Neue Jahrbuecher fuer das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur fuer Paedagogik*, 49 (1932), 304–6.

[Irwin L. Merker]

HIRSCHFELD, ISADOR (1882–1965), U.S. specialist in gum diseases. Hirschfeld, who was born in Riga, Latvia, was taken to the U.S. in 1890. In 1916 he began teaching at the New York Postgraduate School of Dentistry. From 1915 to 1925 he was chief of the first periodontological clinic in a U.S. hospital, at the New York Nose, Throat and Lung Hospital. Hirschfeld occupied similar positions at the Beth Israel Hospital (1924–34) and at the New York Hospital for Joint Diseases (1927–34). In 1928 he founded and headed the department of periodontology at the Columbia University Dental School. From 1929 to 1947 he was attending surgeon at New York's Presbyterian Hospital. In 1941 he was president of the American Academy of Periodontology. In addition to many articles in dental publications, he wrote *The Toothbrush: Its Use and Abuse* (1939). He was active in raising funds to advance dentistry in Israel.

HIRSCHFELD, MAGNUS (1868–1935), medical scientist and sexual reformer. Born in Kolberg on the Baltic coast to a prominent and prosperous Jewish doctor, Hermann Hirschfeld, he attended schools in Breslau and Strasbourg and graduated as a doctor from the University of Munich. He practiced as a general practitioner in Magdeburg, from 1894 to 1896 when he moved to Charlottenburg, a suburb of Berlin. Like his father, specializing in public hygiene problems, he founded a workers' health insurance institution which was widely imitated.

The trial of Oscar Wilde and the suicide of a patient on the eve of his marriage triggered Hirschfeld's lifelong devotion to sexual research in general and homosexuality in particular. In his first work, *Sappho and Socrates* (1896), he maintained that the homosexual urge, like the heterosexual, was the result of an "inborn goal-striving constitution" influenced biologically by "glands of internal secretion."

Heartened by the response to his work, in 1897 he founded the Scientific-Humanistic Committee and gained immediate attention with a petition to the Reichstag for the repeal of Section 175 of the German Criminal Code dealing with homosexual offenses. The petition was signed by most of the prominent figures of his time including Martin Buber, Hermann Hesse, Max Brod, Albert Einstein, Heinrich and Thomas Mann, Stefan Zweig, Rainer Maria Rilke, and Arthur Schnitzler.

In 1908, in collaboration with other leading sexual researchers, he founded the *Journal of Sexual Science*, and in 1909, his *Yearbook for Sexual Intermediate Stages*, which between 1909 and 1923 produced one of the richest collections of homosexual studies in the areas of history, literature, art, music, and psychology. In 1918, he launched his most ambitious project, the Institute for Sexual Science housed in the mansion of Prince Hatzfeld, the former German ambassador to France, which was a clinic, a free university with lectures and classes, and a research center housing 20,000 volumes and a collection of 35,000 photographs from all over the world. Its marriage consultation department was the first in Germany and widely copied elsewhere.

In 1933, he was invited to deliver a lecture at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

The Nazis closed the Institute for Sexual Science when they came to power, and his books were publicly consigned to the flames, Hirschfeld moved to France and died in Nice.

His other major works, all in German, are *Berlin's Drittes Geshlecht* (1904), *Die Transvestiten* (1910), *Sexualpathologie* (three volumes, 1917–1920, 1921–1928), *Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* – (two volumes, 1920), *Geschlechtskunde* (1925–1930), *Geschlecht und Verbrechen* (1930), and *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers* (1933). Only a few of his works have been translated into English: *Sex in Human Relationships* (London, 1935) and *Sexual Anomalies* (New York, 1942, rev. ed. 1956).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Encyclopedia Sexualis* (1936); A. Ellis and A. Abarbanel (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Sexual Behavior* (1967), 373–383, 485–493, 956–966, 967–975; N. Garde, *Jonathan to Gide: The Homosexual in History* (1969); A. Young, in: *Chutzpah: A Jewish Liberation Anthology* (1977), 158–160; J. Lauritsen and D. Thorstad, *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement, 1864–1935* (1974), 9–29, 41–43, 73–76.

[Jack Nusan Porter]

HIRSCHFELD-MACK, LUDWIG (1893–1965), German painter, printmaker, and art teacher. Hirschfeld was born in Frankfurt-on-the-Main into a prosperous Jewish family of leather manufacturers. He started to work in his father's business in 1910/11 but enrolled in the Debschitz School of Arts and Crafts in Munich in 1912–14, specializing in graphic arts. After military service in World War I until 1918, Hirschfeld went to the Dessau Bauhaus, where he took part in the workshop for graphic arts as a printmaker from 1919 to 1925. He started teaching in 1922/23, taking up the theory of colors as developed by Wassily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, and Johannes Itten. For teaching purposes he created a cinematograph called "*Farbenlichtspiel,*" which demonstrated the impact of color prisms on art. After the Dessau-Bauhaus was shut down he became an art teacher in the successor organization in Berlin and taught color and form to children. He had several exhibitions showing his "*Farbenlichtspiele*" as well as musical instruments constructed for children's use and models of interior design applying color prisms. After the rise to power of the Nazis he immigrated to England together with his family in 1936 but was detained and finally deported as an "enemy alien" to Australia in 1940. During his stay in London he developed a musical instrument called "Color Chord," a cinematograph transmitting color prisms moving to the sound of triads to demonstrate the interdependence of color and sound. After the end of his internment, Hirschfeld-Mack settled in Australia and served as head of the art department of the Geelong Church of England Grammar School until his retirement in 1957. His teaching as a pioneer of Bauhaus pedagogy had a significant impact on the Australian educational system, especially at the pre-school level. His paintings and watercolors reveal the influence of Bauhaus, especially of Itten and Klee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Hapkemeyer (ed.), *Ludwig Hirschfeld-Mack – Bauhäusler und Visionaer* (Catalogue Jewish Museum of Vienna, 2000).

[Annette Weber (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCHHORN, SAMUEL (1876–1942), author and journalist, a leader of Polish Jewry between the two world wars. Born in Slonim, Belorussia, of a wealthy and assimilated family, in 1889 he settled in Warsaw, where he completed his studies at a Polish commercial school. The rise of the Jewish nationalist movement awakened Hirschhorn's interest in the problems of the Jews and their culture, and from 1903, when he published the Yiddish pamphlet *Vegn Tsionizm* (Concerning Zionism), he devoted himself to public and literary activity. In 1916 he participated in the foundation of the *Folkspartei in Poland, and as one of its members was elected to the Warsaw municipal council, and in 1919 as a delegate to the Polish Sejm (parliament).

Hirschhorn contributed to a large number of Jewish periodicals in Polish and Yiddish, including *Głos Żydowski, Moriyyah, Ershte Tagblat*, and *Moment*. His Polish work on the history of the Jews in Poland between 1788 and 1914 was published in Warsaw in 1921 (Yid. tr. 1923). From an early age he wrote poems in Polish and translated many Russian and French poems into this language. His translations of Jewish poetry of various periods included an anthology of the poems of Ḥ.N. *Bialik (1917) and a collection of poems by 60 Jewish authors (*Anthologia Poezji Żydowskiej*, 1921). He pursued his activities until the Nazi occupation and wrote a diary, which has been lost, on life in the Warsaw Ghetto, where he perished.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 3 (1960), 159–60 (includes bibliography); Rejzen, Leksikon, 847–9.

[Joseph Kaplan]

HIRSCHKAHN, ẒVI (pseudonym of **Ẓvi Hirsch Cohen**; 1886–1938), Yiddish novelist, short story writer, and essayist. Born in Tzasnik (Belorussia), as a youth Hirschkahn became involved in the Socialist Revolutionary Party and left Russia in 1905, settling for several years in Switzerland. When he returned to Russia, he began his literary career, publishing an essay in Chaim *Zhitlovsky's *Dos Naye Lebn* (1908) under the pseudonym Zvi Girschkahn. His first novel, *Tsvey Veltn* ("Two Worlds," 1910), describes a Jewish city in Belorussia at the beginning of the 20th century and established his reputation as a talented writer. In 1921, Hirschkahn left the Soviet Union and settled in Germany before immigrating to the U.S. in 1925, where he became a regular contributor to *Der Tog* and, in 1934, the *Morgn-Frayhayt*. His other books include *Fun Dervaytns* ("From Afar," 1918), *Nit Hinter a Ployt* ("Not Behind a Fence," 1919), *Unter Eyn Dakh* ("Under One Roof," 1931), and *Akhad Ha-Am*, a biographical novel (1933). He was at various times a Socialist, a Zionist, an anarchist, and a Communist.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, Leksikon, 1 (1928), 850–2; N. Goren, *Demuyyot be-Sifrutenu* (1953), 84–6; LNYL, 3 (1960), 165–7. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Olgin, *Kultur un Folk* (1949), 290–94; Tolush, *Yidishe Shrayber* (1953), 154–60.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCHLER, IGNÁC (1823–1891), pioneer ophthalmologist in Hungary. Born in Pressburg, he studied medicine in Vienna and Paris, returning to Hungary in 1849. Unable to obtain the position of lecturer at the University of Pest, he became ophthalmic physician in the hospital for poor children and later physician in Pest general hospital. His skillful eye surgery and scientific work won him the status of researcher. He introduced new methods and published studies in various European periodicals. From 1869 he was a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Hirschler was also active in Jewish public life and from 1861 to 1863 was president of the Jewish community of Pest, acting as chairman of the general Jewish Congress of 1868–69. From 1885, he was a member of the Hungarian Upper House. Among his important works are *Zur Casuistik der Anaesthesie und Hyperaesthesie der Netzhaut* (1874), *Adat a szaruhártya gyurmájába lerakódott festanyag ismeretéhez* (1872), *Adatok a látóhártya maradvány kórodai ismertetéséhez* (1874), and his *Autobiographisches Fragment* (1891).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Kayserling, in: AZDJ, 55 (1891), 591–2; Zs. Vidor, in: *Szemészet* (1960), 178–86; L. Varga, *ibid.*, 58–66; Zs. Groszmann, *A pesti zsidó gyülekezet alkotmányának története* (1934); *Emlékkönyv… Hevesi Simon* (1934), 159–62.

[Jeno Zsoldos]

HIRSCHLER, PÁL (1907–1944), Hungarian rabbi and biblical scholar. Hirschler was born in Nagykanizsa and was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary of Budapest, in 1931. That same year he was appointed rabbi of Szekesfehervar, Hungary. Hirschler's major work is his commentary to the books of Esther and Nahum, published as part of the Bible commentary edited by A. Kahana, *Perush Madda 1* (1930). His critical study of the Septuagint translation of the Book of Ezekiel was published in A. Scheiber (ed.), *Jubilee Volume in Honour of Professor Bernhard Heller on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (1941), 18–31 (Heb. sect.). While in the ghetto in 1944 he completed a Hungarian translation of the Book of Ezekiel: however, this work was never published. Hirschler was deported to Auschwitz, where he died.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O. Komlos (ed.), *Études orientales à la mémoire de Paul Hirschler* (1950), incl. bibl. of his writings.

[Alexander Scheiber]

HIRSCHLER, RENÉ (1905–1944), French rabbi and social worker. Born in Marseilles, Hirschler graduated in 1928 from the Rabbinical School of Paris and was rabbi of Mulhouse. At the outbreak of World War II he became itinerant chaplain for the Foreign Legion units in which many thousands of foreign-born Jewish volunteers served. After the Franco-German armistice of June 1940, Hirschler became very active in various fields of relief work in the free zone of France, his main activity consisting of relief work in the various concentration, detention, and forced labor camps to which he had access. On March 13, 1943, the *grand rabbin* of France appointed Hirschler chief chaplain (*aumônier général*) for foreign-born Jews interned in camps in the free zone. In view of the shortage of rabbis in all camps, he was permitted to appoint over 200 auxiliary chaplains (*aumôniers auxiliaires*). He was also active in underground relief work for Jews in hiding. On Dec. 23, 1943, Hirschler and his wife were arrested in Marseilles by the Gestapo. They were both deported to Auschwitz early in 1944 and perished there.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Z. Szajkowski, *Analytical Franco-Jewish Gazetteer 1933–1945* (1966), index.

HIRSCHMAN, ALBERT OTTO (1915–), economist. Hirschman, who was born in Berlin, studied at the Sorbonne, the London School of Economics, and the University of Trieste, where he earned his doctorate in economics in 1938. He was a Rockefeller Fellow at the University of California, Berkeley (1941–43), and then served in the United States Army (1943–46). He was chief of the West European and Commonwealth section of the Federal Reserve Board from 1946 to 1952. He served for two years as financial adviser to the National Planning Board of Colombia, and then as private economic counselor in Bogota (1954–56). In 1956 Yale University appointed him research professor in economics, and in 1958 he became professor of international economic relations at Columbia University. In 1964 he was named professor of political economy at Harvard, later serving as Littauer Professor of Political Economy from 1967 to 1974. In 1975, he joined the School of Social Science at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, becoming professor emeritus in 1985.

Hirschman's main interests are economic development and international economics, as well as interdisciplinary fields such as sociology and anthropology. Described as a playful genius who enjoys being unconventional, Hirschman is regarded as a master of viewing old problems in a new way.

Among his many honors, Hirschman received the Talcott Parsons Prize for Social Science from the American Academy of Sciences (1983); the Toynbee Prize (1997–98); and the Thomas Jefferson Medal, awarded by the American Philosophical Society (1998).

His writings include *National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade* (1945), *The Strategy of Economic Development* (1958), *Journeys toward Progress* (1963, 1965^2), *Development Projects Observed* (1967), *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty* (1970), *The Passions and the Interests* (1977), *Shifting Involvements* (1982), *Rival Views of Market Society* (1986), *The Rhetoric of Reaction* (1991), *A Propensity to Self-Subversion* (1995), and *Crossing Boundaries* (1998).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Meldolesi, *Discovering the Possible: The Surprising World of Albert O. Hirschman* (1995); L. Rodwin and D. Schon (eds.), *Rethinking the Development Experience: Essays Provoked by the Work of Albert O. Hirschman* (1994).

[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCHMANN, IRA ARTHUR (1901–1989), U.S. business executive. He held key positions in several large New York department stores, eventually becoming vice president of Saks

Fifth Avenue, 1931–1938, and vice president, Bloomingdale Brothers, 1938–1946. In 1935 he served as the chairman of the board of the University-in-Exile which employed many refugees from Nazi Germany. That year he also joined the New York City Department of Education. In July 1938 he was an observer at the *Evian Conference on refugees, which led him to more intensified action on behalf of those who sought to flee from Hitler. A supporter of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Hirschmann was named special assistant to William H. Davis of the National War Labor Board in 1942. The Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People in Europe (the Bergson Group) asked him to investigate rescue possibilities in mid-1943.

In February 1944 he arrived in Turkey as the Special Representative of the War Refugee Board. Working with the United States ambassador, Laurence Steinhardt, Hirschmann helped convince the Turkish authorities to allow refugees to pass through Turkey on their way to Palestine. He made a great effort to find a suitable sea-route to Turkey from the Balkans and procure shipping for the refugees. Hirschmann also played a key role in the Transnistria scheme. Through the International Red Cross, he met the Romanian ambassador in Turkey, Alexander Cretzianu, and induced him to press his government to permit the return to the traditional areas of Romania of the remaining Jews, who had been deported to Transnistria. Hirschmann also assisted Hungarian Jewry. After interviewing Joel *Brand, he recommended that the Western Allies enter into negotiations with the Nazis, with the hope that the process would earn valuable time and thereby save their lives. With the help of Monsignor Angelo Roncalli (later Pope *John XXIII), Hirschmann obtained baptismal certificates for Hungarian Jews. He also successfully prevailed upon the Romanians to allow Hungarian refugees into Romania in the summer of 1944. Through the Bulgarian minister in Turkey, Nicholas Balabanoff, he persuaded the Bulgarians to revoke their anti-Jewish legislation.

In 1946 Hirschmann went to work for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) as a special inspector-general. In that capacity he toured displaced person's camps in Germany and contributed to the improvement of conditions in them. In addition to his other interests, Hirschmann was a talented pianist and musicologist. He established and assumed the presidency of the New Friends of Music in 1946. That same year he became the president of the Metropolitan Broadcasting and Television Inc. Hirschmann published two memoirs, *Lifeline to a Promised Land* (1946) and *Caution to the Winds* (1962).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.L. Feingold, *The Politics of Rescue: The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust, 1938–1945* (1980); D. Morse, *While Six Million Died; A Chronicle of American Apathy* (1968); D.A. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holo*caust, 1941–1945 (1984).

[Robert Rozette (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCHPRUNG, PINHAS (1912–1998), Canadian rabbi and talmudic scholar. Hirschprung was born in Dukla, Poland, and was educated in rabbinic literature by his grandfather, R. Tevel Seman, and at the Yeshivat Ḥakhmei Lublin, where he gained renown for his remarkable memory in Torah scholarship. He arrived in Montreal in 1941, having escaped the Nazis in a journey which took him through Russia, Japan, and Shanghai. His escape is described in his book *Fun Natsishen Yamertal: Zikhroines fun a Palit* (1945). In Montreal, he was involved in the affairs of the Rabbinical Council (Va'ad ha-Rabbanim) of the Jewish Community Council of Montreal (Va'ad ha-Ir). In 1969, having served some years as *rosh* Beth Din, he succeeded Rabbi Joshua Herschorn as president of the Rabbinical Council and was thus widely accepted as Montreal's chief rabbi. In this capacity, Hirschprung expanded the Montreal Beth Din's arbitration of personal and business disputes. He also engaged in a campaign to help provide prayer books and other religious articles to Soviet Jewry.

He was internationally known for his grasp of the entire range of talmudic literature and his opinion was sought on numerous halakhic issues in Israel and the Diaspora.

He was the head of Montreal's Merkaz ha-Torah, and established Jewish day schools, notably the Beth Jacob School for girls in Montreal, which was named Bais Yaakov d'Rav Hirschprung after his death.

Hirschprung co-edited the rabbinical journal *Ohel Torah* (1928–32), and contributed many articles to journals of Torah scholarship. He also published a collection of short addresses, *Kuntres Penei Shelomo* (1967).

[Ira Robinson (2nd ed.)]

HIRSH, NURIT (1942–), Israeli composer and arranger of Israeli folk songs. She was born in Tel Aviv and graduated from the Rubin Music Academy. She also studied movie and electronic music at UCLA in Los Angeles, and composition in New York.

After her military service as a musician she started composing songs. Her first song, "*Peraḥ ha-Lilakh*" ("The Lilac Flower"; lyrics Uri Asaf) appeared in 1965. Since then she has composed and orchestrated more than one thousand songs performed by the best Israeli singers and ensembles. Hirsh also wrote the score for 14 motion pictures, such as *Ha-Shoter Azulai* (The Policeman Azulai), *Immi ha-Generalit* ("My Mother the General"), the musical *Salah Shabbati*, and television series, such as *Parpar Neḥmad* and *Kerovim Kerovim*. Her song "*Osei Shalom bi-Meromav*" was awarded third prize in the first Ḥasidic Song Festival (1969) and became a major hit on the international scene and adopted in prayers by many Jewish communities.

In 1973, her song "*Ei-sham*" ("Somewhere"; lyrics, Ehud *Manor) took fourth place at the Eurovision song contest. In 1978, another of her songs, *Abanibi* (lyrics, Ehud Manor) took first place in that contest. Her songs won first prizes in a number of song festivals organized by the Israeli state radio and television authority and in children songs festivals. Her hits reached the international scene and she won first prizes in Japan (1974), Chile (1975), Portugal (1978), Greece (1971),

Malta (1972), Ireland (1979), Yugoslavia (1979), to name but a few.

In 1992 she produced together with lyricist Michal Rosen a videocassette for children, "*Did dig doog*." Hundreds of thousands of copies were sold. In 1999 in the wake of that success she made a second videocassette, "*Pim Pam Po*." Four collections of her songs have been released: *Fifty Hits* (Ma'ariv, 1969), *La-Lekhet Shevi* (Yediot Aḥronot, 1984) *Only for Now* (Yediot Aḥronot, 1990), *Dag Digdoog* (Sheva, 1996).

[Nathan Shahar (2nd ed.)]

HIRSHBERG, JEHOASH (**Yehoash**; 1938–), Israeli musicologist. In 1955–62 he studied violin and music theory at the Music Academy in Tel Aviv. He continued his education at the University of Pennsylvania (1966–71) where he wrote a Ph.D. thesis on the theme "The music of the late 14th century: a study in musical style" (1971). The same year he began teaching at the Department of Musicology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem where he served as the head of the Institute of Arts and Letters (1993) and became professor of musicology (1995). His versatile research fields include 14th-century music, the origin of the early classical concerto in 18th-century Italy, the history of music in Palestine (1880–1946), Israeli music, and, in the realm of ethnomusicological research, the musical tradition of the Karaite community.

Among his numerous publications are three monographs connected with Israeli music, either as a whole (*Music in the Jewish Community of Palestine 1880–1948: A Social History,* Oxford University Press, 1995) or dedicated to prominent Israeli composers (*Paul Ben-Haim: His Life and Works*, Jerusalem, 1990, *Alexander Uriah Boskovich: His Life, Works, and Ideas*, in Hebrew, Jerusalem 1995, together with H *Schmueli); a monograph on the Italian concerto written by Hirshberg together with Simon McVeigh, *The Italian Solo Concerto 1700–1760: Rhetorical Strategies and Style History* (The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2004). These co-authors also published jointly a number of concerts by prominent Italian composers of the 18th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: MGG².

[Yulia Kreinin (2nd ed.)]

HIRSHBERG, YEHUDAH (1905–1962), Israeli physical chemist. Hirshberg, who was born in Poland, went to Palestine in 1923 to join a kibbutz. In 1933 he joined the Daniel Sieff Institute (later part of the Weizmann Institute) at Reḥovot. Hirshberg worked on the photochemistry of glycine, alcohols, aldehydes, the deamination of amino acids, the decomposition of solid compounds of hydrogen at low temperatures, absorption spectroscopy, fluorescence spectra, photoisomerization, and other effects of light. Essentially an experimentalist, Hirshberg discovered the phenomenon of photochromism – the reversible transformation of colorless dianthrones by ultraviolet light into colored forms, and also of spiropyrans by visible light.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Journal of Chemical Education*, 40 (1963), 112–3.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

HIRSHEL (**Hirschel**), **MEYER** (**Naphtali Hirz b. Judah Selke**; **Joseph Naphtali Hirz Levita**; d. c. 1674), functionary of the Vienna community at the time of the expulsion of 1670, tax collector, and informer. A native of Langenlois, near Krems, and court agent of Emperor *Ferdinand III, he is first mentioned in 1651 when he and other notables were arrested in connection with the murder of the Jewess Leonora, for which the community was held responsible. He was released (as were others later, on payment of large sums) when he undertook to collect the taxes of Austrian Jewry with the assistance of soldiers and without recourse to the lawcourts. He performed this task in an autocratic and corrupt fashion, substituting falsified tax records. Through collecting part of the taxes in textiles and uniforms in lieu of cash he became a forerunner of the Jewish textile industry. He was in a unique legal position: entitled to all amenities provided by the community, he was exempted from its jurisdiction and protected by the imperial court. In 1665, when another body of a murdered woman was found in the Jewish quarter, Hirshel denounced some Jews as connected with her death. However, in 1667 he himself was imprisoned and his possessions confiscated. Although he was sentenced to expulsion, the order was postponed because the judges considered that the authorities could not do without his services as an informer. The evidence collected by a special commission set up to inquire into his affairs contributed to the expulsion of the Jews in 1670. Hirshel settled in Nikolsburg (Mikulov), where he was a leader of the delegation which had secret meetings with the Viennese authorities to try to secure the readmission of rich Jews to Vienna. He arranged the authorization for Jews to attend fairs in Lower Austria.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Kaufmann, *Die letzte Vertreibung der Juden aus Wien*… (1889), 48–52, 97–103, 170; A.F. Pribram, *Urkunden und Akten zur Geschichte der Juden in Wien*, 1 (1918) index; L. Moses, *Die Juden in Niederoesterreich* (1935), index; M. Grunwald, *Vienna* (1936), 108–12; idem, in: MGWJ, 81 (1937), 439–43.

[Meir Lamed]

HIRSHENBERG, SAMUEL (1865–1908), Polish painter, born in Lodz, Poland. Hirshenberg painted large historical canvases in the fashion of the time and also many Jewish subjects such as "the Yeshiva," "Uriel Acosta," "Young Spinoza," and the "Jewish Cemetery." His "Wandering Jew" and "Golus" (exile) were especially popular. In 1907 he emigrated to Palestine and accepted a teaching post at the Bezalel School of Art, Jerusalem. He died a year later.

HIRSHENSON, HAYIM (1857–1935), U.S. educator and scholar. Eliezer Schweid and Daniel Elazar call Hirshenson one of those great and almost forgotten men of early Zionist history who undertook one of the most comprehensive efforts of anyone to demonstrate how the traditional Torah and modern democracy went hand in hand. His response was bold and daring even as it remained inside the confines of Jewish law.

Born in Safed, Hirshenson moved with his family to Jerusalem in 1864 after an earthquake. There his father Yaakov

Mordecai established Yeshivat Succat Shalom. His contacts in the *yishuv* were wide including the yeshivah world, where he was well respected, and the world of Maskilim. In the middle part of the 19th century, these worlds were less divergent than they were to become. He worked at a time when Zionism was interested in continuity and synthesis rather than revolution. Thus, he worked with Ben Yehuda and Rabbi David Yellin to develop Hebrew as a spoken language. He took to speaking Hebrew in his own home as well. He traveled to Russia in 1878 where he met with some of Eastern Europe's most distinguished rabbis and in 1884 he traveled to Hungary and Germany where in Frankfurt he established a Torah scientific journal *Ha-Misderonah*, which featured articles by great Talmudic scholars as well as *maskillim*. He returned to Jerusalem where he published a Yiddish paper *Beit Yaakov* and worked at the Abrabanel Library. He also continued his wide range of contacts working with the secular organization of B'nai B'rith and also constructing housing outside of the city walls. He was a teacher in the Lemel School in Jerusalem and faced some problems – including the threat of excommunication – for being too involved in the advance of Hebrew. Financial instability forced him to travel to Constantinople where he became a principal of the Hebrew School Tifereth Zvi and Or Torah. While in Constantinople, he studied Spinoza and Maimonides. He was part of the delegation to the 6th Zionist Congress in Basel and was encouraged to immigrate to the United States where he became a rabbi at a Hoboken synagogue in 1903. While he bemoaned the materialism of the U.S. and the sad state of Torah education in the beginning of the 20th century, he developed an admiration for American democracy.

In the U.S. he became a member of the Agudath ha-Rabbonim. He remained an active Zionist and became well known for his writings, which were not uncontroversial. His works include *Yamim mi-Kedem* (1907), which grappled with the then prevalent issue of Biblical criticism, and *Malki be-Kodesh* (1919), in which he established the theoretical presentation of the future Jewish state within a halakhic perspective. Hirshenson regarded the advent of the Messiah as a historical process, not a metahistorical event and worked to see that there would not be a rupture between the Jewish past and its future.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Sherman, *Orthodox Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1996); E. Schweid, *Democracy and Halakhah* (1994).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

HIRSHFIELD, MORRIS (1872–1946), U.S. primitive painter. Born in Poland, he immigrated to America and went into the slipper producing business. At the age of sixty-five he retired and began to paint. He completed seventy-four pictures, some very large. He painted female nudes and animal subjects.

HIRSHHORN, JOSEPH HERMAN (1899–1981), U.S. financier, mining executive, and art collector. Hirshhorn, who was born in Mitau (Jelgava), Latvia, went to the U.S. in 1905 with his widowed mother and her 12 other children. He began working at the age of 15 as an office boy. At the age of 17 he became a stockbroker and accumulated substantial wealth during the 1920s. Having avoided heavy losses during the 1929 crash, he turned his attention to Canada where he first successfully engaged in gold mining. At the end of the 1940s, Hirshhorn began to finance uranium ventures which led to the significant discoveries in the Blind River region (Ontario). In 1954 he consolidated his numerous Canadian mining properties into a large interest in Canadian Rio Tinto. This reorganization enabled him to concentrate on his collection of contemporary art. In May 1966 President Johnson, on behalf of the United States, accepted Hirshhorn's collection of 4,000 paintings and 1,500 sculptures. In October 1966 Congress voted $15 million for the construction of a gallery and a sculpture garden to house them. The collection is one of the most comprehensive and representative assemblies of modern visual art. The Joseph H. Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden was formally inaugurated in Washington on October 1, 1974. Consisting of 6,000 paintings and sculptures, it gives Washington the status of a major modern art center. The sculpture collection is regarded as one of the greatest in the world, with examples of virtually every notable sculptor of the 19th and 20th centuries.

[Joachim O. Ronall (2nd ed.)]

HIRSZFELD, LUDWIK (1884–1954), Polish physician, immunologist, serologist, and microbiologist. Hirszfeld, who was born in Warsaw, spent from 1907 to 1911 in Heidelberg where in 1910, in collaboration with the German scientist Emil von Dungern, he demonstrated the heredity of the different blood groups. During his World War I army service in Serbia, Hirszfeld discovered the bacteria of paratyphoid C, which is known as *Salmonella hirzfeldi*. In 1924 he was appointed professor at the Free University of Warsaw. After the occupation of Poland in World War II he escaped from the Warsaw Ghetto, and described his experiences in the book *Historia jednego życia*. In 1945 he organized the faculty of medicine of Wroclaw University where he became professor of microbiology. He also established the Institute of Immunology and Experimental Therapy. He founded a research center in Wroclaw for the pathology of pregnancy. A member of the Polish Academy of Sciences, he introduced the study of seroanthropology in his country. Among Hirszfeld's most important books are *Grupy krwi w zastosowaniu do biologji, medycyny i prawa* ("Blood Groups in Relation to Biology, Medicine and Law," 1934) and *Dochodzenie ojcostwa w świetle nauki o grupach krwi* ("The Establishment of Paternity in the Light of the Science of Blood Groups," 1948).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Hirszfeldowa et al., *Ludwik Hirszfeld* (Pol. and Fr., 1956).

[Stefan Lutkiewicz]

HIRSZOWICZ, ABRAHAM (second half of the 18th century), wealthy merchant, purveyor to the court, and financial agent to King Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski. Active in

the efforts of the *maskilim to improve the status of the Jews, he submitted to the king and the Four Years' Sejm (in 1791) a memorandum on the improvement of the condition of the Jews of Poland. In it he suggested that those Jews who had no means of livelihood should be employed in public works. He also advocated professional training for adolescent Jewish youth; the abolition of the restrictions preventing Jews from engaging in crafts; encouraging the Jews toward agricultural settlement by offering them land in the Ukraine; the prohibition of wearing luxurious clothing (especially of silk); raising the legal age of marriage; the abolition of rabbinical positions in small towns; and the establishment of hospitals for needy Jews in every town, as well as Jewish representation in every province ("*syndykatura generalna*").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Smoleński, *Ostatni rok Sejmu Wielkiego* (1897), 446–51; M. Bałaban, *Historja i literatura żydowska*, 3 (1925), 421; I. Schiper (ed.), *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego na ziemiach polskich* (1937), 272, 282–3, 329; N.M. Gelber, in: *Miesięcznik żydowski*, 2 (1932), 337–9.

[Arthur Cygielman]

ḤISDA (c. 217–309), Babylonian *amora* whose long life spanned the second and third generations of *amoraim*. Ḥisda is one of the most frequently quoted scholars in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds, both in *halakhah* and *aggadah*. According to some scholars, he went to Palestine for a while, and this may account for the fact that he cites many Palestinian traditions and rulings (Pes. 117a; Yev. 25b, et al.), as well as the fact that he is frequently quoted in the Jerusalem Talmud. According to the Talmud, he was of a priestly family (Ber. 44a), and came from the town of Kafri (Er. 62b; BM 6b). His principal teachers were *Avimi (Men. 7a; Ar. 22a) and *Rav (Abba Arikha) in Sura. After Rav's death he attended the lectures of his successor Huna and was counted as one of his outstanding pupils (BM 33a). He nevertheless continued to speak of Rav as "our great teacher" (Suk. 33a) and was always eager to hear any of his teachings which might have escaped him (Shab. 10b). In spite of his own dictum that a disciple who disagrees with his teacher is like one who disagrees with the Divine Presence (Sanh. 110a), he did not always accept Huna's positions on points of law (Ber. 25a). Recognizing R. Huna's authority, however, he never gave a halakhic ruling even on the simplest matter in Sura, Huna's town, as long as he lived (Er. 62b). A question that he asked R. Huna about "a teacher who needed his disciple," was taken by the latter as a personal affront, which led to a rupture between them for some time (BM 33a). They later effected a reconciliation but Ḥisda returned to live in Kafri, south of Sura, where, since it was not within Huna's jurisdiction, he could give independent rulings. After Huna's death the scholars in the academy of Sura moved to Pumbedita, of which the head was R. Judah b. Ezekiel; but after Judah's death they returned to Sura, where Ḥisda was the head for the last 10 years of his life (300–310; *Iggeret R. Sherira Ga'on*, ed. Lewin, 85).

Because of Ḥisda's prominence, the Talmud preserves many traditions concerning his character, his manner of learning and his personal life. He and R. Huna are styled the "pious men of Babylon" (Ta'an. 23b). R. Ḥisda and R. Huna prayed jointly for rain in the hope that their joint prayers would be answered (Ta'an. 23b). In another passage (MK 28a) it is stated that on account of their piety, the prayers for rain of Ḥisda and Rabbah were answered. His scholarship was contrasted with that of R. Sheshet. While the latter's was greater in extent, his own was characterized by depth and thoroughness. Huna advised his own son Rabbah, one of the foremost *amoraim* of the following generation, to attend Ḥisda's lectures, since they were very thorough and sound (Shab. 82a). Rabbah objected that Ḥisda spent too much time on "mere mundane issues" (Shab. 82a) – traditions concerning health and hygiene (cf. Ber. 39a). Huna's response to his son that traditions concerning health and hygiene are not "mere mundane issues" and were worthy of his attention, is indicative of their view of what religious study should include. In spite of the general principle that laws can only be derived from the Pentateuch, but not from the later books of the Bible, he did derive some from the latter (Ber. 25a; Sanh. 83b). His statement, "the Almighty loves the schools which are distinguished by *halakhah* more than all other synagogues and academies" (Ber. 8a), reveals the bent of his mind as does his statement that mountains of exposition could be piled up on every single letter of the Torah (Er. 22a). Nevertheless numerous aggadic sayings are ascribed to him; many of these are on health and hygiene, as already noted; others are on modesty and sexual behavior (Shab. 33a; 140b; Sanh. 110a, et al.), in which he adopted an extreme attitude, stating a man should not converse even with his own wife in the street (Ber. 43b).

His early years were spent in poverty (BK 91b; Shab. 140b) but he became very wealthy as a brewer (Pes. 113a; MK 28a), and in the year 294 he rebuilt at his own cost the academy of Sura, which had fallen into disrepair (*Iggeret R. Sherira Ga'on*, ed. Lewin, 84). He married at the age of 16, though in his opinion it would have been better to have married two years earlier (Kid. 29b). In his private life he was humble and modest, affable and friendly to all. He went out of his way to be the first to greet everyone in the marketplace, even heathens (Git. 62a). His life was apparently very happy and he celebrated many joyous occasions during his lifetime: "In R. Ḥisda's house 60 weddings were celebrated" (MK 28a). He had a large family: seven sons and at least two daughters, who married two brothers, Rami b. Ḥama and Mar Ukba b. Ḥama, who became outstanding *amoraim* (Ber. 44a). He lived to the age of 92 (MK 28a) and the story is told that he was so intensely involved in his studies that the Angel of Death was powerless over him, until finally he succeeded in distracting Ḥisda from his studies long enough that he could take his soul (MK 28a; Mak. 10a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weiss, Dor, 3 (1904^4), 163–4; Halevy, Dorot, 2 (1923), 421ff.; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 289–90.

[Harry Freedman]

ḤISDAI IBN ḤISDAI, ABU AL-FAḌL (b. ca. 1050), Hebrew poet; son of Joseph ibn Ḥisdai, the author of the *Shirah Yetumah* in honor of *Samuel ha-Nagid; born apparently in Saragossa. Ḥisdai was Abu al-Faḍl's family name. In his youth, in the cultural atmosphere created by the Banu Hud, he studied the exact sciences, especially mathematics and astronomy, and later also medicine, music, and philosophy. But above all, he was well versed in Arabic literature and was a distinguished author of Arabic and Hebrew poetry and prose. Aḥmad I al-Muqtadir (1046–1081), the king of Saragossa, who was fond of intellectuals and scientists and drew them into his service, appointed Ḥisdai as his vizier; from that time the latter served as counselor and minister of the king, writing his letters. Aḥmad's heirs, Yusuf al-Mutamim and Aḥmad ibn Yusuf al-Mustain, retained him in this post. The Arabic writers, who collected the best poems of their poets in Spain, also quote some of the poems sent by Ḥisdai to princes and fellow authors. They, however, also repeat the report, which was apparently already current during his life, that he had become a Muslim. In the opinion of some scholars, this seems to be a fabrication, since his younger contemporary, Moses *Ibn Ezra, numbers him in his book *Kitab al-Muhadara wal-Mudhakara* (36b) as being among the Jewish writers in Spain, without mentioning his apostasy, which Saadiah *Ibn Danan explicitly denies (*Ḥemdah Genuzah*, 15, p. 1). Other specialists, like Schirmann, accept the opinion of Arab historians who think that Ḥisdai became a Muslim and that this was the origin of his political success.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Munk, *Notice sur Abou 'l-Walid Merwan ibn Djanah* (1851), 206ff. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Finkel, in JQR, NS 18 (1927–8), 53 ff.; E. Ashtor, *The Jews of Moslem Spain*, 3 (1984), 217–23; Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (1995), 361–63 (Heb.).

[Eliyahu Ashtor / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

ḤISDAI (Ḥasdai) IBN SHAPRUT (c. 915–c. 970), the first of the Jewish dignitaries in the service of Spanish rulers on whom information is extant. The family originated in the city of Jaen in eastern Andalusia. From there, Ḥisdai's father, who was a wealthy man, came to Cordoba, the capital of the Umayyad caliphate. Ḥisdai studied primarily medicine, entering the service of the Umayyad caliph Abd al-Raḥmān III (912–961). He was a practicing physician who also engaged in medical research. In the late 940s, when a diplomatic delegation from Byzantium arrived in Cordoba, bringing as a gift a manuscript of the famous pharmaceutical work of Dioscorides, Ḥisdai was a member of the group which translated it from Greek into Arabic. After the fashion of the Muslim rulers who also entrusted their physicians with administrative and political responsibilities, Abd al-Raḥmān appointed Ḥisdai director of the customs department, one of the most important positions in the country's administration. His talents were also applied to various diplomatic activities. When the abbot Johannes of Goerz (Gorizia) was in Cordoba in 953 as emissary of the Holy Roman Emperor Otto I, the negotiations were carried on through Ḥisdai. In 956 he was sent, together with a Muslim emissary, to the court of the king of Leon in order to negotiate a peace treaty with him. The culminating point of his diplomatic activity was his mission to the royal court of Navarre in 958. He was at first sent there in order to cure Sancho, a Navarre prince who had been crowned king of Leon and then had been expelled. Ḥisdai succeeded in persuading the Christian king and his grandmother Toda to travel to Cordoba in order to conclude a peace treaty with the caliph. The appearance of the two Christian rulers in Muslim Cordoba was widely hailed, and justly considered as an important diplomatic achievement. After Ḥisdai had become an important dignitary in the court of the caliph, he was also appointed leader of the Jewish population in Muslim Spain.

He is rightly considered the founder of Sephardi Jewry in laying the foundations of the cultural and religious efflorescence that came to be known as "The Golden Age." He wisely used the antagonism that existed between Umayyad Spain and Abbasid Babylon to create the conditions that would enable Spanish Jewry to establish its religious independence from the *geonim* of Babylon. Abd al-Raḥmān was obviously interested in putting an end to the Babylonian tutelage over Spanish Jews. Ḥisdai embarked on a project that made Spain a major center of Jewish culture. He acquired the best manuscripts, offered opportunities to scholars from Spain and elsewhere, and acted as their patron. His activities were most beneficial to his coreligionists. He supported scholars and intellectuals such as *Menahem b. Saruq, who acted as his Hebrew secretary for a long time – until he lost favor – and naturally bestowed presents on poets, as was the custom of the Spanish magnates of that period. *Dunash ibn Labrat, the most outstanding of the Jewish poets living in Spain at that time, wrote poems dedicated to him. It was Ḥisdai who had appointed the refugee *Moses b. Ḥanokh, who appears to have arrived from southern Italy, to the rabbinical seat of Cordoba. The appointment of this eminent rabbi in Cordoba was of great historical importance for the development of the Jewish community of Spain. It brought about a loosening of the ties between Spanish Jews and the Jewish center in Babylonia; Spanish Jewry thus became independent of the guidance of the Babylonian *geonim*. After the death of R. Moses b. Ḥanokh, Ḥisdai supported the candidacy of his son *Ḥanokh (ben Moses) who was rivaled by Joseph ibn Abitur. Due to Ḥisdai's influence, Ḥanokh was elected rabbi in succession to his father. Ḥisdai is especially well known for his (alleged) letter to Joseph, king of the *Khazars, and the (alleged) reply sent by the latter. In his letter Ḥisdai describes the Umayyad kingdom in Spain and his own status therein, and asks many questions about the Khazar kingdom, while the letter of reply contains a detailed report of the Khazars' conversion to Judaism. There is a divergence of opinion among scholars as to the authenticity of these letters. A text found in the Cairo *Genizah* consisting of a letter sent to Ḥisdai Ibn Shaprut, describing the war conducted by a Christian army in Sicily and the great suffering of the community

of Palermo, was published by A. Scheiber and Z. Malachi, in: SPAAFJR, 41–42 (1973–74), 207–218.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ashtor, Korot, 1 (1966[2]), 103–72; Ph. Luzzatto, *Notice sur Abou-Iousouf Hasdai Ibn-Schaprout* (1852); Mann, Texts, index; A.N. Pollak, *Kazaryah* (1951[1]), 18–21; D.M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (1954), index; Baron, Social, index to volumes 1–8 (1960), 62; Abraham ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah – The Book of Tradition*, ed. by G.D. Cohen (1969), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** "The Epistle of R. Hasdai, Son of Isaac to the King of the Khazars," in: C. Leviant (ed.), *Masterpieces of Hebrew Literature: A Treasury of 2000 Years of Jewish Creativity* (1969), 158–69; A. Scheiber & Z. Malachi, in: *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research,* 41/42 (1973–74), 207–18; N. Golb & O. Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century* (1982); J. Peláez del Rosal, in: *The Jews in Cordoba* (*X–XII Centuries*) (1987), 61–77.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

ḤISIN, ḤAYYIM (1865–1932), *Bilu pioneer in Ereẓ Israel. A native of Mir, Belorussia, Ḥisin was roused by the 1881 pogroms and joined the Bilu association, going to Ereẓ Israel in July 1882 with the second Bilu group. He worked in Mikveh Israel and Rishon le-Zion. He joined the Bilu settlement of *Gederah, which he later left because he refused to live on the dole. He tried to support himself and his family by working as a coachman carrying passengers between Jaffa and Jerusalem. In 1887 he returned to Russia and studied pharmacology. In the late 1880s and early 1890s Ḥisin contributed articles to the Russian-Jewish journal *Voskhod*, including the diary written during his stay in Ereẓ Israel and a description of his visit to the country in 1890. In 1898 he went to Berne, Switzerland, to study medicine. He was active in propagating Zionism among the Russian-Jewish students in Western Europe, attended the early Zionist congresses, and was an active member of the "*Democratic Fraction." He again went to Ereẓ Israel in 1905, this time settling as a qualified physician, and was appointed as the representative of the Odessa committee of the Ḥovevei Zion in Jaffa. He helped to found the first workers' settlements – *Ein Gannim, *Be'er Ya'akov, *Naḥalat Yehudah, and *Kefar Malal. In 1909 Ḥisin was one of the founders of Aḥuzat Bayit, the first nucleus of the city of Tel Aviv. He died in Tel Aviv.

His diary, translated from Russian into Hebrew by S. Herberg under the title *Mi-Yoman Eḥad ha-Bilu'im* ("From the Diary of a Bilu Member," 1925), is a valuable aid to understanding the period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 2 (1947), 756–7; I. Klausner, *Oppozizyah le-Herzl* (1960), index; D. Smilansky, *Im Benei Dori* (1942), 268–72; M. Smilansky, *Mishpaḥat ha-Adamah*, 2 (1954), 151–8; *Sefer Ussishkin* (1934), 331–6.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi and Yehuda Slutsky]

HISTADRUT (abbreviation of **Ha-Histadrut ha-Kelalit shel ha-Ovedim be-Ereẓ Israel**, the General Federation of Labor in Israel; until 1966, **Ha-Histadrut ha-Kelalit shel ha-Ovedim ha-Ivriyyim be-Ereẓ Israel**, the General Federation of Jewish Labor), founded in 1920 (for its history, see *Israel, State of: Development of Jewish Labor Movement), the largest labor union and the largest voluntary organization in Israel and largest Jewish labor organization in the world. In 1969 it had a membership of 1,038,653, including housewives and members of its working youth organization, *Ha-No'ar ha-Oved. Excluding the two latter categories, its membership was 719,937, approximately 75% of the labor force in Israel. By 1985 it numbered 1.5 million members, who together with their families included 2.5 million people. From 1995, after the election of Haim *Ramon as secretary general, the Histadrut underwent radical changes in its organization and operation (see below).

The Histadrut until 1995

CONSTITUTION. The Histadrut is more than a trade union organization; according to its constitution, it "unites and organizes all workers, without distinction of creed, race, nationality or outlook, who live on the fruits of their labor without exploiting the labor of others, for the purpose of arranging all the communal, economic, and cultural affairs of the working class in the country for the building of the labor society in the Land of Israel." It therefore conducted extensive economic, mutual aid, and cultural, as well as trade union, activities. Membership was personal and direct. There was no collective or group membership; the member joined the Histadrut first and was then registered in the appropriate union. Wives of members could join with full voting and other rights, even if they were occupied only as housewives. Since 1960, Arab workers and their wives have been admitted with full membership rights.

The policy-making bodies were the convention (*ve'idah*) and the council (*mo'eẓah*). The convention was the highest authority and was elected by the entire membership approximately every four years. In the elections any faction already represented was entitled to submit a list of candidates; any group of members could submit a new list if they had the legal number of signatures, which depended on the ratio of the number of delegates to the number of registered voters (at the 11th convention, it was around 800). Lists were generally submitted by political parties; all national parties except the religious ones, which had their own labor organizations, were represented at the 1969 convention. Members voted by secret ballot, and each party was allotted delegates in proportion to the votes it obtained. The convention elected the council (351 members in 1970), which, in turn, elected the Executive Committee (Ha-Va'ad ha-Po'el), the operative governing body. The Executive Committee appointed the Central Bureau (Ha-Va'adah ha-Merakkezet), which had 20 members in 1970, and the secretary-general of the Histadrut, who was nominated by the majority party. All of these executive organs were divided according to the pattern of the convention, in accordance with the election results. In each town a local labor council (Mo'eẓet ha-Po'alim) was elected simultaneously with the convention. At the same time, and on the same basis, farm work-

ers elected the Agricultural Center (Ha-Merkaz ha-Ḥakla'i), and women members elected the Women Workers' Council (*Mo'eẓet ha-Po'alot).

As set out in its constitution, the Histadrut had four main fields of activity: trade unionism, economic and cooperative activities, mutual aid, and education.

TRADE UNIONS. The Histadrut's trade union activities were controlled by its Trade Union Department, in which the parties were represented according to their proportions in the convention. By agreement, the religious workers' organizations, *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi and Po'alei Agudat Israel, were also represented, and their members received trade union protection in return for an organization fee. Thus, over 90% of wage earners in Israel were organized within the Histadrut's trade union framework. The department was headed by a member of the Central Bureau. The basic unit of the Histadrut trade union organization was the Workers' Committee (Va'ad ha-Ovedim), which was elected on a personal, nonpolitical basis in each place of work: office, factory, plantation, or building site. Local unions were formed by all members in the same trade or industry in any locality. The local union then became a constituent part of the national union, which had jurisdiction in nationwide matters in the industry.

The Histadrut Executive Committee set up national unions when it deemed that the size of an industry justified it, and these unions received their funds from the Executive rather than vice versa. Generally, the executive of these unions was elected by a convention, which in its turn was elected by the membership on a political party basis; in a number of cases there were very long intervals between elections to national union executives. Members of other labor organizations and unorganized workers in the trade were permitted to participate in national union elections. Bargaining on labor contracts, which cover a wide range of social benefits as well as wages, took place on two levels. The Trade Union Department conducted negotiations at the national level with the National Union of Manufacturers on the general guidelines for the collective agreements. In these negotiations, the position of the country's economy and national economic policy were borne in mind. (At the beginning of 1970, for example, the Histadrut's national wages policy formed part of a national economic "package deal" in which the government promised to limit tax increases and the employers undertook not to raise prices.) At the same time, each national union entered into negotiations with representatives of management from its own trade or industry for an agreement which had to be within the general framework of the agreed national policy. Where there was no industry-wide union, local labor councils with works committees conducted negotiations on a plant or district level. The wage agreement normally set out wage rates in detail, dealt with social benefits and working conditions, and specified procedures for the handling of grievances and disputes. Among the social conditions, benefits included were: sick pay, employer participation in the cost of workers' health insurance, paid annual vacations and public holidays, severance pay, and a variety of provident and pension plans.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES. For ideological and historical reasons, the Histadrut was engaged in a wide range of economic and social activities not traditionally associated with trade unionism. As the founding members saw in the Histadrut not only a means of protecting the interests of the workers but also an instrument for the development of a modern, independent Jewish society along socialist lines, the organization initiated and developed a large number of economic enterprises, some in the form of autonomous cooperative societies and others owned directly and collectively by the entire membership (see also *Cooperation). The earliest and best-known of these ventures were the *kibbutz, the collective village, and the *moshav, the smallholders' cooperative settlement.

In its aspect as economic agent, the Histadrut was constituted as *Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim, the General Cooperative Association of Labor in Israel. Membership in Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim was automatically acquired upon joining the Histadrut, so that the two bodies were co-extensive. The convention and council of the Histadrut were the highest policy-making authorities of Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim, and the secretariat and secretary-general of Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim were appointed by the Histadrut's Executive Committee. Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim held ordinary and founders' shares in most of the economic institutions owned directly by the collective membership of the Histadrut. It was not responsible for the liabilities of these institutions, but exercised influence through appointment of people in top management, and in cases of divergency on general principles of labor cooperation, the Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim representative was entitled to ask for a decision by arbitration. In the case of the cooperative societies, which were owned and run by their worker-members, the influence of Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim was more diffuse, although its representatives sat in the managements of their central societies and their audit unions.

The labor sector was a major force in the country's economy. At the beginning of 1969 it comprised 211,000 workers: 23.5% of the labor force, 74.7% of the workers in agriculture, 15.6% in industry, 25.2% of those in building, 11.0% of the commercial and financial employees, 24.0% of the transportation workers, 11.8% of public service employees, and 32.9% of employees in the personal services. The net product of the labor sector in 1968 (at current prices) was IL 2,347,000,000, 20.8% of the net national product; the Histadrut's agricultural enterprises in 1968 produced IL 672,000,000, some 75% of the net national agricultural product, while its industrial undertakings had a net product of IL 483,000,000, about 20% of the national total.

The major centrally run economic agencies were as follows:

*Solel Boneh, the biggest Histadrut enterprise, comprised: a Building and Public Works Company with a turnover of IL 462,000,000; an Overseas and Harbors Works Company

operating in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, with a turnover of IL 138,000,000; and Koor, an industrial holding company, whose factories employed 12,000 workers with a turnover of IL 700,000,000 – all in 1969. Koor had a large number of enterprises in heavy and medium industry with plants all over the country, including the Vulcan foundries, Nesher cement, Phoenicia glass, and the steel complex at Acre. Among other subsidiary enterprises of Solel Boneh and Koor were quarries and factories producing building materials, sanitary installations, ceramics, rubber, tiles, electrical and electronic products, laboratory instruments, paper, etc.

*Ha-Mashbir ha-Merkazi, the Wholesale Cooperative Society, had (1969) about 550 affiliated cooperative enterprises, together with a chain of about 1,500 consumer cooperatives and retail department stores over the entire country,

*Tnuva, which markets the products of the Histadrut agricultural settlements and is cooperatively owned by them, handled over two-thirds of all farm produce and was increasingly active in exports. Bank ha-Po'alim, with its subsidiary and associated companies – Ampal, to channel foreign investments; the Israel-America Bank for the development of industry; a bank for housing mortgages; and Gemel, which serves provident and pension funds – had become the second-largest investment company in the country with 150 branches.

Shikkun, the Cooperative Housing Society, raised the standards of workers' housing and enabled thousands of wage earners to buy their own houses.

Hassneh was one of the largest insurance companies in Israel.

Industrial and service cooperatives engaged in such diverse activities as light metalworking, woodwork, printing, baking, kerosene distribution, laundries, and restaurants. Nearly the whole field of road passenger transport was covered by cooperatives, the largest being Egged and Dan, in which the great majority of the drivers and employees were shareholding members; there were also many cooperatives in the field of freight transport by road.

In the early 1980s Israel faced a severe economic crisis, with extremely high rates of inflation. The crisis affected many companies in Israel, including those owned by the Histadrut. Consequently, during the 1980s and the 1990s, in order to survive economically, the Histadrut gradually sold off all its economic assets, liquidating Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim.

MUTUAL AID. The mutual aid institutions of the Histadrut were Kuppat Ḥolim, the Workers Sick Fund; Keren Nekhut, a fund for the aid of members who are chronically ill or permanently disabled; Mishan, which supported orphans' and old-age homes; Maẓẓiv, a fund to aid indigent families with burial expenses; Dor le-Dor, a fund to supplement pensions that do not reach a basic minimum; and an unemployment fund. Kuppat Ḥolim was one of the Histadrut's major instruments of mutual aid. It provided for comprehensive medical care, including treatment in clinics or at home; hospitalization; medical appliances and drugs; treatment and, if necessary, hospitalization for chronic diseases; and rehabilitation therapy.

Every member of the Histadrut paid approximately 4.5% (up to a maximum fixed from time to time) of his wages to the union as dues. Around half of this payment was allocated to Kuppat Ḥolim, of which every member of the Histadrut was automatically a member. Members could also insure their families in the fund by adding 80% of this payment to the fund. Unemployed members were exempt from payment, and new immigrants were given special privileges, including three months' free insurance and nine months at reduced rates. Social welfare cases were given free care with a minimum contribution from the Ministry of Social Welfare. Members of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, Po'alei Agudat Israel, and certain other organizations were also insured with Kuppat Ḥolim. At the end of 1968, it covered 1,990,000 people – 68% of the population. Membership dues covered 30–40% of the overall expenses of Kuppat Ḥolim, while government participation rose from 7.4% in 1948 to 13.1% in 1968.

There were several provident funds for various types of employees. The largest was Mivtaḥim, which provided pension, holiday, and other payments for a large variety of workers, including casual laborers. There were also funds for clerks and officials, employees of Histadrut industries, members of cooperatives, agricultural workers, and building workers. Mivtaḥim and the last two funds also covered payments for holidays, work accidents, rehabilitation where necessary, and so forth. Pension rates were raised in accordance with the rise in the cost of living and kept pace with wage increases. The total membership of the funds was in 1968 over 350,000 – together with families about half the population of the country – and their accumulated capital amounted to more than IL 20,000,000,000. The funds were under treasury supervision, and 80% of their capital had to be invested in government-recognized securities; half of this was generally invested in securities issued by Gemel, the Histadrut investment company. Of the remaining 20%, about half was used for low-interest loans to members for housing, etc. The operations of the funds not only contributed a valuable social service, but were of considerable economic importance as a method of saving and a source of capital investment.

EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES. The Histadrut's Cultural Department provided a variety of services for members in town and country. These included lectures; films; publications and periodicals; organized trips; courses in Hebrew, geography, Bible, music, dancing, and the arts; clubs and libraries; educational books and materials; theater performances for immigrants; libraries for schools in immigrant centers, in cooperation with the Beth Hanassi Children's Libraries Fund; educational circles for parents; and schools for trade union leaders. In addition, the local labor councils engaged in similar activities on their own initiative, and there was a wide network of cultural committees in towns and villages. There were special departments for the kibbutzim and

the moshavim. Among the permanent central educational institutions were a labor archive; a museum; two colleges, one in Tel Aviv and one in the Jordan Valley; and the Amal chain of vocational high schools. The Afro-Asian Institute, set up to train people from developing countries in trade unionism and cooperation, was established in Tel Aviv in 1961. *Davar* was the Histadrut's daily newspaper; a special, vocalized daily in simple Hebrew for immigrants, *Omer*, was also published. In the 1980s *Davar* began to lose its audience to other newspapers, and was finally closed in 1996. Am Oved ("Working People"), the Histadrut publishing house, published both original Hebrew literature and translations. Ha-Po'el ("The Worker"), the Histadrut's sports association, was the largest in the country. There was also a trade union and social organization for young people, Ha-No'ar ha-Oved ve-ha-Lomed, with some 100,000 members.

ARAB WORKERS. Arabs and members of other minority communities joined the Histadrut as full members. There were union branches in Arab centers, and, in mixed places of work, joint workers' committees were elected by Arab and Jewish workers. With the assistance and advice of the Histadrut, agricultural, industrial, consumer, and housing cooperatives were established in Arab areas; Kuppat Ḥolim operated general and mother-and-child clinics, and the Histadrut, especially through its youth and women's movements, maintained clubs and cultural activities in Arab towns and villages. There were 118,098 Arab members in 1969 – 29% of the Arab population, including about 5,000 in Jerusalem, who joined after the reunification of the city in 1967 and were served by a Kuppat Ḥolim branch in East Jerusalem.

INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATIONS. The Histadrut was affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and maintained close ties with its member federations. It sent experienced trade unionists to advise on labor organization, particularly in Asia and Africa, and many delegations and groups of students, particularly from developing countries, came to Israel to study its methods and achievements. The trade unions in these countries were interested in the Histadrut's unitary structure, its success in integrating members with varied cultural and educational backgrounds, and its prominent role in national life. Its Afro-Asian Institute was an important international center for labor studies. The Histadrut also belonged to the International Cooperative Alliance, which represented cooperative movements in both Western and Communist countries, and Israel's cooperative economy aroused widespread interest. Despite Israel's small size, its representatives played a prominent part in the work of the International Labor Office and were regularly elected to its governing body. The Histadrut's influence in all branches of the international labor movement was an asset of considerable political importance for Israel and reflected the socialist ethos that prevailed in the country until the 1980s.

[Lois Bar-Yaacov and Moses Aberbach]

The Histadrut since 1995

On the eve of the May 1994 elections for the Histadrut leadership, a group of three Labor Knesset members, headed by Haim *Ramon, then minister of health, decided to run as an independent list called New Life. It challenged the old-guard leadership headed by Secretary-General Haim Haberfeld and the Labor Party rule of the Histadrut that had lasted since its creation in 1920. The New Life list argued that the Histadrut must adapt itself to the realities of Israel on the eve of the year 2000, shed its old image as a wasteful and bloated bureaucratic organization that had lost touch with the Israeli worker, and above all stated that the time had come to institute an orderly and honest accounting and administration of the vast holdings of the Histadrut.

On May 10, 1994, the Ramon list won 47% of the votes, while Labor (headed by the incumbent Haberfeld) won 33%. Ramon was elected secretary-general, a title he soon changed to Histadrut chairman, and, upon entering office on July 6, 1994 (in coalition with Labor), announced far-reaching reforms. Among them was the firing of some 45% of the Histadrut and various Workers Council staff, moving the headquarters to Jerusalem by December 1995 (a failed effort; the headquarters returned to Tel Aviv a few years later), the sale of holdings and assets (which had already begun), and a general restructuring of the Histadrut. The reforms were underscored by changing the Histadrut's name to the New Histadrut (Histradrut ha-Oevdim ha-Ḥadashah). Following the Rabin assassination in November 1995, Ramon joined the Peres government as minister of interior and was succeeded by Amir *Peretz. By the time Ramon had returned to the government, he was responsible for a number of dramatic changes, including the legislation of two major laws. The first was the State Pension Law, in which responsibility for the Histadrut pension funds, whose projected deficit was estimated at IS 40 billion, was transferred to the government. Responsibility for the health services of Kuppat Ḥolim (the Sick Fund) were also transferred to the government, after the passage of the State Health Insurance Law in January 1995, a law initiated by Ramon as minister of health. In accordance with the law, residents of Israel would pay a health tax to the state (for this purpose the National Insurance Institute), and be free to choose free health services in one of four health funds.

The Histadrut leadership was reduced in number, the membership of the central committee dropping from 40 to 24; the 374 members and alternates of the Histradut Committee was reduced to 137, becoming what was now called the Histadrut's Elected Assembly. The internal comptroller's office was strengthened and given greater independence.

A massive campaign was launched to investigate charges of corruption, mismanagement of funds, and use of Histadrut funds for personal primary campaigns. Some of the results were submitted to the police for additional investigation and a number of former leaders were charged. This was accompanied by massive budgetary cuts, from IS 740 million in 1994 to IS 440 million in 1995. The number of members was 661,855

in June 1995. Among them, 534,920 were salaried and the rest pensioners, members of kibbutzim and moshavim, students, and household workers.

At the outset of the 21st century the Histadrut operated mainly as a conventional trade union. The organization suffered from a constant deficit, which made its work difficult. The trade union department became the center of Histadrut activity, coordinating and supervising the operations of the national associations and big company unions (such as Bezek and the Electric Corporation), which are seen as dominating the Histadrut. The main tools left to the Histadrut after the reform were demonstrations and strikes, which were resorted to mainly in the public sector. As a trade union, the Histadrut provides such services to its members as representation in national and sectoral negotiations, protection of workers' salaries, legal and economic advice to unions, and information on labor relations.

In 1997 Amir Peretz founded a new workers' party, Am Eḥad (One People), aiming at representing the workers politically and promoting social legislation. In the 1999 elections it won two seats, and in 2003 it increased its representation to three Knesset members. In 2004 it joined the *Israel Labor Party and in 2005 Peretz won a surprise victory over Shimon Peres in the Labor primaries to become the head of the party, with Peretz relinquishing the role of Histradrut chairman.

The Histadrut reforms were probably the first major changes in those Israeli institutions that played a dominant role in the Mandatory period and the formative years of Israel. With the passage of time, and in view of their inability to adjust to the new environment, changes were inevitable.

[Meron Medzini and Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Malkosh, *Histadrut in Israel, its Aims and Achievements* (1962²); W. Preuss, *Labour Movement in Israel* (1965²); *Ha-Histadrut mi-Yom Kum ha-Medinah* (1969); Ẓ. Arad and Y. Gotthelf (eds.), *Mo'ed: Arba'im Shanah la-Histadrut* (1960); *Shenaton ha-Histadrut…* (1963–); T. Pirker, *Die Histadrut, Gewerkschaftsprobleme in Israel* (1965). **ADD BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Caspi, *Yaḥasei Avodah* (1997). **WEBSITE:** www.histadrut.org.il.

HISTADRUT HA-OVEDIM HA-LE'UMMIT ("National Labor Federation"), organization founded in Jerusalem in 1934. It came into being as a result of a basic clash of outlooks between *Revisionist workers and the *Histadrut. The Revisionists criticized the Histadrut for being socialist and a class organ, demanded that it confine itself to trade union organization, and charged it with discriminating in the allocation of employment against members of the Revisionist Labor Bloc, which emphasized the national rather than the class interests of the workers.

In 1930, the convention of the Revisionist Labor Bloc decided to leave the Histadrut and founded Irgun Ovedei ha-Ẓohar u-Vetar (the Organization of Revisionists and Betar Workers) in Palestine, which, in 1934, became the Histradut ha-Ovedim ha-Le'ummit. Its purpose, according to its constitution, was to "unite all national workers in Palestine loyal to the principle of the establishment of the Jewish state in all of Palestine." It advocated compulsory national arbitration in all labor disputes, the establishment of neutral labor exchanges, the entrenchment of Jewish labor, fair conditions for the worker, and the development of good relations between workers and employers. Its symbol was the blue and white flag (in contradistinction to the red flag used by the Histadrut); its anthem was "*Ha-Tikvah," not the "Internationale"; and it chose the anniversary of Herzl's death, the 20th of Tammuz, rather than the First of May, as its annual workers' holiday.

Later the National Labor Federation became unaffiliated with any political party. In 1970 it had about 80,000 members. It stressed the need for a complete separation between the functions of the employer and those of the trade union, and opposed the combination of the two functions in the Histadrut, whose economic arm, Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim, owned many enterprises employing workers whose interests are represented by the Histadrut's trade union department. Histadrut ha-Ovedim ha-Le'ummit advocates the establishment of a national institution for compulsory arbitration in labor disputes and of nationwide trade unions whose elected organs will decide their policies independently of political party decisions. It is in favor of the provision of basic social services, such as medical care, by the state and the enactment of pensions and unemployment insurance laws.

The trades union department of the federation has negotiated labor contracts with more than a hundred concerns employing some 8,000 workers. It has insurance and pension funds, a labor-disputes fund, an unemployment fund, a members' credit fund, a mutual loan fund, and a disablement fund. The National Workers' Sick Fund, Kuppat Ḥolim le-Ovedim Le'ummiyyim, now called Kuppat Ḥolim Le'ummit, provides medical care for over 220,000 persons in over 100 clinics, including some in Druze villages, and maintains laboratories.

Sela, the federation's housing company, has constructed thousands of apartments for newcomers and veterans, shopping centers, synagogues, and public buildings, some as part of government housing projects. The federation runs a guesthouse and holiday company, Beri'on, which owns guesthouses and convalescent homes. It also owns two cooperative building companies. Merkaz ha-Avodah and Ha-Massad. Its youth wing, Ha-No'ar ha-Oved ve-ha-Lomed ha-Le'ummi (the National Working and Student Youth Association), runs youth clubs in cities, suburbs, and immigrant centers. The organization also runs day care centers under the name Nili. The supreme body of the federation is the National Conference, which meets once every five years, its 251 delegates being elected directly on a personal basis by secret ballot. Workers' councils in each locality are elected in the same way. The conference elects a national committee, an executive committee, a control committee, and a members' court. The secretary-general of the federation in 1970 was Eliezer Shostak and in 2005 Yiẓḥak Russo.

In 1995, under the new health law, the Kuppat Ḥolim was separated from the Histadrut. Furthermore under a re-

organization program, the workers' councils were abolished and, instead, regional service centers were established. The idea was that now the organization representative would visit the worker, and not vice versa. In addition, new cooperative agreements were signed between the Histadrut ha-Ovedim and employers, including human resource companies. Since that time new members have joined the organization. In 2005 the Histadrut ha-Ovedim had 350 employees.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Ophir, *Sefer ha-Oved ha-Le'ummi* (1959); E. Shostak, *Din ve-Ḥeshbon la-Ve'idah ha-Aḥat-Esreh* (1969); F. Zweig, *The Israeli Worker…* (1959). **WEBSITE:** www.histadrut.net.

[David Jutan / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HISTADRUT IVRIT OF AMERICA, U.S. organization devoted to encouraging the knowledge and use of the Hebrew language, the publication of Hebrew books and periodicals, and an interest in Hebrew culture. The organization held its opening convention in December 1917 as a result of the activity of Zionists and Hebraists who found themselves in the United States as the result of World War I, in particular Shmarya *Levin, who served as president of the organization (1917–18). In 1923, under the editorship of M. Ribalow, the Histadrut Ivrit began to publish the Hebrew newspaper *Hadoar* as a weekly. Since then *Hadoar* was the only Hebrew weekly in the Diaspora to be published regularly without interruption. The Histadrut Ivrit established its own publishing house, Ogen, in 1926. For a number of years it also published an annual *Sefer ha-Shanah li-Yhudei Amerikah* ("Yearbook for American Jews"). It founded a Hebrew-speaking youth organization which published its own magazine *Niv*, and for a number of years sponsored a Hebrew theater and other activities for younger speakers of the language. In 1954 under the direction of Samuel K. Mirsky the Histadrut Ivrit also established Ha-Akademyah ha-Ivrit ("The Hebrew Academy"), an organization that annually organized a series of scholarly and academic lectures in various fields delivered by Jewish scholars in the Hebrew language. The Histadrut Ivrit was associated with the *Brit Ivrit Olamit.

Ironically, a Diaspora Hebrew language publication became the victim of the flattening of the universe, the availability of Israeli newspapers in the United States, of weekly newspapers geared to Israelis living in the United States and the accessibility of Hebrew language writing on the Internet and the ability of American Hebrew writers to publish their material in a timely manner in Israel. In 2002 the Histadrut Ivrit appointed Prof. Lev Hakak as the editor of *Hadoar*. He revitalized it and gave the Hebrew language highly respected representation in America. Histadrut Ivrit subsequently merged with Hebrew College. The organization ran out of funds and ended its existence, including the publication of *Hadoar*, in 2005.

[David Mirsky / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

HISTORIA AUGUSTA, a collection of biographies, in Latin, probably by various hands, of emperors, pretenders, and heirs apparent to Rome's imperial throne from *Hadrian to Numerianus (117–284). It was written probably in the late fourth or early fifth century, and it has been claimed that it was written against the Christians as an apology for paganism. The biographies of the Antonines contain a few misleading references to Jews. The rebellious spirit of Jews under *Trajan, restrictive measures by Hadrian, and the Jewish revolt in 132 are treated lightly (*Hadrian*, chs. 5, 14), and no wars in Hadrian's reign are depicted as important (21:8ff.). The more lenient attitude of *Antoninus Pius goes unmentioned, and there is only an isolated statement that he suppressed rebellious Jews (*Antoninus* 5:4). Nothing is said of the reputed scorn of Jews by *Marcus Aurelius. The respective lives show a severe *Septimius Severus, who punished converts to Judaism (*Severus* 17:1), and a sympathetic *Caracalla, who at the age of seven was disturbed by the beating a father administered to a playmate for practicing Judaism (*Caracalla* 1:6).

Elagabalus (218–222), unmindful of the Jewish principle of religious exclusiveness, deemed it desirable to incorporate Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian rites in a syncretistic worship (*Elagabalus* 3:5); he thought that a Jewish commandment ordered the eating of ostriches (28:3). Even *Alexander Severus (222–235), who preserved Jewish privileges (*Alexander Severus* 22:4) and who recognized the moral elevation of Judaism (45:7) and its golden rule (51:7 – though the golden rule is a pagan commonplace as well), did not distinguish clearly between Christianity and Judaism, and in syncretistic fashion placed the image of Abraham beside those of Orpheus, the pagan philosopher and wonder-worker Apollonius of Tyana, and Jesus, as well as those of his own ancestors, in his private chapel (29:2ff.). The biography of Gordian III (238–244) mentions an epitaph of that emperor in Greek, Latin, Persian, Hebrew, and Egyptian (*Gordianus* 34:2–3).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Reinach, Textes, 342–51; J. Straub, *Studien zur Historia Augusta* (1952); idem (ed.), *Historia Augusta – Colloquium, Bonn, 1963* (1964).

[Jacob Petroff]

HISTORIANS. Though Jews began to take part in modern European cultural life in the 18th century, none made anything of a mark in historiography until the 19th. Isaac d'Israeli's attempted rehabilitation of the character of Charles I attracted some attention in his day, but was of slender value. On the other hand, Sir Francis *Palgrave (Cohen) was perhaps the first English scientific historian, and founder of systematic research into archivistic source material in England. Samuel *Romanin may be said to have done the same for Venice. Later, Jews (e.g., Harry Bresslau and Philip Jaffe), took a prominent role in the publication of the great collection of source material of German history, the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (MGH). It is perhaps natural that the Jew should be drawn to the investigation of the history of other countries than his own. Thus the Germans Robert *Davidsohn and Ludo Hartmann were among the foremost historians of Italy, Felix Lieberman of Anglo-Saxon England, and the Frenchman Elie Halévy (only remotely Jewish) of the Victorian period.

Among the great historiographical organizers was Sir Sidney *Lee, who was responsible for bringing the *Dictionary of National Biography* to successful conclusion. Jewish writers such as Lewis *Melville, Philip *Guedalla, and Stefan *Zweig were among the best known popularizers of history. In later years historians like Daniel *Boorstin, Eric *Hobsbawm, Simon *Schama, and Barbara *Tuchman achieved considerable popularity.

For writers on Jewish history see *Historiography.

Women Historians

American Jewish women became prominent within the historical profession during the 1960s, as discrimination against Jews and prejudice against women declined in the academic world in the decades after World War II. Perhaps because of their sensitivity to the situation of powerless groups, many focused their attention on ordinary people, workers, peasants, minority groups, Jews, and women.

Jewish women who became leading social historians included historians of Europe, such as Natalie Zemon *Davis and Joan Wallach Scott, and historians of America, such as Tamara Hareven. In a series of ground-breaking articles and books, Davis explored family relationships, daily life, and religion among peasants in 16th- and 17th-century France. Scott wrote on the lives of industrial workers in France, and Hareven studied workers and the family in the United States. Other Jewish women who became leading American social historians in the 1950s and 1960s include Elaine Tyler May, Paula S. Fass, Regina Morantz-Sanchez, Sheila Rothman, and Mary Flug Handlin.

By the 1970s many of these social historians helped develop the newly emerging field of women's history. Joan Wallach Scott turned to the study of female workers and how industrial wage work failed to liberate women from traditional power relations within the family. Similarly, Renate Bridenthal, Atina Grossman, and Marion Kaplan explored the experience of women in Weimar and Nazi Germany from a feminist perspective. Among historians of the United States, Alice Kessler-Harris, Nancy Cott, Gerda Lerner, Linda Kerber, and Kathryn Kish Sklar took the lead in developing the new field of women's history in the 1960s and 1970s. Nancy Cott and Kathryn Kish Slar dealt with the "cult of domesticity" in colonial and 19th-century America, while Linda Kerber wrote important studies of women in Revolutionary America. Alice Kessler-Harris focused her attention on the experience of female workers, and Gerda *Lerner, a refugee from Nazi Vienna, discussed black and white women who fought against slavery and injustice.

In the late 1980s many women's historians, influenced by developments in literary criticism like deconstructionism and post-modernism, turned to the issue of gender and the ways gender hierarchies are created and legitimized. Joan Wallach Scott was at the forefront of this development with her book, *Gender and the Politics of History* (1988). Other Jewish women who study intellectual or political history, often influenced by modern theory, include Jan Goldstein, Jane Caplan, Temma Kaplan, Gabrielle Spiegel, and Brigitte Bedos-Rezak.

Gertrude *Himmelfarb, an active scholar since the 1950s who wrote over 10 works on intellectual and political culture in England in the 19th century, resisted many of these new trends in historiography. Her book, *The New History and the Old* (1987; 2004), was especially critical of social history and post-modernism.

Jewish women were also prominent in developing the field of modern Jewish history in America. Such pioneering professional Jewish historians were Naomi W. *Cohen, a prolific scholar who taught at Hunter College, who concerned herself with Jewish politics, Jewish-non-Jewish relations, and the status of Jews in American society; Lucy *Dawidowicz, a professor at Yeshiva University, who worked on East European Jews and on the Holocaust; and Nora *Levin, an instructor at Gratz College, who wrote about the Holocaust, Jewish Socialist movements, and the Jews of the Soviet Union.

As modern Jewish history grew as a field in the 1970s, women became increasingly prominent, publishing pathbreaking works in Jewish social history, including Jewish women's history, and occupying prominent positions at leading American universities. Paula *Hyman, professor at Yale University, wrote on the social history of the Jews in France and also devoted much scholarly attention to Jewish women. Marion Kaplan of New York University was the leading historian of German-Jewish women. After her 1979 study of the *Juedischer Frauenbund*, a feminist Jewish organization in early 20th century Germany, she wrote *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class* (1991), on the crucial role Jewish women played in Imperial Germany in acculturating their families into bourgeois social mores and in maintaining religious tradition, social life, and Jewish ethnic solidarity. Kaplan also wrote about how Jewish women helped their families cope with persecution in *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (1998). Other important historians of European Jewry include Frances Malino of Wellesley College, who worked on Sephardi Jews in France and North Africa; Harriet Freidenreich of Temple University, who wrote on interwar Yugoslavian and Viennese Jewry and on the first generation of Central European Jewish women to receive higher education; Marsha Rozenblit of the University of Maryland, who studied Jewish assimilation in late Habsburg Vienna and Jewish identity in Habsburg Austria during World War I; Vicki Caron of Cornell, who worked on French Jews; Deborah Hertz of the University of California at San Diego, who published several books on the salon Jewesses of late 18th century Berlin; and Elisheva Carlebach of Queens College, who studied Jews in early modern Central Europe.

Within American Jewish history, Jewish women have been equally prominent since the 1970s. Deborah Dash Moore of the University of Michigan wrote such major works as *At Home in America: Second Generation New York Jews* (1981), a study of the process by which the children of East European Jewish immigrants in New York in the 1920s and 1930s

Americanized and yet still maintained a strong Jewish ethnic identity; *To the Golden Cities: Pursuing the American Jewish Dream in Miami and L.A.* (1994); and *GI Jews* (2004), which analyzes the impact of military service on the Jewish identity of American Jewish soldiers during World War II. Jenna Weissman Joselit of Princeton University is likewise an important figure in American Jewish social history; her books included *Our Gang: Jewish Crime and the New York Jewish Community, 1900–1940* (1983); *New York's Jewish Jews: The Orthodox Community in the Interwar Years* (1990); and *The Wonders of America: Reinventing Jewish Culture 1880–1950* (1994). Beth Wenger of the University of Pennsylvania wrote on the experiences of New York Jews during the Great Depression; Susan Glenn, Sydney Stahl Weinberg, and Judith E. Smith have studied the experience of Jewish immigrant women, and Pamela Nadell of American University and Karla Goldman have dealt with the role of women in American Jewish religious life.

Hasia Diner of New York University made major contributions to the fields of American immigrant history, women's history, and Jewish history. Her first book, *In the Almost Promised Land: American Jews and Blacks, 1915–1935* (1977), studied how the Yiddish press viewed the civil rights struggles of the early 20th century. The author of several innovative studies of immigrant groups, as well as a number of books on the American Jewish experience, Diner provided a new understanding of 19th-century Jewish immigrants to America from German-speaking Central Europe in her volume, *A Time for Gathering: The Second Migration, 1820–1880* (1992).

[Marsha L. Rozenblit (2nd ed.)]

HISTORIOGRAPHY. This article is arranged according to the following outline:

The Bible

One can best appreciate biblical historiography by comparing it with Greek historiography. Herodotus, a contemporary of authors of the later parts of the Bible, begins his book by explaining that he was publishing his researches "in the hope of preserving from decay the remembrance of what men have done." In contrast, biblical historiography explains the events of history as parts of a divine plan at the center of which is God's chosen people. The point of biblical "remembrance" is religiously didactic. Past events, some real, others imagined, are recounted in order to show that the fortunes of the Israelite-Jewish people are directly proportional to their loyalty to Yahweh. The sequence of historical works in the Hebrew Bible is probably unparalleled in ancient historiography, in that it endeavors to place the history of a particular people – the Hebrews – in the setting of the history of the human race. The record begins in Genesis at creation and traces the beginnings of all humankind. From Genesis 12 the purview is narrowed to the story of the Hebrews from the days of their progenitor, Abraham, onward. Yet even then the wider setting is not overlooked: the genealogical data (Gen. 25, 36, et al.) purporting to give the broad outlines of the record of the kindred peoples who were neighbors of the Hebrews. Whatever the origin of the various documents which go to make up the pentateuchal story, they have been skillfully welded together into a narrative with a majestic sweep.

The Pentateuch's narratives are succeeded by an account of the conquest of the land of Canaan by the invading Hebrew tribes in the Book of Joshua. The major traditions of the Pentateuch, including the Egyptian enslavement, the exodus from Egypt, and the trek through the desert must be understood as political and religious allegories (Sperling) rather than factual accounts. The nature of the lost *Book of the Wars of the Lord, mentioned in Numbers 21:14, can only be conjectured, but it seems to have been a poetical elaboration of some part of the pentateuchal story. The Book of Judges comprises a somewhat heterogeneous collection of episodes relating to the pre-monarchic period: there is considerable chronological overlapping; no differentiation is made between happenings restricted to part of the country and those affecting it as a whole; and while some stories are dismissed in a few lines, others, e.g. the epic of Deborah (4–5), Abimelech (9), Samson (13–16), and the gruesome story of the concubine in Gibeah (19), are given extended treatment which does not necessarily reflect their significance in the overall story. Despite the presence of mythical and legendary elements, the Book of Judges presents a picture of pre-monarchic life that conforms reasonably well to the picture drawn by archeology.

Attention to national historiography is resumed in the Book(s) of Samuel. This gives a consecutive history of the Israelite people and its principal leaders in the period approximately coinciding with the 11th century B.C.E., with special emphasis on the lives of Samuel (1–7), Saul (8–31), and David (16ff., II Sam. 1–24). The writer displays an intimate knowledge of his subject and background material: as an attempt to convey an objective picture of the times and the personalities involved it is probably unique in ancient Oriental literature. The detailed biography of David, perhaps incorporated from an independent composition, is a splendid piece of historical writing and character delineation. The hero is presented as a human being with traits of nobility but at the same time capable of the basest actions. The story of the physical decline

of the great amorist (incorporated in the first chapters of the Book of Kings) is dramatically but delicately indicated in three telling words (I Kings 1:4). Some descriptive passages show an extraordinary mastery of the literary craft – e.g., the last days of Saul (I Sam. 31), and the rebellion of Absalom and David's mourning for him (II Sam. 14–19).

Possibly a good deal of this material was derived from the composition of an official court chronicler or historiographer, an office that may already have existed at this period. This seems to have been the function of the royal *mazkir* (lit. "remembrancer"; cf. II Sam. 8:16; I Kings 4:3). The first specific mention of a contemporary historiographical record is the Book of the Acts of Solomon (referred to in I Kings 11:41) which obviously contained a great deal more biographical material than that part which was incorporated in the extant Books of Kings and of Chronicles. The period of the monarchy was also covered wholly or in part by the Books of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah and Israel and – apparently another work – the Book of Kings of Israel and Judah (II Chron. 27:7). The extant Book of Kings, which used these sources, is an uneven work, expatiating on the reign of Solomon (I Kings 1:11), the division of the kingdom after his death (12–14), and the epic of the house of Ahab and its dramatic fall (I Kings 16–II Kings 9), which contains some of the finest descriptive writing in the whole of historical literature, ancient or modern (especially II Kings 9:4–13, 29–37). The Book(s) of *Chronicles retells a good deal of the contents of Samuel and Kings, but with different stresses and from a different point of view, more favorable to David and later emphasizing the centrality of the Temple and adding many incidental details regarding the organization of the cult. The chief historiographical contribution of Chronicles is its consistent theodicy. Whenever a "good" king suffers, it is due to some impiety otherwise unattested outside of Chronicles. In like manner when a "bad' king prospers Chronicles attributes that to an otherwise unattested good deed. The Hebrew Bible also contains historical monographs relating to a more restricted field or period in the Books of Daniel (with much extraneous material), Ruth, and Esther.

[Cecil Roth / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

Second Temple Period

The period of the Second Temple, until its last days, was far poorer in its historiography (as in other literature) than the period of the First Temple. On the other hand, the historical works then produced were memorable because they were admittedly based to some extent on what many termed archivistic research. The official documents and correspondence found in the Book of Ezra (see chs. 4, 6) were derived – or purported to be derived – from official records preserved in public collections. The Book of Nehemiah, meanwhile, claimed to embody extensive quotations from the actual autobiography or memoirs of Nehemiah himself, whose authenticity seems to be established by the pathetic personal interjections ("Remember unto me, O my God, for good") which are interspersed (5:19, et al.). Thereafter there is a virtual blank in Jewish historiography extending over some three centuries. Two writers then devoted works to the revolt of the Hasmoneans, both of which have been incorporated in the Apocrypha. The author of I Maccabees – who wrote in Hebrew – was obviously an admirer of the Hasmonean dynasty who probably lived in the reign of John Hyrcanus, when independence seemed to have been definitely reestablished. Factual and straightforward, it is a historical source of first importance. Perhaps earlier than this work was the original author of II Maccabees, who may be regarded as the earliest Jewish historian known by name. This was *Jason of Cyrene, a Hellenistic Jew probably of the second century B.C.E., who wrote in Greek, though his writing indicates no knowledge or influence of the great classical Greek historians. The work – an abstract of a five-volume history on an ambitious scale – centered around the personality of Judah Maccabee, except insofar as it cites a number of authentic documents drawn probably from public records. In contrast to I Maccabees it is naive in tone and credulously recounts a number of "miracles" in which the author implicitly believed. The other narrative books of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (III and IV Maccabees, Judith, Tobit) are basically fictitious rather than historical and need not be taken into consideration here. A separate work of John Hyrcanus, now lost, is mentioned in I Maccabees 16:23–4.

The last days of the Second Temple period were marked, it seems, by a reawakening of a historical sense among the Jews which led to the emergence of a significant historical literature. *Philo of Alexandria, as well as his philosophical writings, wrote a historical work, basically theological in inspiration, intended to demonstrate the operation of Divine Providence in protecting the Jewish people. Of this work, only two of the original five parts have been preserved: an account of the persecution of the Jews of Egypt by the Roman governor Flaccus and the retribution that was meted out to him; and a vivid description of the delegation of the Alexandrian Jews, including Philo himself, to the unbalanced Roman emperor Caius Caligula. Philo shows himself in these writings to be master of vivacious descriptive powers. His contemporary Nicholas of Damascus, the private secretary of Herod the Great, was not a Jew, but had a considerable influence on Jewish historiography because of the lengthy account of Herod's reign in his voluminous universal history. The full text of this has been lost, but considerable portions of it were incorporated, apparently almost unchanged, in the historical writings of *Josephus. The latter's political rival, *Justus of Tiberias, private secretary of King Agrippa II, wrote in Greek an account of the great war against Rome of 66–73 – or at least of its earlier stages – in which Josephus' ambiguous conduct in Galilee at this time was scathingly described. It is now lost, but is of significance because it goaded the latter (who indeed did not scruple to make use of the information which it contained) to defend himself in his own historical writings. Justus also wrote a work on the Jewish monarchy, similarly no longer extant.

The personal character of Josephus has no bearing on his importance as a historian, which was extremely significant: it is indeed possible to regard him as one of the great historians of antiquity. Beginning to write at the conclusion of the great war against Rome in order to excuse his own conduct and reply to the attacks which were being made on him, he soon extended his interests and became a historian by vocation. His failings as well as some of his qualities are obvious to the most casual reader. He did not have the virtue of consistency, sometimes giving contradictory accounts of the same episode in different passages. To this he was impelled to some extent by his constant need to justify himself and to present a favorable picture of Vespasian and Titus, his attitude toward whom was nauseatingly sycophantic. On the other hand, he took pains to consult documents in public archives, which he often quotes *in extenso* – though his paradoxical Jewish patriotism (except as far as concerned those Jews who set themselves in opposition to Rome) sometimes may have led him to modify his texts. His great virtue in his historical writing however was his tremendous sweep and effortless mastery of his materials. His *Jewish Antiquities* is a history of the Jewish people from its beginnings down to the period of the Hasmonean monarchy. The first part is based on the biblical accounts, reinforced by legend and allegorical moralizing: while it adds nothing to the known factual knowledge, it is memorable as an attempt, almost in a modern idiom, to reinterpret the ancient traditional accounts in accordance with the standards of contemporary historiography. The story enters a new phase with the account of the Hasmonean rising and monarchy, the Roman conquest, the reign of Herod and the Herodian house, and the events leading up to the revolt of 66 and the great war against the Romans which followed: this is contained in overlapping accounts at the end of the *Jewish Antiquities* and in the *Jewish War* – a work memorable in that here the author, instead of merely describing the revolt and the progress of hostilities, considers it necessary to give a detailed account of the political background and of the remote events indirectly leading up to the outbreak of the war.

Chronicles of the Jews

EARLY MIDDLE AGES. It is remarkable that for centuries subsequently to the publication of Josephus, Jewish historiography was utterly stagnant apart from the exceptional attempt made in the *Seder Olam Rabbah, plausibly ascribed to *Yose b. Ḥalafta (c. 150 C.E.), to establish a chronological framework of biblical history. So far as is known, the Jews of the age of the Talmud had no knowledge of Josephus' fundamental writings; while the serious contribution of the Books of Maccabees to history were naturalized into Hebrew in the historically worthless *Scroll of Antiochus, written as a liturgical exercise. The revival of Hebrew studies in Italy in the eighth century, in an environment strongly affected by the culture of the outside world, resulted in an attempt to present the historical writings of Josephus in Hebrew in the chronicle ascribed to Joseph b. Goryon (Book of *Josippon), compiled probably in southern Italy in the tenth century: a fine literary exercise, though lacking basic historical importance. It was of great significance in Jewish historiography, however, as it was the main source of information for Jews in the Middle Ages – including even the greatest scholars – for the events of the last years of the Second Temple period. Its literary influence on the other hand was slight, except in such works as the 12th-century world chronicle of *Jerahmeel b. Solomon, also an Italian production though emanating from the north rather than the south of the peninsula. The most important historical work of Italian origin of the early Middle Ages was the Chronicle of Ahimaaz, compiled in 1054 but admittedly incorporating earlier materials as well as family tradition (see *Ahimaaz b. Paltiel). This is basically a delightful family chronicle, naively written and embodying much preposterous legend. On the other hand, it gives a vivid (if credulous) picture of Jewish life in southern Italy of the time with which it deals – formerly utterly unknown – and has important sidelights on conditions in Sicily, Byzantium, North Africa, and Ereẓ Israel. The Chronicle of Ahimaaz is preserved in a single manuscript, discovered last century (1869) – a fact which raises the tantalizing possiblity that it followed a prevailing literary fashion, and that there may have been similar family chronicles of the period which have disappeared without leaving even the slightest trace.

A wholly different production is the Letter of R. *Sherira b. Ḥanina, gaon of Pumbedita (987), written in reply to an enquiry addressed to him by the scholars of Kairouan. The information was needed as guidance in the study of the Talmud; but in reply Sherira gave a complete account of the chain of transmission of rabbinic tradition from remote times down to his own day, in the spirit of contemporary Arab writers on similar themes. The information that he gave was based on the archives of the academies, which may have comprised some methodical chronicles. This remains to the present day the framework for the history of Mesopotamian Jewry in the period between the close of the Talmud and the 11th century.

No historical record of any sort that has survived was produced by the Jews of northern Europe during the first centuries of the development of Ashkenazi Jewry: it is for this reason that knowledge of it is in so great a degree hypothetical. A couple of narrative fragments describe in a somewhat legendary vein persecutions in France in 992 and 1007 respectively. With the First Crusade of 1096, Jewish historiography, or at least chronography, somewhat abruptly begins. The precise interrelationship between the three accounts of the Rhineland massacres at the time of the First Crusade (by Solomon b. Simeon or Samson, *Eliezer b. Nathan of Mainz, and an anonymous author) is as yet undetermined, but they certainly do not greatly postdate the events which they describe: the anonymous account may be the original source, but on the other hand it is possible that all three derive from another source now lost. In any case, the somewhat abrupt beginning seems to suggest that these accounts are part only of a more extensive chronicle which has not survived. More-

over, the elevated and superb narrative style does not give the impression that this is a new literary experiment: the writer had models before him and was only continuing an already familar tradition. There is here in fact a further suggestion that medieval Jewish historiography is not to be measured only in terms of those relatively sparse fragments that have survived. The chronicles of the First Crusade were continued by the record of *Ephraim b. Jacob of Bonn covering the years 1146–96; this includes accounts of the blood libel at Blois and the sufferings of the Jews during the Second and Third Crusades, the passages relating to England being particularly noteworthy. It is significant that these works are all in the nature of martyrologies. They are accounts not of Jewish history but of Jewish suffering: chronicles of a wider historical nature were not produced by the Jews of northern Europe then or for a long time afterward.

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE. Possibly the first medieval Jewish writer who may be considered a historian in the wider sense was Abraham *Ibn Daud of Toledo, who wrote brief histories of the Second Temple period and of Rome in addition to his famous *Sefer ha-Kabbalah*, dealing with the transmission of rabbinic lore from the earliest times down to his own day, written in a vivid Hebrew style in the rhetorical tradition of Arabic historiography. Basically, the work is an attempt to prove historically the continuity of rabbinic teaching from the remotest times, in order to disprove the Karaite counterclaims; incidentally, it comprises a number of famous "purple patches" relating to individuals and episodes of Spanish Jewish history which have entered into the common store of Jewish historical legend. The latest editor, Gerson D. Cohen (1967), is, however, inclined to doubt fundamentally the historicity of these insertions, believing that many of them were adapted from Muslim sources.

The "chain of tradition" remained henceforth one of the main preoccupations of Spanish Jewish historiography: in the *Sefer Yuḥasin* of Abraham *Zacuto, in the continuation of the *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* by *Abraham b. Solomon of Torrutiel (b. 1482) and others; though in all such works historical data (mainly relating to persecutions and massacres) were interspersed almost at random in the basic chronological account of scholars and scholarship. The same applied to the *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* (Venice, 1586) by Gedaliah b. Joseph *Ibn Yaḥya, member of a distinguished family of Portuguese exiles domiciled in Italy. This comprises a perplexing medley of information on scholarship and scholars, bulked out with much legend which later became part of Jewish folklore, and occasionally diverging into historical byways of considerable significance as raw material for the historian rather than a contribution to historiography as the term is now understood. Immanuel *Aboab's Spanish defense of Jewish tradition, *Nomología* (Amsterdam (1629), but written in Italy), though more serious and less diffuse, was in much the same category.

Seemingly of a different type, and historiographically more significant, was a chronicle dealing basically with the Jews of the south of France between 1187 and 1240, a precis of which (from a manuscript in the hands of Yom Tov Sanzolo, a rabbi of Spanish origin then living in Turkey) was incorporated by Joseph *Ibn Verga as an appendix to his father's *Shevet Yehudah* (see below).

Probably at the beginning of the 15th century, Profiat *Duran compiled a history of Jewish persecutions and suffering. The wide competence and general culture of the author makes it probable that this was a work of considerable significance. It is known, however, only through incidental mentions in later literature, though apparently it was used extensively by the 16th-century chroniclers, with whom Jewish historiography entered on a fresh phase. Outstanding among these was Samuel *Usque, in his great threnody written in classical Portuguese, *Consolaçam as Tribulaçoens de Israel* (Ferrara, 1553). It is in form a dialogue between a much-suffering shepherd and his comforters, following what was then a popular literary convention. Incidentally, the first part gives an account, wholly based on the Bible and some post-biblical traditions, of the First Temple period; the second deals similarly with the Second Temple; the third with a series of Jewish persecutions and sufferings in the Middle Ages. From the literary point of view this is one of the most memorable productions in the entire field of Jewish literature: it is certainly the most remarkable work of its type of Jewish significance written in the vernacular (other perhaps than Arabic) until recent times. It does not, however, purport to be a history and the episodes, except those relating to the writer's own period, are taken from other sources, sometimes heavily manipulated to suit his purpose.

Almost exactly contemporaneous with the publication of the *Consolaçam* was that of the *Shevet Yehudah*, one of the most curious Hebrew literary productions of the age. It seems to have been based on a chronicle of Jewish persecution, written by the martyred R. Judah ibn Verga of Seville, probably leaning heavily, so far as the earlier period is concerned, on the lost work of Profiat Duran. This in turn was edited and supplemented for the contemporary period (the expulsions from Spain and Portugal and the accompanying events) by the original writer's son, Solomon; it was prepared for press, with various supplements such as the brief chronicle mentioned above, by Joseph ibn Verga (Adrianople, 1553). The work as it has survived, however, is in the main the production of Solomon *Ibn Verga, who regarded it not as a mere chronicle but as a vehicle for conveying his critique on his Jewish coreligionists and the place of the Jews in a gentile society. He therefore interspersed among the historical episodes accounts of discussions and disputations at various Spanish courts which seem to be nothing more than the fabrication of his own perplexed imagination. Moreover, even in the historical episodes, he sometimes inserts caustic asides which throw more light on his own psychology than on the events which he describes. This is the case, for example, in the few pages which he devotes (§40) to the disputation of *Tortosa: it is significant that of this cataclysmic and relatively recent event in Spanish Jew-

ish history he knew details of only five sessions out of the total of 69, the antipope Benedict XIII appearing in these pages as a kindly sponsor rather than the venomous oppressor that he was (cf. the parallel account to that in the *Shevet Yehudah*, differing from it however in many significant details, in Kobak's *Jeschurun*, 6 (1868), 45–65). In fact, there is barely any record of the disputation after the first few days in any medieval Jewish source, such was the historiographical myopia of even the most erudite Jewish writers of the period.

SIXTEENTH TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES. It is significant of the then prevailing backward state of Jewish intellectual life, which in the Middle Ages had been at the forefront of European cultural activity, that in the field of Jewish historiography Hebrew literature was only just arriving at the stage of the chronicle – that is, the treatment of independent episodes in chronological order – whereas European literature had already discovered, through the writings of Bruno, Guicciardini, and Machiavelli, "history" in its modern sense, with analysis of cause and effect, of motives and results, and the concatenation of events. Similarly Azariah de' *Rossi in his *Me'or Einayim* (Mantua, 1573) had introduced to Jewish scholarship the novel idea of using secular sources to supplement or check the data in talmudic literature and consulting the extraneous materials to establish a chronological framework for Jewish history. However, his work was frowned upon – if not worse – even by some of his more liberal contemporaries; its study was discouraged, and it had virtually no influence until the era of the *Juedische Wissenschaft* in the early 19th century. In any case, de' Rossi's writings were in the nature of prolegomena to Jewish historiography: so far as is known, he made no attempt to apply his scientific principles in any straightforward historical writing of his own.

It is possible that other significant works now lost were written at this period, the age of what might be termed the tyranny of the printing press. What was published entered into the common store of literature, while a work for some reason or the other not published, however great its merit, had only a restricted influence or none at all. Moreover, at this time so much of what there was to be recorded about the Jews centered on their persecution at the hands of their neighbors that its publication was difficult if not impossible. This may be one of the reasons why Isaac *Cantarini's *Paḥad Yiẓḥak*, describing the attacks on the Jews in Padua in 1684, was written in such cryptic language and published in Amsterdam (1685), though Abraham Massarano's *Ha-Galut ve-ha-Pedut*, giving an account of the sufferings of the Jews at Mantua at the hands of the German *Landsknechten*, appeared in Venice (1634). The Italian Jews, with their mastery of limpid Hebrew, their facility for self-expression, and their familiarity with the advanced literary standards of their non-Jewish neighbors, were always highly articulate and had a facility for recording events which touched them closely. The recently-discovered record by Benjamin Nehemiah b. Elhanan of Civitanova, largely personal, of the times of Pope Paul IV and his relations with the Jews is a significant contribution to Hebrew prose literature as well as to Jewish historiography. The same may be said of the account of the plague in Padua in 1631 by Abraham Catalan (published in *Kobeẓ al Jad*, 14 (1946), 67–102). Parallel to this is the Spanish story, largely legendary, of the arrival of the first settlement of Marranos as professing Jews in Holland at the close of the 16th century. This, however, is an almost unique composition. The paucity of Jewish historical literature in Hebrew is perhaps less surprising than its virtual absence in languages other than Hebrew.

The newly-awakened chronographical (rather than historiographical) sense among the Jews is best exemplified in the writings of *Joseph ha-Kohen, who at least used non-Jewish sources, showed a broad geographical sweep, and tied up – clumsily, it is true – Jewish historical events with general history. However, his writing loses much of its effectiveness by his cloying attempt to imitate biblical narrative style, especially regrettable in a period when the Hebrew prose style of Italian Jews was so spontaneous and vivacious. His magnum opus was his history of the kings of France and Turkey, *Divrei ha-Yamim le-Malkhei Ẓarefat* (Sabionetta, 1554; Amsterdam, 1733), which earned him from Basnage the title of "the second Josephus." It is in fact a somewhat jejune production, not restricted to the subject matter of the title but giving a broad account of European history in chronological form, mainly in the 15th–16th centuries, all derived from familiar sources; there are occasional sidelights on Jewish history, mostly, however, repeated in his other writings. The book was nevertheless very popular, most copies of the first edition having many pages thumbed out of existence; and it helped to give its reader some idea of the main issues in general, and the background of Jewish history. Of greater importance as a source of Jewish history, however, was Joseph ha-Kohen's *Emek ha-Bakha* ("Valley of Tears"; cf. Ps. 84:7). For obvious reasons (for it was basically an account of the persecution of the Jews by their neighbors, stressing the share of the popes of the period of the Catholic Counter-Reformation) this was not published at the time (it was rediscovered only at the close of the 19th century) and underwent revisions and updating by the author, and after his death by an anonymous editor. The author makes use not only of Hebrew sources and Usque's chronicle but also of some non-Jewish authors whom he cites by name. This type of research was an innovation in Jewish historiography, but there are few other traces of modernity in the work, which is an episodic treatment in chronological sequence, valuable mainly for the information that the author gives on his own age and environment.

Even more blatantly chronological is the work of David *Gans. Notwithstanding his wide general culture, his intimacy with the most distinguished astronomers of his day, and his acquaintance with the broad outlines of general history, his *Ẓemaḥ David* (Prague, 1592) is no more than a chronological record in two parts, the one dealing with general, the other with Jewish historical events, with occasional narrative amplifications. Notwithstanding its obvious defects it was important

in helping to arouse some sense of history among the Jews of central and northern Europe. Yet it is significant that Jehiel *Heilprin, in his *Seder ha-Dorot* (Karlsruhe, 1769) in which he tried to systematize the confused data about the rabbis of the Talmud and their successors (down to 1696), spoke scathingly about his contemporaries' lack of interest in history and historical literature.

Perhaps none of the 16th-century Jewish historians was more capable than Elijah *Capsali, a Cretan scholar-physician who had studied in Padua. His parallel works on the history of Turkey and of Venice, the former including a remarkable account of the expulsion from Spain and the fate of the exiles, cannot be evaluated properly until they are published in full. To a large extent, however, they are based on personal observation and reminiscence, and the latter especially contains much autobiographical material which removes it from the strict category of history. Crete being at that time under Venetian rule, Capsali was essentially European in culture, and his work is therefore in a different category from the chronicle of scholars by the Egyptian Joseph *Sambari (Neubauer, Chronicles, 1 (1887), 115–62), the *Kore ha-Dorot* of David *Conforte (1677), or the later History of Fez (ed. by G. Vajda).

The *Chmielnicki massacres in Poland (1648–49) occasioned a spate of historical publications, the most noteworthy being the *Yeven Meẓulah* of Nathan Nata *Hannover (Venice, 1653), true to medieval precedent in concentrating on massacre and suffering. The autobiographies produced at this period by Leone *Modena and *Glueckel of Hameln, invaluable though they are for reconstructing the history of the period, are hardly to be considered in the category of historiography.

Systematic Histories

EARLY STUDIES. *Manasseh Ben Israel included in a list of his unpublished works a Heroica Historia of the Jewish people, intended as a continuation of Josephus. If this was ever written, it has disappeared. After his day editions of Josippon appeared both in Hebrew and in Yiddish with a supplement entitled She'erit Yisrael (Amsterdam, 1741) by Menahem Mann b. Solomon ha-Levi *Amelander. This gave the Jewish reader some idea of the continuous history of his people. But the first systematic history of the Jews, from remote times onward, was compiled not by a Jew but by the French Protestant pastor Jacques *Basnage (*Histoire des Juifs*…, 7 vols., 1706–11; Eng. tr. 1708) which he wrote while living in exile in Holland. Unoriginal and of little independent value, it is nevertheless memorable as the first attempt since the days of Josephus to give a comprehensive history of the Jewish people from antiquity onward. It therefore enjoyed great popularity, and was often translated and republished. The occidental Jew who wished to learn in a systematic fashion something about the past of his people had for many years no other work to consult except this. It constituted, moreover, the basis for several more popular and less voluminous presentations such as *The History of the Jews from the Destruction of Jerusalem to the Present Time* (New York, 1812) by the American Christian writer Hannah *Adams (which included for the first time in Jewish historiography some lines devoted to America). The once popular work by H.H. Milman, later dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, London (London, 1830), was in much the same category, as was the history by Charles Malot (Paris, 1826) in French. The first Jew to attempt a consistent history of his people in a modern European language was Solomon *Loewisohn in his *Vorlesungen ueber die neuere Geschichte der Juden* (Vienna, 1820). He was followed by Peter *Beer, while David *Ottensosser published a similar work in Hebrew characters (Fuerth, 1821–25). *The History of the Jews, from their Origin to their Ultimate Dispersion* (1824) by M. Mayers of Yarmouth, England, was based, like his other writings, on Beer.

Meanwhile, as a by-product of the interest in Hebraic studies by Christian (mainly Protestant) theologians, a number of local histories by more or less well informed Christian scholars appeared in the 18th century, before any similar work by a Jew made its appearance: e.g., *Anglia Judaica* by D'Blossiers *Tovey (Oxford, 1738); Giovanni di Giovanni's *L'ebraismo della Sicilia* (Palermo, 1748); J.C. *Ulrich's *Sammlung juedischer Geschichten in der Schweiz* (Basle, 1768); Andreas Wuerfel's history of the Jews in Fuerth (1754) and Nuremberg (Nuremberg, 1755); and J.C. Aretin's history of the Jews in Bavaria (Landshut, 1803) – all of them serving to prepare the ground for more consistent and thorough treatment of Jewish historical material.

THE WISSENSCHAFT. The period of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums witnessed the first serious attempt by a Jew to present the history of his people as a whole in accordance with the standards of modern scholarship. It was only in 1820 that Isaac Marcus *Jost, a teacher in the Jewish school in Frankfurt, published the first volume of his history of the Jews from the Maccabean period to contemporary times: the ninth and last volume appeared in 1829. This was the first history of the Jews written in accordance with the criteria of modern scholarship by a person with an intimate knowledge of the Hebrew sources and capable of making full use of them. The deficiencies of the work resulted from the personal attitudes of the author. A leader of German Reform Judaism in its early stages, he was to some extent out of sympathy with traditional Jewish life: he was coldly rationalistic, and his intention was nakedly apologetic; literary history rather than the history of the people occupied the forefront of his picture, and he lacked historical training as well as the personal warmth which is needed for a great historian. His later work, a history of Judaism and its sects concentrating on religious history (3 vols., 1857–59), has similar defects but made use of a greater range of research and was therefore in certain respects definitely superior. Nevertheless, the two works still retain some importance, and Jost may fairly be regarded as the father of serious Jewish historiography.

It is said that when Moritz *Steinschneider, the father of Hebrew bibliography, heard that Heinrich *Graetz was en-

gaged on his great work, he observed disapprovingly: "What, another history of the Jews?" to which his interlocutor replied, "Yes, but this time a Jewish history." The claim was justified. Graetz's great *Geschichte der Juden* (11 vols., 1853–76, not produced however in chronological order) was different from that of Jost mainly in the warm and sympathetic spirit that infused it, and a style which is sometimes of classical beauty; it covered moreover the whole of Jewish history from biblical times onward. He used a bewildering mass of source material in many languages. Whereas Jost had used the obvious sources, Graetz revealed for the first time many that had previously been overlooked, and the analyses in his learned appendices (omitted in the English editions) are sometimes of fundamental importance. The results of the research of the emergent *Juedische Wissenschaft* up to his day were exhaustively exploited and incorporated. He showed himself, inevitably, a child of his time. He paid too little attention to social and economic factors; his lack of sympathy with Jewish mysticism is readily apparent; and he tended to overlook the vast importance of Russian and Polish Jewry in Jewish history. Intellectual history sometimes overwhelms entirely the political history, and in the latter greater prominence is given to suffering than to achievement. Nevertheless, his history remains one of the most remarkable products of a single individual in the entire course of Jewish literature, and is still to be regarded as the standard history of the Jews down to the early 19th century. The subsequent editions by M. Brann modified the work only in inconspicuous details. On the other hand, the Hebrew translation by S.P. *Rabbinowitz, supplementing and at the same time modifying the original in important respects and containing appendices by A. *Harkavy and others, has an independent importance. It acquired moreover additional significance in that it introduced Jewish history in a modern sense to large numbers of Hebrew readers in Eastern Europe. This was also one of the merits of Wolf Ze'ev *Jawitz' presentation of Jewish history down to the medieval period from the point of view of strict Orthodoxy, which moreover reexamined the talmudic sources on the basis of a minute knowledge which Graetz lacked.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Simon *Dubnow set out deliberately to correct the defects of Graetz's history. Of Russian birth and author of the history of Eastern European Ḥasidism (1930–32) and of the Jews of Russia and Poland (1916–20), he did not find the task difficult. Belonging to a later generation, he was naturally able to pay proper attention to factors which his precursors had overlooked. Nevertheless, notwithstanding his professed intention, he failed to carry out his plan of devoting adequate attention to social and economic life. Moreover, the subsequent Holocaust, in which he himself perished, threw his work out of balance; and indeed the annihilation of Eastern Jewry, and the consequent catastrophic decline of Yiddish in its former homeland, removed from the realm of actuality the living centers which were the focus of his treatment.

The only remaining massive treatment of Jewish history as a whole is the *Social and Religious History of the Jews* by Salo W. *Baron (27 vols., 1952–83²). This work, overwhelming in its vast erudition and its superb bibliographical equipment, has elevated the author to the first rank among Jewish historians, but it is essentially a discussion of the interplay of social and religious forces in Jewish history rather than a consistent history of the Jews. Popular single-volume histories of the Jews have also been produced in many languages in the course of the past generation, e.g., in English by M.L. *Margolis and A. *Marx, S. *Grayzel, R. Learsi, A.L. *Sachar, C. *Roth, and others.

During the past century there has been a spate of historical writing on specific periods, aspects, or geographical areas of Jewish history – without taking into account the mass of writing on biblical history to which Jewish scholars such as E. *Speiser and B. *Mazar made fundamental contributions. Thus a number of Christian scholars such as Emil *Schuerer and Eduard *Meyer have dealt with the period of the birth of Christianity – for the most part in a somewhat biased religious spirit. This has been counterbalanced on the Jewish side by the work of Adolf *Buechler, Joseph *Klausner, Gedaliah *Allon, Solomon *Zeitlin, Yitzhak *Baer, and, so far as Hellenistic Egypt is concerned, by Victor (Avigdor) *Tcherikover, and for the Roman Empire generally by Jean *Juster. Social history engaged the attention of Moritz *Guedemann, Israel *Abrahams, Abraham *Berliner, and Simḥah *Assaf, and economic history that of Levi *Herzfeld, Georg *Caro, Mark *Wischnitzer, and a devoted band of Eastern European writers, for the most part Dubnow's disciples, such as Ignacy Isaac *Schipper, Bernard *Weinryb, and Jacob *Lestschinsky. The history of the Khazars was treated by the non-Jewish scholar D.M. Dunlop, that of Beta Israel by Wolf *Leslau, the German Court Jews by Selma *Stern-Tauebler and the Marranos by Cecil Roth and Benzion *Netanyahu. The relations of the Catholic Church and the Jews engaged the attention of Moritz *Stern, Bernard *Blumenkranz, and Grayzel, and, from the Christian side, of Peter Browe and (more objectively) James William *Parkes. Gershom *Scholem, as a logical sequel to his works on Jewish mysticism, wrote the definitive account of the messianic movement associated with the name of Shabbetai Ẓevi.

There is an extremely large number of monographs of varying value on individual towns and communities, such as Rome (H. *Vogelstein and P. Rieger, A. Berliner, H.J. *Leon), Florence (U. *Cassuto), Frankfurt (I. *Kracauer), Vilna (I. Cohen), Paris (L. *Kahn), Cologne (A. *Kober), Mantua (S. Simonsohn), Vienna (M. *Gruenwald), Baghdad (D.S. *Sassoon), Salonika (J. Nehama, I.S. *Emmanuel), Castoria (M. Molho), Ragusa [i.e. Dubrovnik] (J. Tadić), and many more. This material has in some cases been digested in histories of the Jews in individual countries, such as Germany (I. *Elbogen), Spain (Y. Baer; for the Muslim period E. *Ashtor), Italy (C. Roth, A. *Milano), Portugal (Mendes dos Remedios), England (A.M. *Hyamson, C. Roth), Egypt (V. Tcherikover for the Hellenistic period; J. *Mann, E. Ashtor, and J. Landau for the

Muslim period), Babylonia (J. *Neusner) with later Iraq (A. Ben-Jacob), Persia (W.J. *Fischel), North Africa (Ḥ.Z. *Hirschberg), Holland (H. Brugmans and A. Frank: vol. 1 only), Sweden (H.M. *Valentin), Switzerland (F. *Guggenheim-Gruenberg), Russia and Poland (S. Dubnow), the Byzantine Empire (J. *Starr), South Africa (L. Herman, G. Saron and L. Hotz), and Canada (B.G. *Sack). The history of the Jews in Latin America has been partially investigated by Boleslao Lewin, S.B. Liebman, A. Wiznitzer, Martin Cohen, I.S. Emmanuel, and others. Some of these works made only slender use of the Hebrew sources, while some areas (e.g., Turkey, notwithstanding the learned volumes of S. *Rosanes and the long series of monographs by A. *Galanté) still lack adequate histories. On the other hand, the breadth of David *Kaufmann's interests probably prevented him from producing a major historical work, though his incidental contributions to Italian and German Jewish history were of the highest importance. The historical dictionaries *Gallia Judaica* and *Germania Judaica* deal preponderantly with the scholars and intellectual history relating to the individual centers.

This is apart from the thousands of separate articles both on aspects of general Jewish history and on the annals of individual communities which have appeared in general scientific periodicals (especially those devoted to local history) and in specialist Jewish reviews such as the **Revue des Études Juives, Zeitschrift fuer die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* (two series), the *Jewish Quarterly Review, **Tarbiz, Rivista Israelitica, Historia Judaica*, and *Zion* (the historical quarterly published since 1936 by the Historical Society of Israel). Salo W. Baron's monumental *Social and Religious History of the Jews* is thus far the only major work that has attempted to take into account the entire range of this vast accumulated source material.

PUBLICATION OF SOURCES. From the close of the 19th century, following the tendencies in general scholarship, a beginning was made with the systematic investigation and publication of historical sources. This was the principal object of the Historische Kommission fuer Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland, established in 1885, which published a number of important source books on the subject. In England, investigation of medieval sources was begun in a systematic though superficial fashion by Joseph *Jacobs. The *Jewish Historical Society of England, of which he was the founder, subsequently began the complete publication of the records of the medieval English Exchequer of the Jews. A calendar was made of the rich 13th and 14th century material in the archives of the crown of Aragon by Jean *Régné. Jacobs had carried out in 1894 a cursory inquiry into the manuscript sources for the history of the Jews in Spain, setting the example for the more systematic investigation made by Y.(F.) Baer in the 1920s. The rewriting of Spanish Jewish history was thus made possible. *Magyar-zsidó oklevé tár (Monumenta Hungariae Judaica*, 11 vols., 1903–67) collected the basic material regarding Hungarian Jewry, and *Regesty i Nadpisi* (3 vols., 1899–1910) materials regarding Russia. The General (now Central) Archives for the History of the Jewish People at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem has been engaged since 1939 in collecting archivistic material both from governmental archives and Jewish communal bodies from every land. The discovery of the Cairo **Genizah* at the end of the 19th century revealed a vast amount of hitherto unknown record material for Middle Eastern Jewry in the early Middle Ages: this has been investigated by a number of scholars, on the historical side, especially by Jacob Mann and S.D. *Goitein in his studies on social and economic life.

Historical source materials in Hebrew have been collected and published by Adolf *Neubauer (*Medieval Jewish Chronicles*, 1887–95), Abraham *Kahana (*Sifrut ha-Historyah ha-Yisre'elit*), Simḥah Assaf (especially his source book for the history of Jewish education), Simon *Bernfeld (*Sefer ha-Dema'ot*, on the history of Jewish persecution), and Benzion *Dinur, in an ambitious collection covering a great part of the Middle Ages. Jewish historical source books have been published in English by J.R. *Marcus and L.W. *Schwarz. Inscriptions and epitaphs have been collected and published by numerous scholars, such as J.B. *Frey (classical period), I.S. *Emmanuel (Salonika, Curaçao), F. *Cantera (Spain), M. *Schwab (France, Spain), S. *Hock (Prague), D. Henriques de Castro (Amsterdam), E. Shilstone (Barbados), D. de Sola *Pool (New York), B. Wachstein (Vienna), and many others.

LOCAL JEWISH HISTORY. Meanwhile attention began to be paid by various scholars to local Jewish history in different lands, cities, or environments. Societies for the study of local Jewish history, all producing valuable publications, were established in the U.S. (*American Jewish Historical Society, 1892), England (Jewish Historical Society of England, 1893), Czechoslovakia (Society for the History of the Jews in the Czechoslovak Republic, 1927), etc. In addition, societies for Jewish studies in the various countries, such as the French Society of Jewish Studies (*Société des Études Juives), naturally devoted special attention to local Jewish history. The result was the publication of important monographs which otherwise might not have seen the light, and of hitherto neglected source material without which Jewish history in its fuller sense could not be written.

Local Jewish historiography may be illustrated by two 20th-century works in which the revival of Jewish studies reached its climax. Yitzhak (Fritz) Baer's *History of the Jews in Christian Spain* (Heb. 1945, Eng. 1931, 1961–1966[2]) was based on the corpus of documents on Spanish Jewish history which he had collected and published under the auspices of the *Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums (2 vols, 1929, 1936), and an exhaustive study of all the published sources, both Hebrew and secular, literary archivistic. This placed the history of one of the greatest centers of Jewish life in the Middle Ages on a sound basis for the first time, replacing former works on the subject such as those of M. *Kayserling and J. *Amador de los Rios. It immediately took its place as one of the fundamental works on medieval Jewish history. Baer's

later interest is in the religious history of the period of the Second Temple, in which he has shown how the earlier rabbinic sources, long considered legendary, reflect actual conditions and have to be taken into account in any attempt to understand life and institutions in Ereẓ Israel before 70 C.E. Of a smaller scope than Baer's work on Spain is U.(M.D.) Cassuto's exhaustive study of the Jews in Florence during the period of the Renaissance, based on a minute study of the contemporary archives and of all other available material, literary and administrative, printed and manuscript, Jewish and secular. This work laid down new principles for the identification of Jews prominent in the business world and mentioned in secular sources with scholars and patrons of learning known to us under different names in Hebrew documents. It thus illustrated the interaction of Jewish and general culture at one of the seminal points of intellectual history, and provided a model for all similar studies in the future.

In Ereẓ Israel, scientific historiography in a modern sense may be said to have been instituted with the establishment of the history faculty at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, mainly under the direction of Y. Baer from 1930 onward: later, the universities of Tel Aviv and Bar Ilan created important historical faculties. Naturally such historiography has concerned itself largely with the history of the Jews in Ereẓ Israel, the centrality of the country in Jewish history, and the development of the national idea among the Jews.

There has also been a tendency to extend serious historical research almost for the first time into the history of the Jews in Oriental countries, among whom the historical sense was almost undeveloped. Izhak *Ben-Zvi, second president of Israel, was particularly interested in this, and was responsible for the founding of the Ben-Zvi Institute for research on the Jewish communities in the Middle East. After the establishment of the State of Israel, the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People were officially established, comprising manuscript materials which had survived the Holocaust in Central Europe and elsewhere and a systematic collection of microfilms or photocopies from private and public archives throughout the world. The outstanding scholars who are working or have worked in the history faculties of Israel universities include, besides those mentioned above, R. *Mahler, important for his economic interpretation of the history of the Jews in modern times; I. *Halpern, who edited the surviving fragments of the records of the Council of the (Four) Lands, besides his other contributions to Eastern European Jewish history; A. *Schalit, biographer of Herod the Great; H.H. *Ben-Sasson, specializing in late medieval European Jewish history; and J. *Katz, who has studied penetratingly Jewish-gentile relations in medieval and early modern times. Historiography in Israel has been strongly influenced by the desire to perpetuate the memory of the annihilated Eastern European Jewry as well as by specific attention to military and activistic elements in Jewish history. More important probably is the fact that it has been able to rid itself of the somewhat apologetic tendencies which were inevitably discernible in even the most objective of the works written by Jews in the Diaspora of the history of their people.

[Cecil Roth]

For Holocaust historiography, see *Holocaust.

United States

The first specimen of historical writing about American Jews appeared in a Hebrew oration written by Gershom Mendes Seixas and delivered by Sampson Simson at the Columbia College commencement of 1800. A better-researched and more substantial discussion, based on correspondence with Jews, appeared in a history of the Jews (1812) by the Protestant scholar Hannah Adams. This and other early, brief efforts by Mordecai M. Noah (1818) and Isaac Harby (1826) possess limited historical value beyond their authors' observations concerning their own generation. However, they contained one idea which characterized American Jewish historiography: that the Jews of the United States represent a unique departure in Jewish history by virtue of having enjoyed equal rights and full opportunity from their first arrival, all as a matter of course. This conception of the uniqueness of American Jewry and its history paralleled American historiography's view of the United States as a fresh beginning in world history. During the 19th century little historical research was done, although the traveler I.J. Benjamin furnished historical information supplied to him in numerous communities, Isaac Markens published historical sketches of notable Jews (1888), and Charles P. Daly and Max Kohler produced a survey of *The Settlement of the Jews in North America* (1893). American Jewish history became a subject of serious study with the founding in 1892 of the American Jewish Historical Society, the establishment of its archives, and the appearance from 1893 of its *Publications* (92 vols. to 2004; from 1961, *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, from 1978, *American Jewish History*). The regnant point of view during the late 19th and early 20th century paralleled that of historical studies among other ethnic and religious groups, seeking to honor notable ancestors and demonstrate the depth, range, and fervor of Jewish patriotism and contributions to American life. Notwithstanding their antiquarianism, filio-pietism, and isolation from general historical scholarship, studies of value were produced by M.J. Kohler, L. Huehner, A.M. Friedenberg, S. Oppenheim, L.M. Friedman, C. Adler and others. They focused on Jews in Colonial and Revolutionary America, rarely passing the year 1840. Broader surveys appeared in a supplement to the American edition of K. Magnus, *Outlines of Jewish History* (1890), written by C. Adler and H. Szold, and in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*.

From approximately 1940 there was substantial improvement in the range of subjects, extent of sources employed, and quality of interpretation. The rising interest of professional American historians in subjects closely bearing on American Jewish history, such as immigration, religion, ethnic and racial groups, and philanthropy, stimulated Jewish research and helped to elevate its standards. In 1947 the American Jewish Archives was established at the Cincinnati campus of Hebrew

Union College, and its journal of the same name began to appear in 1949; historical studies were also published under the Archives' imprint. YIVO also developed a major archive on American Jewry. Jewish institutions began to teach American Jewish history, and the American Jewish Tercentenary observances of 1954–55 demonstrated Jewish communal interest in the field. Subsequently, the development of ethnic studies, the funding of positions in American Jewish history at American universities, and the 350th anniversary commemoration of American Jewish Life in 2004–05 all helped to strengthen the field and bring it greater respect and recognition.

Initially, the best cultivated chronological period was that from 1654 to approximately 1790, in which J.R. Marcus made the prime contributions, in addition to others by S.F. Chyet, L. Hershkowitz, E. Faber, W. Pencak, S. Rezneck, and historians of older local communities. The period from the Revolution to 1881 drew attention later, with valuable broad studies by, among others, A. Barkai, N. Cohen, H. Diner, and J.R. Marcus, and more specialized studies, including biographies, community studies, and studies of religion by D. Ashton, E. Bingham, M. Davis, R. Glanz, H.B. Grinstein, J. Hagy, L. Jick, B.W. Korn, J.D. Sarna, A. Silberstein, L. Sussman, and G. Zola. The great era of East European Jewish immigration, and its implications, were broadly surveyed by I. Howe and G. Sorin. More specialized studies of the era include books by G. Best, S. Brumberg, S. Cassedy, E. Eisenberg, S. Glenn, A. Goren, A. Heinze, T. Kessner, B. Marinbach, T. Michels, M. Rischin, R. Sanders, J.D. Sarna, M. Slobin, D. Soyer, S. Tenenbaum, and S. Weinberg. The era from World War I through World War II is less studied. In addition to valuable surveys by H. Feingold and J. Teller, specialized studies include volumes by M. Alexander, J. Oselit, D.D. Moore, and B. Wenger; as well as two fine books on the Leo Frank case by L. Dinnerstein and S. Oney, and books on the New York Jewish intellectuals by, among others, A. Bloom, C. Kessner, and A. Wald. A shelf of books treats diverse aspects of World War II, American aspects of the Holocaust, as well as Holocaust memory in America, including works by G. Arad, H. Feingold, W. Helmreich, D. Lipstadt, A. Mintz, D. Moore, P. Novick, M. Penkower, D. Wyman, and E. Zuroff. Finally, scholars have now turned their attention to the postwar era. Key books have been authored by M. Dollinger, D. Moore, M. Staub, S. Svonkin, and J. Wertheimer.

Institutional and community histories dominate the field of American Jewish history. Organizational histories written by professional historians include the histories of the American Jewish Committee (N.W. Cohen), American Council for Judaism (T. Kolsky), B'nai B'rith (D. Moore), Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion (M. Meyer), Jewish Publication Society (J. Sarna), Jewish Theological Seminary (J. Wertheimer), Joint Distribution Committee (Y. Bauer), National Council for Jewish Women (F. Rogow), ORT (L. Shapiro), Rabbinical Assembly (R. Fierstien), Yeshiva University (J. Gurock), and the Jewish fraternal organization, Zeta Beta Tau (M. Sanua). Hundreds of synagogue and community histories have appeared, many produced by significant scholars. For a survey see A.S. Korros and J.D. Sarna, *American Synagogue History: A Bibliography and State of the Field Survey* (1988) as well as the list of community histories in Daniel Elazar's *Community and Polity* (1995²).

Topical studies have become more common in the field. The most important works on American antisemitism are by L. Dinnerstein, D. Gerber, and J. Higham. On black-Jewish relations, see especially works by H. Diner, C. Greenberg, S. Forman, M. Friedman, J. Schorsch, and C. Webb and edited works by M. Adams and J. Bracey as well as J. Salzman and C. West. Cultural history is covered in older works by I.S. Meyer, J. Kabakoff, and A.G. Duker, as well as newer works by S.B. Cohen, P. Ewens, L. Friedman, N. Gabler, L. Harap, A. Heinze, J. Hoberman, A. Most, J.D. Sarna, S. Rubin Schwartz, J. Shandler, and S. Whitfield. The economic history of American Jewry has scarcely been written; see preliminary works by B. Chiswick, S. Kahan, and S. Kuznets. No definitive work on the history of Jewish education in America has appeared either, but see valuable studies by A. Dushkin, P. Gold, M. Ben-Horin, L. Gartner, I. Janowsky, J. Krasner, S. Niger-Charney, J. Pilch, E. Rausch, J. Sarna, A. Schiff, and Z. Scharfstein. The central work on genealogy is by M.H. Stern. For studies of immigration and labor, see works by G. Alroey, D. Berger, M. Epstein, L. Gartner, R. Glanz, O. and M. Handlin, I. Howe, T. Kessner, A. Kahan, S. Kuznets, E. Lederhendler, T. Michels, E. Morawska, M. Rischin, Z. Szajkowski, E. Tcherikower, M. Wischnitzer, and I. Yellowitz. Political history has also been inadequately studied; the best single book is the collection of essays edited by L.S. Maisel and I. Forman. J.D. Sarna's *American Judaism* (2004) synthesizes work on Jewish religious life in America; other contributors to this area include J.L. Blau, K. Caplan, M. Davis, E. Diamond, J. Gurock, L. Jick, A.J. Karp, D. Kaufman, B.W. Korn, B. Kraut, C.S. Liebman, M. Meyer, P. Nadell, R.E. Prell, M.L. Raphael, A. Rothkoff, S. Rubin Schwartz, A. Silverstein, H. Soloveitchik, L. Sussman, A. Tarshish, and J. Wertheimer. On Sephardim in America, see works by M. Angel, A. Ben-Ur, M. Cohen and A. Peck, and J.M. Papo. The most important work on American Jewish thought is by A. Eisen. The field of American Jewish women's studies (see also below) has burgeoned with valuable books by J. Antler, L. Davidman, H. Diner, S.B. Fishman, R. Glanz, K. Goldman, P. Hyman, D.R. Kaufman, M. Klapper, L.G. Kuzmack, J.R. Marcus, M. McCune, P. Nadell, R.E. Prell, J. Sochen, L.M. Schloff, and E. Umansky and D. Ashton. For the history of American Zionism, see works by N.W. Cohen, E. Friesel, A. Gal, S. Halperin, R. Medoff, M. Raider, R. Rojanski, and M. Urofsky.

Methodological discussion and bibliographic surveys include M. Davis and I.S. Meyer, eds., *The Writing of American Jewish History* (1957); S.W. Baron, "American Jewish History: Problems and Methods" PAJHS, 39 (1950), 207–266; M. Rischin, *An Inventory of American Jewish History* (1954); L.P. Gartner, "The History of North American Jewish Communities…," *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, 7 (1965), 22–29; E. Lifschutz, *Bibliography of American and Canadian Jewish Memoirs and*

Autobiographies (1970); D. Zubatsky, *Jewish Autobiographies and Biographies* (1989); O. Handlin (ed.), *Report of a Conference on the Jewish Experience in America* (1948; mimeo.); A.G. Duker, "An Evaluation of Achievement in American Jewish Local Historical Writing," PAJHS, 49 (1960), 215–53; I.S. Meyer, "American Jewish Biography: An Introductory List," *Jewish Book Annual*, 8 (1949–50), 77–96; John J. Appel, "Hansen's Third-Generation 'Law' and the Origins of the American Jewish Historical Society," JSOS, 23I (1961), 3–20; O. Handlin, "A Twenty Year Retrospect of American Jewish Historiography," AJHQ, 65 (June 1976), 295–309; R. Singerman, *Judaica Americana: A Bibliography of Publications to 1900* (1990); N. Kaganoff, *Judaica Americana: An Annotated Bibliography of Publications from 1960 to 1990* (1995); J. Gurock, *American Jewish History: A Bibliographical Guide* (1983); J.Sarna in *Modern Judaism,* 10 (1990) and in *The Schocken Guide to Jewish Books* (1992) and in *Jewish Studies,* 33 (1993); and J. Wertheimer in *The Modern Jewish Experience: A Reader's Guide* (1993).

[Lloyd P. Gartner / Jonathan D. Sarna (2nd ed.)]

Women's Studies

The recognition that women's lives and experiences in any particular historical era may differ significantly from men's has wrought profound changes in how many historians approach and interpret their research data. The use of gender as a category of analysis by historians of the Jewish past began in the 1980s, under the influence of the academic field of women's studies. In recent decades, both female and male historians have delineated the constructions and consequences of gender in Jewish societies of many times and places, producing a growing body of historical scholarship about Jewish women's social and economic roles, religious lives, and creative contributions. Valuable reference works include *The JPS Guide to Jewish Women: 600 B.C.E.–1900 C.E.*, ed. E. Taitz, S. Henry, and C. Tallan (2003); *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia*, ed. P.E. Hyman and D. Ofer (2006); and *Jewish Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. P.E. Hyman and D.D. Moore (1997). For collections of scholarly essays that include analyses of women's situations in a number of times and places, see edited volumes by Y. Azmon, J.R. Baskin, S. Grossman and R. Haut; R. Levine-Melammed, and L. Levitt and M. Peskowitz. Historical studies focused on Jewish women in late antiquity include works by C. Baker, B. Brooten, M. Peskowitz, R. Kraemer, and T. Ilan; for recent historical studies of medieval and early modern Jewish women in Europe, see H. Adelman, J.R. Baskin, E. Baumgarten, N.Z. Davis, A. Grossman, R. Levine Melammed, A. Rapoport-Albert, and R.L. Winer. Historians who write about Jewish women in Europe from 1700 to 1939 include N. Deutsch, R. Elior, H. Friedenreich, C.R. Freeze, M. Galchinsky, B. Hahn, D. Hertz, P.E. Hyman, M. Kaplan, L.G. Kuzmack, I. Parush, E. Umansky, and C. Weissler. Anthologies on women and the Holocaust have been edited by D. Ofer and L. Weitzman and by R. Baer and M. Goldenberg. Historians who study Jewish women in the early modern and modern Muslim world and in pre-state and post-1948 Israel include D. Bernstein, R. Lamdan, R. Kark, F. Malino, S. Reinharz, M. Shilo, and R. Simon; for historical essays on women in pre-state and post-1948 Israel, see the anthologies edited by D. Bernstein, M. Raider and M.B. Raider-Roth, E. Fuchs, and M. Shilo, R. Kark and G. Hasan-Rokem. For a review of historical scholarship on Jewish women in North America, see the section above on U.S. Historiography.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Steinschneider, *Geschichtsliteratur der Juden…* vol. 1: *Bibliographie der hebraeischen Schriften* (1905); S.W. Baron, *History and Jewish Historians* (1964); A. Marx, in: AJHSP, 20 (1911), 1–9; Shunami, Bibl, index s.v. *History*; for a partial list of monographs on Jewish history see: *Cambridge Medieval History*, 7 (1932), 937–47; A.S. Freidus, *List of Works in the New York Public Library Relating to the History and Condition of the Jews in Various Countries* (1913; repr. from: *New York Public Library Bulletin*, 17 (1913), 537–86, 611–64, 713–834); G. Gabrieli, *Italia Judaica* (1924); Milano, Bibliotheca; Roth, Mag Bibl; Lehmann, Nova Bibl. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** B. Halpern, *The First Historians* (1988); T. Thompson, in: ABD, 3:205–11 (incl. bibl.); M. Brettler, *The Creation of History in Ancient Israel* (1995); J. van Seters, *In Search of History* (repr.; 1997); S.D. Sperling, *The Original Torah* (1998).

HISTORY. This article is arranged according to the following outline (for Prehistory, see *Archaeology):

BEGINNING UNTIL THE MONARCHY

The Patriarchs of Israel

The beginning of the history of Israel, like that of many other nations, is obscure. The passage of time caused many features to fade from the memory of the people, while others were altered. Furthermore, the early period of Hebrew history, which was of decisive importance for Israel, did not leave any impressions on the environment in which the ancestors of Israel lived and functioned; and therefore, no external evidence concerning the beginning of the process of national consolidation has been found.

The Bible is the only source on the lives and activities of the *Patriarchs, and the traditions it preserves about them are evaluated very differently by different scholars (see *Genesis). There are those who completely negate the historicity of the Patriarchs and their period, regarding the pertinent biblical data as myths or literary epics; while others discern in these stories cores of historical facts overgrown with later revision and editing. The difficulties that the biblical narratives raise for historical research relegate the dispute about the existence of the Patriarchs to a secondary place. At present, research is focusing on attempts to discover the period and the political, ethnic, and cultural background that was likely to have served as the setting for the emergence of the nation. Because the Book of Genesis has been held to contain obscure chronological allusions, anachronistic descriptions (*Philistines and *Arameans; camels), and later adaptations, and redactions, no way has been found of utilizing it for the purposes of chronology. Therefore, sources other than the Bible, such as epigraphical and archaeological finds from the Fertile Crescent, are employed as indirect proof of the reality reflected in the patriarchal narratives. The setting of the patriarchal period would correspond in modern chronology to the first half of the second millennium. It is during this period that West Semitic ("*Amorite") elements began their migrations and movements in *Mesopotamia. These West Semitic elements also increased their migrations west of the Euphrates, becoming nomads or settling in new, or already existing, settlements. The Egyptian Execration Texts dating from the 19th–18th centuries B.C.E. provide clear evidence of the integration of these Western Semites in the city states of Syria and Palestine and of the existence of West Semitic rulers, especially in the plains and coastal areas which were then under Egyptian control. It can be seen that the mountain regions, on the other hand, were underpopulated. Apparently the Western Semites reestablished the settlements in Transjordan and within a limited period (19th century B.C.E.) brought prosperity to the settlements in the Negev and Sinai along the routes to Egypt. Unfortunately, the attempt to correlate the historically documented West Semitic movements with the biblical accounts have proved elusive.

The biblical accounts reflect conflicting traditions that circulated in ancient Israel. According to Genesis 11, *Abraham's family came from *Ur in *Chaldea, in southern Iraq. Inasmuch as Ur did not become Chaldean until the 9th–8th centuries, the traditions of Abraham's migration cannot be any earlier. In all probability, Abraham's migration from Ur to Palestine belongs to the latest stratum of biblical traditions, and reflects the desire of Babylonian Jews in the later first millennium B.C.E. to claim that Israel's founding father came from their homeland. In contrast, the earlier *Haran traditions connect the Hebrews to the Arameans of Syria and are part of the general migrations of the Western Semites in that period. In the biblical traditions, Abraham and his descendants traveled along the routes in the hill country and in the Negev. In these regions they were able to find subsistence and pasturage for their cattle. The connection between the Patriarchs and the Western Semites, particularly the Arameans, and their existence in the first half of the first millennium, is attested by a comparison between Genesis and written sources from Syria and Mesopotamia, which reflect the material and spiritual world of that period. Earlier documents dating from about the 18th century B.C.E. found in the royal archives of *Mari on the Middle Euphrates include useful evidence about organizations of West Semitic tribes, ultimately related to the Arameans and Hebrews, their patriarchal society, ways of life, language, leadership, and wanderings. They provide no direct evidence of the patriarchal period as was once thought. The *Nuzi documents, although likewise much earlier than the biblical sources, are also very important analogically because they shed light on various aspects of the family customs and laws described in the Bible. The Nuzi documents illustrate the mixed Semitic and *Hurrian society of Nuzi in Eastern Iraq in the 15th–14th century B.C.E. Late second millennium Syria-Palestine likewise had Hurrian and West Semitic populations. By the 19th century B.C.E. and perhaps even earlier, the first

waves of Western Semites arrived in Egypt, at the southern edge of the Fertile Crescent. In the course of the following centuries these peoples declined under the pressure of foreign ethnic elements of Indo-European and Hurrian origin, who invaded certain regions of Mesopotamia, *Syria, and Palestine and sought to establish themselves there. Allusions to these events, which occurred in the second quarter of the second millennium B.C.E., are preserved mainly in documents recovered by archaeological expeditions, but find few echoes in the Bible. Indeed, the social terminology of Syria-Palestine in the second millennium is virtually absent from the Bible. An Egyptian tradition in the Hellenistic period (see *Manetho) preserved the memory of a wave of Western Semites and non-Semitic foreign groups which it called *Hyksos, a corruption of an ancient Egyptian term for "rulers of foreign lands" referring to Asiatics. From later sources it seems clear that the Hyksos gained control over large areas in Egypt and set up their headquarters in the Delta region of the Nile, which is the biblical *Goshen. They established an empire and maintained relations with Syria and Palestine. Royal dynasties were descended from them (XV–XVI Dynasties); names like Yaqob-har, Anat-har, Khyan, etc. indicate that they were of Semitic origin. Manetho, followed by Josephus, identified the Hyksos with the Israelites. It appears that the migration of Jacob's sons to Egypt and the rise to power there of Joseph reflect dim memories of the rule of the Hyksos. Similarly dim memories are the biblical accounts of the descent from Canaan to Egypt for food (Gen. 12, 26, 41–50), which reflect the reality of famine and migration in the late 13th to 11th centuries B.C.E. (Na'aman), and the fact that Egyptians allowed nomads to enter the Delta region during such periods (COS III, 16–17). Attempts to derive any useful chronology from the patriarchal narratives founder on the gaps and inaccuracies in the chronological and genealogical data of the Bible, which are mutually contradictory. Thus the number of years that the Hebrews sojourned in Egypt is given as 400 years (Gen. 15:13) or 430 years (Ex. 12:40), which is far more than four generations. In the light of the evidence available at present, it seems that the patriarchal period is legendary; the stories of the patriarchs provide theological and ideological lessons and not history, though certain details provide verisimilitude. The Patriarchs supported themselves by raising cattle, sheep, and goats (only Isaac engaged in seasonal agriculture in the western Negev, Gen. 26:12). Light is also shed on the depiction of the sociological makeup of the Patriarchs by the possible connection between the biblical designation "Hebrew" and the appellation for the social class *Ḥabiru (Ḥapiru) or ʿApiru, known from many sources, and current in the Ancient East over a long period. In the Bible non-Israelites called the Patriarchs and their descendants "Hebrews" (e.g., Gen. 39:17; 41:12) and the Israelites themselves used this name to identify themselves when dealing with foreigners (Gen. 40:15). Thus the name "Hebrew" came to designate Israel on the social level and did not refer to their obscure ethnic origin. If there is any comparison to be made between "Hebrew" and Ḥabiru, it is that the Hebrews belonged to this large class of people who were scattered over a wide area and consisted of nomads or vagabonds who lived on the margins and under the protection of societies whose laws did not apply to them. Their relation to their Canaanite hosts is that of *gerim* or metics (Gen. 23:4), and Canaan is the land of their *megurim* or sojourn as metics (Gen. 17:8; 28:4; 36:7; 37:1; 47:9; Ex. 6:4; see *Stranger). From all that has been said thus far it may be assumed that the general term *ivri* (if related to Ḥabiru) was applied only at a later stage to the tribes of Israel as a branch of this class and thus became an ethnic designation. It is possible that their non-Israelite neighbors, because they regarded the ancient Hebrews as a component of the general class of Ḥabiru, ignored those specific features which distinguished this small group from the other Ḥabiru and West Semitic elements.

The Exodus and Wanderings in Sinai

The Bible describes the Hebrews' migration to Egypt and their stay at Goshen as a favor bestowed upon them because of Joseph who had attained prominence in Egypt. There is no external evidence about their life and activities there. The Bible relates that after a certain period they were subjugated by the pharaohs. It is actually not unreasonable to suppose that after the expulsion of the Hyksos the Egyptians should have enslaved kindred Semitic elements still living in Egypt. Nonetheless, the elaborate story of the slavery of the Israelites and their Exodus from Egypt are considered unhistorical by most scholars. Although the traditions about the enslavement and liberation can be dated to the ninth or eighth century (Hoffmann, Carroll), the traditions that the enslaved Hebrews built the cities of Pithom and Raamses (Ex. 1:11) originated among Egyptian Jews living in Egypt after the fall of Judah. The garrison city Per-Raʿmses (biblical Ramses) was built in the sixth century B.C.E., as was the reconstructed Per-Atum (biblical Pithom). The earliest extra-biblical reference to a group called "Israel" comes from *Merneptah, son of the long-lived Ramses II. In a stele from the fifth year of his reign (c. 1220) celebrating Merneptah's defeat of his enemies in Palestine, "Israel" is written with the determinative sign indicating that a people is named rather than a place. Unfortunately, we must wait until the ninth century for the next mentions of "Israel" in datable sources.

The discussion of the Exodus is connected with the Israelite Conquest of Canaan. Both of these events are not historical, as will be seen below.

The Exodus from Egypt, although not a historical event, became the symbol of the hope of liberation for all generations. In theological terms, the Exodus from Egypt was a divine act which preceded the revelation at *Sinai, or according to Deuteronomy, *Horeb, the dwelling place of the God of Israel where Moses was given the tablets and the laws.

Truth to tell, there was never any external evidence for the enslavement in Egypt and the subsequent exodus. Those scholars who supported some version of the enslavement tradition argued, irrelevantly, that no one would have made up a tale of enslavement, and that the tradition was persistent. As

for the the exodus through the desert, the 1967 victory of the Israel Defense Forces opened up biblical Israel (Judah and the West Bank of the Jordan) and the Sinai desert to extensive archaeological excavation. These showed no evidence of population in the Sinai during the required time period, nor could the Sinai have ever supported a population remotely close to the biblical numbers. The general consensus at present is that the people Israel arose in the land itself or perhaps from an area slightly to the east, with no indication of an Egyptian cultural past (see below). Na'aman departs from this consensus, arguing that the rise of Israel in the 12th–11th centuries must be seen as part of an enormous wave of migration in which Sea Peoples, Syro-Anatolian groups, and West Semitic groups and refugees from the Hittite empire that fell ca. 1200 reached Canaan. But these are all "northern" immigrants, not Egyptian. The unhistorical character of the biblical traditions of the exodus and the trek through the desert is evidenced by the Bible itself, which describes these events as miraculous, i.e. impossible (see e.g. Ex. 12:9–36; 14:15–15:19; 24:18; Deut. 8:2–4; 9:9–12). Accordingly, in studying the biblical accounts of the pre-settlement period, even allowing for the survival of some dim recollections, we should understand that these shed far more light on the periods of their composition than the periods of their setting. As such, our goals should be to reconstruct the literary history of the traditions and to understand the theological, political, and ideological agenda of the authors. For example, the tradition that the people of Israel originated outside of the land serves to distance Israel from peoples to whom there were ethnically quite close. The *Golden Calf story of Israelite *idolatry (Ex. 32), set in the desert in pre-settlement times, has been shown to be a polemic against the Northern Israelite cult of monarchic times. Nonetheless, we have to attempt to understand the details of the biblical traditions, and many remain unclear. The geographical aspects of the journey of the Hebrews in the Sinai desert have not been clarified. Even the location of the *Red Sea, where Pharaoh and his soldiers died, and of Mt. Sinai or Horeb, are unknown. The biblical account, according to which the Hebrews did not choose the shortest way to Canaan "through the way of the land of the Philistines" (Ex. 13:17), i.e., the road along the seashore of the Mediterranean to Egypt, has its inner logic, and reflects historical realities no earlier than the reign of Ramses III (1183–1152), when *Philistines settled the coastal plain and became Egyptian mercenaries. The reason that the Israelites did not choose the coastal route, the normal one followed by invading Egyptian armies, was that they wanted to avoid confrontation with the Egyptian forces stationed in the fortresses along "the way of the land of the Philistines" which defended the approaches to Egypt. The indirect journey was difficult and very long, and was dependent on places with drinking water and oases. In the biblical account, the journey in the desert ended in *Kadesh-Barnea, an oasis with abundant water in northeastern Sinai. From here the Israelites attempted to penetrate Canaan. On the basis of biblical descriptions and archaeological evidence it becomes clear that the references are to Ein Qudeirat on which fortresses stood from the tenth century (Manor). Accordingly, traditions that may hark back to Solomonic times have been traced back to Moses. Given the unhistorical character of the Bible's grand narrative, it is better to understand the rise of Israel against the events of the later second millennium. In general terms, the rise of Israel was facilitated by a breakdown of the international system, which had been in place between 1550–1200. This enabled Western Asiatics, including Israel, to consolidate in Cisjordan and Transjordan thanks to a weakened Egypt and a destroyed *Hittite empire. Though some LB cities persisted in Palestine into Iron I, in the 12th century all Anatolian and Syrian kingdoms except for Carchemish and Melid were utterly destroyed. The wave of destruction reached the Aegean and Balkan regions (Na'aman, Drews). By the reign of Ramses VI (1143–1136), or Ramses VIII (1129–1126) Egypt had completely withdrawn from Asia. For reasons of their own, the Bible's writers describe the Egyptian withdrawal from Asia in terms of the Israelite exodus from Egypt (Sperling).

The Conquest and Settlement of Canaan

As is true of the Egyptian enslavement and subsequent exodus, the account of the conquest is regarded by most scholars as unhistorical. The various biblical sources dealing with this subject are heterogeneous and there are many contradictory descriptions. Moreover, there are also inconsistencies in important details between these sources and archaeological finds. The biblical material, especially that which is found in Joshua, gives the impression that it has gone through a selective and unified editing to produce an "official" version of the "Conquest." This version represents the Conquest as a single campaign that was conducted according to an earlier plan which distributed the country in advance and was led by a sole leader, Moses, and later *Joshua. Apart from this version there are traditions that point to an entirely different situation. *Judges 1, a late text, describes military actions by individual tribes or small tribal coalitions. The late book *Chronicles views the Israelite presence in the land as continuous, ignoring the conquest and muting the exodus. Joshua appears in Chronicles 7:27 not as a war hero but as a distant descendent of Ephraim. The archaeological data do not usually support the biblical accounts of the Conquest. (1) The description of the conquest of *Ai by Joshua (Josh. 7–8) is contradicted by the fact that this place was desolate from the late 16th century to the early 12th. (2) Heshbon, Arad, and Jarmuth were deserted throughout the second millennium. Hebron and Gibeon were not occupied in the late Bronze Age (Na'aman). (3) Jericho was completely abandoned by the end of the Middle Bronze age (ca. 1550), probably because of some combination of earthquake and plague. The famed walls of Jericho go back to the Early Bronze Age (Kenyon apud Holland and Netzer). The site was probably resettled in the ninth century. (4) In contrast to the Bible, excavations show that the destruction of what archeologists call Late Bronze urban culture took place over more than a century. Hazor was destroyed in the

mid-13th century and Lachish in the second half of the 12th. (5) After the Egyptian withdrawal from Canaan in the late 12th century, Beth-Shean, Megiddo, Ashdod, and other Canaanite cities were destroyed but they are all located in the lowlands, whereas Israelite settlement was in the highlands. From the archeological finds it becomes clear that the biblical accounts of a unified conquest are unhistorical. Writing minimally two to three centuries after the rise of Israel, and later, the authors of the conquest accounts made use of written and oral traditions of varying veracity. They tended to project conditions of their own day backward, and of course, to explain defeats and triumphs theologically. In addition, it was natural for them to attribute ruined sites of their own time to the activities of their victorious ancestors.

DETAILS OF SETTLEMENT. Actually, the tribes of Israel occupied only the hill country where the Canaanites were not able to use their chariots and the southern regions that were underpopulated or not populated at all. The general picture of the settlement points to four Israelite regions, separated by narrow strips of fortified Canaanite cities. This picture, as is known, follows the topographic structure of Palestine and emphasizes the contrast between the population of the mountainous regions and the population of the plains. The northern region of settlement was bordered on the south by a strip of plains (Jezreel and Beth-Shean) with fortifications ranged from Beth-Shean to Megiddo. Further, even in the territories of the northern tribes there were numerous Canaanite enclaves which undermined the unity of the Israelites; the large block of central mountains was between the Canaanites of the valleys and the chain of Canaanite fortresses in the south, starting with Jerusalem and ending in Gezer. This chain separated the central tribes from the southern tribes. Between these three blocks and the Israelite settlements in the east there was a natural border – the Jordan. Thus, the Canaanite fortresses interrupted the continuity of the Israelite settlement and prevented close contact among the groups of tribes. This isolation created specific local developments in each group of tribes and weakened their attachments to one another. It is noteworthy that the break between the central and southern tribes was so absolute that even the most reliable biblical sources (including the "Song of Deborah") do not mention the tribe of Judah at all as a component of the tribal alliance during the period of settlement.

Within the framework of the limited Israelite territory there began, according to the archaeological finds and surveys, a process of gradual expansion. The early Israelites were faced with grave difficulties, in particular a lack of fields suitable for cultivation and a shortage of water. As a consequence, the settlers had to cut down the forests within their territories (Josh. 17:14–18). Archaeological research shows that the settlement was, to a great extent, made possible by the extension and greater use of cisterns. Although it had been argued that Israelite settlement in the mountains was also facilitated by the use of iron, it appears that widespread use of iron did not come to Palestine until the 10th century. Bronze and tin implements were sufficient (Stager, 1985, 11). The settlement of the Israelites was accompanied by shifts and movements of tribal and sub-tribal units both within and outside the tribe's territory. A variety of reasons motivated these units to seek new territories, including lack or shortage of land suitable for cultivation, pressure from Israelite or alien neighbors, etc. Evidence for such events is found especially in the genealogical lists in the Bible and in particular in I Chronicles 1–11. In the genealogical lists are included fragments of information and various traditions about tribal and sub-tribal movements. These genealogies give information on their wanderings, their attachments with (and separations from) kindred or alien elements, and their elevation and decline. The tribal genealogy was constructed in a schematic way using familial terminology. This clarifies various phenomena such as the affiliation of clans and families to two tribes which obviously attests the transition of tribes from one territory to another. Such relations existed between Judah and Reuben (cf. e.g., Josh. 7:18 with Num. 26:6) and between Asher, Ephraim, and Benjamin (Josh. 16:3; I Sam. 9:4; 13:17), among others. It is also known that Manassite families in the west migrated to Transjordan and that families from Ephraim moved in the same direction (II Sam. 18:6). A good example of the migration of a family-tribal unit is Dan who, because it was compressed between the territories of its brother tribes and of alien inhabitants of the plains, moved to the northern border of the Israelite territory (Judg. 18). As mentioned above, echoes of the absorption of alien elements into Israelite tribal units or territories are preserved in genealogical lists, in the terminology of matrimonial relations and by tracing their lineage to the ancestor of the tribe. Most instructive are the genealogical lists of the tribe of Judah which are very complicated (I Chron. 2;4:1–23). These lists show Judah's affiliation with Canaanite, Edomite, Horite, and Gileadite groups (as *Ephrath, *Caleb, Kenaz, *Hur, *Ethan, *Heman, *Machir, and others).

Similar affiliations and assimilation can be found also in the tribe of Manasseh, whose genealogy reflects the absorption of Canaanite territories. One can assume that the changes in the status of the tribes, the description of their achievements, their territories, and occupations as they appear in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49), the Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33), and the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5) reflect changes that took place within the tribes during Israel's formative period and later. They do not necessarily represent events that occurred simultaneously.

SOME RESULTS OF SETTLEMENT. Despite the fact the major biblical traditions about the rise of Israel are unhistorical, we have to deal with the undisputable fact that Israel arose. (For summaries of current archaeological theories, see Bloch-Smith and Nakhai.) Archaeologists discern a significant shift in settlement patterns from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age. There is a large increase of population in Iron I, especially in the hill country. Most archaeologists agree that these new

settlers were from Canaan itself. Finkelstein argues that they were originally pastoral nomads. Dever sees them essentially as having been sedentarized in the lowlands. (Halpern, more from the biblical traditions than from archaeology, argues for a Transjordanian origin.) The newer settlements seem to have been founded peacefully on new sites, not on destroyed ones. The development of these sites was gradual and lasted some time, beginning either in the 13th century (Dever) or the 12th through 11th (Finkelstein). The type and pattern of settlement differ from the LB large walled urban Canaanite sites. These small towns are characterized by the so-called "four room" house with a courtyard and, usually, a cistern and a silo, indicating an agrarian economy, based on terrace farming and livestock. There is some evidence of trade with Canaanite urban centers. Pottery traditions do not represent a significant break with LB forms, though the collared rim pithos may be an ethnic marker. Perhaps most significant is that the houses in these towns show little variation and are clustered closely together. There are no grand residences or administrative structures. There is evidence for a domestic shrine at Khirbet Radanna (Bloch-Smith and Nakhai, 73). This same site seems to attest to occupational specialization, literacy, and a social and economic hierarchy. There are few fortified sites. Two mountaintop shrines have been identified in the biblical territory of Manasseh; Mt. Ebal and the open-air "Bull Site" in the hills near Dothan. It is most likely that this new highland population is Israelite, or "proto-Israelite" (Dever). Some scholars view the absence of pig bones as significant, but of the prohibited animals, the pig was not singled out for opprobrium until post-exilic times (Isa. 65:4; 66:3, 17). The archaeological picture points to small-scale settlement, initially peaceful, of indigenous former pastoralists, farmers relocated from Canaanite city-states. The population was augmented by some movement from the coastal regions and from the North, and possibly by some nomadic groups (Bloch-Smith and Nakhai, 119). The biblical conquest tradition is based on (a) exaggeration of actual military encounters: some of the destroyed sites of the 13th–12th centuries may have met their end through the activity of elements of Israel; (b) retrojection of the wars beginning with Saul through the monarchic period to the time of Israel's rise. The Bible describes early Israel as a group of tribes with weak political attachments, not as a firmly consolidated framework with distinct political aims and characteristics.

There is disagreement among scholars as to how the unification of the tribes into a nation took place. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to assume that the tribes of Israel consisted of entirely separated and disconnected units. Merneptah recognizes Israel as an ethnic entity. The name Israel, "El-is-Upright," indicates the common worship of the ancient Syrian god El, who in the Bible is blended with Yahweh. Judges gives examples of concerted supra-tribal actions (ch. 5, 11, 19ff.) Moreover, the schematic pattern of 12 tribes, which always remains unchanged even if its components undergo changes, should not be ignored.

The Judges

In contrast to the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, Judges provides a picture that is reasonably consistent with archaeology. Most instructive is the fact that during the period of settlement there was no one leader of all the tribes or national leader – a clear indication that an overall national consciousness had not crystallized.

Nevertheless, the settlement period laid the foundation for a new type of leadership institution which had not existed previously. As it was a product of the period it rose and declined with it. The Bible defines the new type of leader as "judge." To the judge and his period a whole biblical book was dedicated, i.e., the Book of *Judges.

This book is the only source of information about the characteristics of the judges as leaders – their qualities and activities. However, Judges is only a selection of stories concerning a few judges, and does not describe all the judges who lived and functioned nor all the events that occurred in this period. These stories were included in the book in a pragmatic pattern and were edited so as to stress the overall national character of the judges' activity. According to the available data, all these tendentious ingredients date from a later period. It is obvious that the judge was the answer to the problem of leadership that appeared at a particular stage of the settlement period, when the neighbors started to react to Israel's existence in Canaan, in the hope of taking advantage of the weakness and disunity of the tribes. The judge was first of all a prominent tribal leader who was elevated to this position in a time of crisis when an external menace threatened his tribe's existence. The period of leadership was limited to the time that was needed to subjugate the enemy. Authority was given to the judge by the traditional leaders of the tribe. The judge was also impelled by the spirit of God to succeed so that the faith of the people in his political and military skill would be strengthened. The divine favor that descended upon the judge increased the influence and authority of the judge over the tribe. Since the task of the judge was completed when the objective which made leadership necessary had been attained, the principles of inheritance or pedigree which characterized the typical tribal leadership were not applied. This type of judging is not identical with the office of a judge in court. The Book of Judges presents two prototypes of the judges: (1) the charismatic leader, the "deliverer," who goes to war against Israel's enemies and defeats them (six: *Othniel, *Ehud, *Deborah, *Gideon, *Jephthah, *Samson); (2) the "minor" judge who did not accomplish heroic deeds on the battlefield but who possessed tribal pedigree (Judg. 10:1–5; 12:8–15). It appears that these two types of judges were current during the period which is named after them. Whether this division is historical or literary is difficult to determine.

Insufficient chronological evidence makes it difficult for the historian to reconstruct the dates of the events recounted in Judges. The same applies to the order of the judges from the point of view of their time and activity. In only isolated cases is it possible to show that a certain event preceded an-

other one. Anyway, it is obvious that the order in which the stories concerning the judges appear is not necessarily parallel to any chronological order.

The background of the activity of the first judge, Othniel son of Kenaz, who fought against Chushan-Rishathaim king of Aram-Naharaim, is not at all clear (Judg. 3:8–10). According to one theory his deliverance was connected with the invasion of the territory of Judah by a northern ruler in the 12th century B.C.E. Another opinion is that the reference is to an Edomite ruler. No less vague is the background of the deliverance story of Ehud son of Gera and the period in which it took place. There was, apparently, a Moabite invasion of Cisjordan which subjugated the territory of Benjamin (Judg. 3:12ff.). Taking advantage of the weakness and disunity of the Israelites, the Moabites succeeded in occupying parts of their territories in the center of the country for some time.

The section dealing with Samson belongs to a comparatively late period (Judg. 13–16). The historical nucleus of this episode is obscure, as a result of the literary-legendary nature of the stories. One can recognize that the traditions about Samson are connected with the period marking the beginning of *Philistine settlement; in any case, it took place before the migration of the tribe of Dan to the north (see above). Nonetheless, the tale in its current form cannot be earlier than the borrowing of the word *ḥiddah*, "riddle" (Judg. 14:12) from Aramaic.

Another episode meriting special notice is the conflict between the tribes of Israel and the Canaanite element. It is possible that the battle of Deborah and Barak against the Canaanites illustrates a central event of the settlement period, a consequence of which was the liberation of the northern bloc of tribes from the increased pressure of the Canaanite chariotry. In the light of the parallel account in Joshua (Josh. 11:1ff.), this narrative presents many difficulties which have increased with the excavations at *Hazor. According to one opinion Hazor and *Jabin are a later addition to the story, and the Canaanite elements who took part in the battle were from the entrances to the valley of Jezreel. The Canaanite army was defeated in a battle at the foot of Mt. Tabor by Israelite troops, who took advantage of topographic and climatic advantages. Relatively many Israelite tribes participated in this battle (all the central and some of the northern tribes). In their victory they destroyed the Canaanite hegemony in the north including the valley of Jezreel. Moreover, for the first time territorial continuity was established between the northern tribes and the group of central tribes (Judg. 4–5).

The battle of Deborah and Barak should be dated, it seems, to the second half of the 12th century B.C.E. when the Philistines were in the country. This conclusion is based on the fact that the battle is recorded after mention is made of the judge *Shamgar son of Anath who fought against the Philistines, and also on the fact that the tribe of Dan is mentioned as living in its northern territory. Another consideration is that *Taanach in the Song of Deborah is mentioned as being "by the waters of Megiddo." This testifies to the latter's destruction which has been proved to have taken place in the last quarter of the 12th century B.C.E.

The Canaanite opposition was broken, and this destroyed the fragile balance of power in the north. There were no more Canaanite fortresses to stand in the way of peoples who looked enviously upon the fertile fields of the plains. The raiders of the border regions of the desert, being aware of the new situation, poured across the Jordan on their way west. The Midianites, and those accompanying them (Judg. 6:3–5; 7:12), plundered the Canaanite and Israelite settlements. The Israelites were the greater sufferers, since they lived in unwalled settlements until they were delivered by Gideon's troops which were supported by Gideon's tribe Manasseh and by the northern tribes. Gideon decisively defeated the Midianites and pursued them into Transjordan.

The Bible relates that after Gideon's victory he was offered the kingship, but declined the royal honor (Judg. 8:22–23). However, there are many indications in the stories about Gideon that he still occupied a high position after his task was accomplished, some of which may be interpreted as signs of kingship: his receiving a portion of the spoil of the tribes, his marrying many women, and his making Ophrah, his hometown, into a religious center by erecting a sanctuary there in which he placed an ephod (Judg. 8:24–27). In addition, there are allusions to political and military control that he exercised over the Canaanite city of Shechem. After Gideon's death, his son *Abimelech (Judg. 9) attempted to succeed to his position by utilizing the relations his father had with Shechem, his mother's native city. After disposing of all potential rivals to the succession, he attempted to exert his authority over Shechem by forming an alliance with the city's nobility. He also planned to maintain his authority among the Israelite tribes. However, Abimelech's efforts ended in failure with the destruction of Shechem (which is attested by the Bible and archaeological excavations at the site), shortly after which he died.

The Israelites' offer of kingship to Gideon has often been interpreted as the first sign of a change in the attitude of tribal leadership toward centralized rule – a change whose results were not felt until later. Scholars have seen in the Abimelech episode an experiment in imitating non-Israelite rule, and the creation of a transitional stage between a tribal order and a monarchy. However, these two stories concerning Gideon and Abimelech are actually only isolated episodes which had no sequel. Thus, it is difficult to deduce from them to what extent they were the precursors of the establishment of monarchy in Israel, although they are instructive in their own right.

KINGDOMS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL

Samuel and Saul: The Beginnings of Israelite Monarchy

Our earliest datable extra-biblical written sources for the Israelite monarchy come from the ninth century when we find references to the northern kings Omri and Ahab, and a reference to *bytdwd*, "House of David." The documentation becomes richer thereafter. For the origins of Israelite monarchy

we must rely on the Bible's I and II Samuel, which contain material composed over centuries and subjected to a Deuteronomistic redaction. The literary problems are complex. Much like Moses, Samuel has been inserted into all of ancient Israel's important institutional offices. He is simultaneously a prophet, judge, warrior, Nazirite (so Qumran Hebrew and LXX to I Sam 1:11), and king maker. For the monarchic period following David, our primary sources are I and II Kings and I and II Chronicles; books that combine historical material with elements that are miraculous and legendary. There are also clear indications that the biblical writers sometimes projected events and institutions of their own time onto earlier times. Finally, it must be observed that, in a manner not at all unique in the ancient world, the Bible's historians provide theological explanations for historical events. In recent years there has been a tendency to attribute less historical reliability to the biblical accounts, with some "minimalist" writers (P. Davies, Niels Lemche, and Thomas Thompson; see in Long, Handy, Day) going so far as to question the existence of an "ancient Israel" altogether. These efforts have not gone unopposed, and the different sides in the debate have not always been above resorting to *ad hominem* attacks and charged terms including, but not limited to, "Zionism," "anti-Zionism," "fundamentalism," "silencing Palestinian history," "antisemitism," "post-modern piffery," "hidden agenda," and "nihilism." Archaeology has not decisively settled many of the outstanding issues, and there is doubtless a good deal of idealization in the accounts of the "empire" of David and Solomon. Nonetheless, complete dismissal of the biblical accounts is unwarranted given the large amount of material in I and II Kings that preserves accurate information confirmed by outside sources (Halpern apud Long).

On the biblical account, the eastward expansion of the Philistines and the westward expansion of the Israelites made conflict inevitable. The heavy Philistine subjection of Israel provoked resistance among the two most oppressed tribes, Benjamin and Ephraim. Given the nature of Israel's tribal organization, it was natural that the centers of resistance were in the hill country, where the influential spiritual leader *Samuel, the seer, was active. Samuel is credited, anachronistically, with overthrowing Philistine rule (I Sam. 7; 7–12) after a rally at Mizpah, a city built by the later King Asa (I Kings 15:22; Na'aman 1994). Their oppression again brought home to the tribes the advantages of centralized government, which they had already felt in dealing with the neighboring Canaanite city-states. The division inherent in the weak tribal organization that led to defeat in the Israelites' confrontation with well-organized forces which functioned on the principle of centralization encouraged a disposition to exchange the traditional leadership of the elders, and even the charismatic leadership of the judges, for a stronger leadership which on the one hand would embody the qualities of a leader who rallied the tribes, and on the other convert his leadership into a permanent institution. There appears to have been a desire among the Israelites for leadership based first and foremost on military capabilities, with authority succeeding by inheritance, in the spirit of the suggestion made to Gideon. It is probable that the intention was to establish a ruler modeled on the example of the Canaanite king.

I Samuel 7:3–15:35 describes the emergence of monarchy and Samuel's role in the process. The extant narrative presents two contradictory viewpoints: Yahweh chose the first king and the institution of monarchy in order to save his oppressed people (I Sam. 9:16); the people's wish for a king is a rejection of Yahweh motivated by the people's desire to be "like all the nations" (I Sam. 8:4–8). Regardless of the dates of composition it is likely that both pro-monarchic and anti-monarchic groups existed and that each attributed its position to Yahweh. By the time of the biblical authors, monarchy was a reality of which Yahweh had once approved either enthusiastically or grudgingly. As a transitional figure, the first Israelite king, *Saul, resembled the charismatic judges, at the same time clearly displaying the qualities of being a ruler like those of "all the other nations." His selection was no doubt related to his military leadership exhibited in the liberation of Jabesh-Gilead, a city with blood and family ties to Benjamin, Saul's own tribe. The biblical description of Saul's anointment as king is not sufficiently explicit, however, as to whether his anointment did, in fact, result from his war with the Ammonites in northern Gilead. Considering the fact that Benjamin was still subject to the rule of the Philistines of the Shephelah, it is surprising that there is no mention of intervention on their part in the activities of Saul. It seems that they considered them only a local matter. After a brief period of organization, however, Saul turned his power in their direction. Near Michmas, northeast of Jerusalem, the Philistine armies were routed and driven back to Philistia. Their control of the mountain areas was thus broken, although the Philistines remained a threat to Israel throughout Saul's life. The battles were renewed periodically, since the Philistines did not easily relinquish their hold on Israelite territories. In one attack the Philistine armies penetrated to the vale of Elah. According to a late unhistorical source (Rofé), perhaps the most popular tale in the Bible, *David, a young shepherd from Bethlehem in Judah, defeated *Goliath (I Sam. 17) while the soldiers from both sides watched the contest between them.

The expulsion of the Philistines marked the beginning of Saul's career. He then had to assert his authority over the Israelite population of the central mountain area and unite the tribes under his rule. It is in this context that his uprooting of the foreign enclaves in his tribe's portion – the Hivite cities which remained as a result of their covenant with Joshua and the elders – must be seen. From biblical accounts of his wars with Moab, Ammon, Edom, the kings of Zobah (I Sam. 14:47), and possibly the Hagrites (I Chron. 5:10) in Transjordan, it is possible to conclude that Saul tried to attract the Israelite tribes in Transjordan by protecting them. He also fought the Amalekites who had penetrated into Judah, again to win this tribe over to him (I Sam. 15). The break between Saul and Samuel was exposed in this war, as the latter was dissatisfied

with Saul's usurpation of authority, which he saw as offensive to sacred practices and to God's authority over Israel.

The Bible does not tell much about Saul's tactics in organizing his kingdom. It appears that he lacked sufficient time, or otherwise could not manage, to establish a truly central authority. He continued to rely upon the traditional tribal structures and institutions, raising members of his own family to important positions. There are, however, some signs of centralization during his rule, e.g., an indication of taxation and of royal landholdings from which Saul distributed property to his officers and others who were close to him. Of special significance is the establishment of a standing army, which was with him in his capital, Gibeath-Shaul (whose fortifications were rebuilt after its capture from the Philistines). Saul's concept of monarchy is also evidenced by his ambition to establish a dynasty of his descendants.

One of the most dramatic and moving sections of the Bible concerns Saul's relationship with David, who became a well-known military officer, the king's son-in-law, and friend of *Jonathan, the heir apparent. After a falling-out with Saul, David was forced to flee to the border regions of Judah and later as far as Gath, in Philistia. During his wanderings he gathered about him various elements which he fashioned into a band of warriors. They helped protect the border settlements and lived off the contributions earned from those thus protected. During his stay in Gath, David received Ziklag from Saul's enemies the Philistines as a landholding and fortress, ranging out from there against tribes that endangered the population. It was there that he began to develop relations with the elders of Judah, who followed Saul.

Achish, king of Gath, and the Philistine chiefs prevented David and his band from joining the battle near Jezreel, where Saul and his sons died. In this war the Philistine armies penetrated the mountain area, with the Canaanite fortifications in the valley serving as their rear and support. This is yet another indication of how the Philistine hegemony extended far beyond the Shephelah base. Philistine rule over the central tribes was reestablished with the defeat of Saul. For this reason Eshbaal (*Ish-Bosheth), the son of Saul, was able to reign only in Gilead – a region that kept faith with the line of their benefactor. The Bible lists the areas and tribes over which Eshbaal reigned, but these almost certainly reflect the kingdom of Saul, rather than of Eshbaal: Gilead, the Ashurites (= Asherites), Jezreel (the territory of Manasseh in the hills and that of the other tribes in the valley), Ephraim, Benjamin and "over all Israel" (II Sam. 2:9).

The United Kingdom: David

After the death of Saul, David settled in Hebron, the center of his own tribe, Judah. He was crowned by the elders of Judah, who had not accepted the monarchy until then. Within a few years he ruled over the rest of the tribes of Israel (II Sam. 5:5), which accepted his authority especially after Eshbaal's failure to establish his kingdom in Transjordan. At about the same time he captured *Jerusalem from the Jebusites, converting it into the capital of the kingdom and the estate of the Davidic dynasty. This conquest revealed David's far-reaching ambitions and statesmanship, for Jerusalem in Israelite hands served as the desired unifying bond between the southern tribes – Simeon and Judah – and their brothers in the north. The new capital stood at the very heart of the kingdom, yet because it was outside the Israelite territory it did not serve as a focal point of strife among the tribes or lead to charges of favoritism.

With this decisive step David's aims became clear to the Philistines. It appears that until then they had hoped to rule over Judah by means of a vassal in Hebron. Now, however, they brought their army to the very gates of Jerusalem and were defeated by David (II Sam. 5:17–21). Another attempt that threatened to cut off Ephraim and Benjamin from David ended in failure; the Philistine force was broken and pursued to Gezer (II Sam. 5:22–25). At a minimum the Philistines had to relinquish their inland holdings, ending an era of expansion. As of the time of David the Philistines were confined to a strip on the southwest of the Mediterranean coast (Ehrlich). How much if any control David excercised over the Philistines is debatable. I Kings 2:39 has been taken to show that there was an extradition treaty between Israel and Gath. With the removal of this major military obstacle, David was able to take the first step toward converting his kingdom into a united national state – the creation of territorial continuity of all the tribes. In pursuing this goal David conquered foreign enclaves along the seacoast and in the fertile Jezreel and Beth-Shean valleys. A similar fate befell the non-Israelite population of Galilee. He also turned to eastern Transjordan in order to establish his rule over Ammon and Moab, which were endangering Israelite settlements there and controlled long stretches of the international "King's Highway." The Israelite threat also involved the Aramean kingdoms in Transjordan and Syria, which were summoned to the aid of Moab and Ammon. These allies were defeated by the Israelites, though not annihilated. After they recruited reinforcements from across the river they met David in battle and were routed this time (II Sam. 10:6–19). According to the Bible, a vast territory fell to David – Transjordan and the Aramean kingdoms, including the valley of Lebanon. The Israelite borders now reached *Hamath, north of the valley and, judging by the borders at the beginning of Solomon's reign, David would even have extended his rule as far as Tiphsah on the Euphrates (I Kings 5:4).

This last passage is probably late and depicts Solomon in terms of a Neo-Babylonian or Persian emperor. Indeed, this biblical account of a vast Davidic empire inherited by Solomon seems unsubstantiated archaeologically, and would appear to be greatly exaggerated. Nonetheless, the rise of the Davidic kingdom, like the other small Levantine kingdoms, was enabled by the decline of the two traditional centers of power of the ancient Near East, Egypt and Mesopotamia. David strengthened his rule by means other than military ones. He wisely established friendly relations that were reinforced by treaties with the kingdoms of Hamath and *Tyre.

The treaty with *Hiram, king of Tyre, was particularly important because of the economic advantages flowing from connection with this maritime-commercial power. In the field of internal organization David concentrated his activities on the establishment of an administrative apparatus suitable for the needs of the kingdom. He understood the necessity of uniting the tribes round his throne and the capital, Jerusalem. He had the requisite organizational and executive abilities necessary to create proper tools.

It is difficult to determine what model was used to lay the foundation for the Israelite administration at the beginning of David's reign. It seems that the administration inherited from Saul was not developed and was not on a much higher plane than the traditional tribal institutions. It is reasonable to assume that, as a Philistine vassal, David studied means of government, but it is almost certain that he was also influenced by the organizational structure of the non-Israelite cities in Palestine, especially that of Jebusite Jerusalem which he had conquered. It appears that the traditional administrative institutions of these cities derived from older Bronze Age models, and were well adapted to the needs of a national monarchy and vital to weakening the older tribal sysem. It is not necessary to suppose, as do some scholars, that David built his administration according to foreign prototypes (Fox, 9–14). It is not surprising, therefore, that some of the names of David's highest officials and members of his military units are non-Israelite. (II Sam. 8:18; 21:23–5; 23:24–39). It is instructive, however, that control of the military forces remained in the hands of a relative of David, *Joab, and Israelites close to him.

David acted in other ways intended to centralize control and weaken the older tribal system. It appears that the division of the kingdom into 12 administrative districts – known from Solomon's time (I Kings 4:7–9) – began to crystallize during David's reign. The framework of these administrative districts did not include territories beyond the areas covered in the census conducted by David. The task of unification which David set before himself succeeded substantially in placing Jerusalem and the monarchy at the center of national life. Toward this end, David moved the Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem, a city outside the tribal holdings, and made preparations for the construction of a royal palace and a *temple, whose presence in the capital would reflect divine aura on David and his line. Still, he did not entirely succeed in preventing the resentment and dissatisfaction of a tribal spirit opposed to the interests of the centralized monarchy, which, by their nature, undermined tribal individualism and the authority of tribal institutions. It appears to have been difficult to maintain, at one and the same time, a kingdom based on a developed administration – with all the royal needs – and separatist tendencies widespread among the tribes, who wished to maintain a large degree of independence. Certain difficulties arose during David's reign. The population *census (II Sam. 24) carried out on royal initiative, almost certainly for the purposes of *taxation and recruiting, met with open opposition. Furthermore, natural disasters, added to the many wars, aggravated the dissatisfaction. It appears that the widespread dissatisfaction within the king's own tribe of Judah found expression in the revolt of *Absalom (II Sam. 15–19), which was joined by other tribal elements. Only because of the loyalty of certain followers and the mercenary army, his personal guard, was David able to overcome the rebellion and return to Jerusalem. At a later stage, the revolt of *Sheba, son of Bichri of Benjamin, who attracted a following from among all the tribes except Judah, shook the throne. The source of the revolt may have been the widespread feeling of discrimination in favor of Judah, the king's tribe. In this incident David was able to extricate himself from the rebellion with the help of those loyal to him and supporters in his own tribe.

At the end of David's reign, a bitter struggle developed over the succession to the throne. It divided the court into the followers of *Adonijah, who claimed the throne by reason of seniority, and the supporters of *Solomon – the son of *Bath-Sheba – who succeeded in eliciting the support of the aging king. Under their influence, David crowned Solomon in his lifetime in order to preserve the continuity of dynasty desired by him. This act did not pass without drastic opposition on the part of Adonijah and his followers.

Solomon

Biblical historiography represents Solomon as a wise sovereign who sought justice and peace. The extent of his domain is greatly exaggerated, but he did control a people that had begun to become accustomed to a centralized framework. Most of his activities thus tended toward the strengthening and development of his father's achievements through political, economic, and administrative means. Through a series of treaties made with neighboring kings, which he reinforced by politically motivated marriages, he sought to ensure tranquility within the borders of his kingdom. The Bible comments negatively on these marriages because they involved, for diplomatic reasons, the introduction of foreign cults into Jerusalem (I Kings 11:1–14). In particular, Solomon cultivated ties with Hiram, king of Tyre, and Sidon. Like his father, he benefited from these relations, receiving the support of Hiram's fleet to import essential raw materials, securing his technological assistance in building projects, and exploiting natural resources. The Phoenicians may have allowed Solomon some participation in the Red Sea trade in return for access through Judah (Miller). Another treaty, also reinforced by marriage, was made with a pharaoh who he gave his daughter to the king of Israel in marriage, along with the city of Gezer as a dowry (I Kings 9:16). Inasmuch as pharaohs generally did not marry their daughters to foreign kings this would have reflected very highly on Solomon and was seen as such by the author of I Kings 3:1 (contrast I Kings 11:1).

As is true of the biblical account of David, the chronology of the events of Solomon's reign is theologically motivated. Thus Solomon's reign is peaceful until he builds altars to foreign gods under the influence of his foreign wives (chapter 11). The biblical writers attribute to Solomon in his period

of success control of the international roads and his hold on ports on two seas, leading to the development of international trade. He is said to have formed a cadre of royal merchants with a fleet that sailed great distances. Biblical accounts reminiscent of Assyrian royal inscriptions describe exotic products, precious metals, and rare fauna flowing into the kingdom. These supposedly came by sea in exchange for copper mined and worked in plants established specifically for this purpose (I Kings 9:26–28; 10:11, 22). Although the visit of the Queen of Sheba (I Kings 10:1–10) is unhistorical, and its motif of foreigners praising the Hebrew god similar to the tales of Jethro (Ex. 18) and Naaman (II Kings 5), queens often ruled Arabian tribes. In addition, the early date of south Arabian trade takes a 10th-century visit to Jerusalem out of the realm of impossibility, though it hardly confirms the visit (Na'aman). The difficult passage I Kings 10:28–30 has been taken to portray Solomon establishing a corps of royal traders involved in international commerce, purchasing horses from Anatolia and chariots from Egypt for resale to other kings in the area (I Kings 10:28–30), but may simply mean that he could afford to buy horses and chariots at market prices (Miller). The monopolistic nature of Solomon's enterprises and taxation of his own population enriched the royal treasury and served as a stimulus to ramified and comprehensive building projects, some of which it seems were planned during David's reign. At the very center of his construction activity stood the complex of royal buildings, consisting of the palace and the *Temple in Jerusalem. In this fashion Solomon sought to strengthen the relationship of the tribes to Jerusalem and the reigning dynasty. He hoped that the Temple would unite Israel, overcoming the traditional and widespread separatist tendencies.

Many cities in the kingdom were developed and fortified. Some served as bases for the chariotry, which was introduced into Israel for the first time (I Kings 10:26; II Chron. 9:25). According to the Bible (I Kings 4:2; 10:27), and in keeping with claims found in ancient Near Eastern royal inscriptions, the economic development was not limited to royal circles but benefited other elements of the population. But Solomon's many activities, royal administration, and the support of the royal household, required a system of 12 districts rather than tribal units. His use of corvée (*mas*) that included laborers among the Israelite population had its predecessors in the *massu* of Canaan in the Late Bronze Age. The combined tax burden resulted in the impoverishment of the population and substantial agitation. Along with this, feelings of discrimination began to grow among the northern tribes, especially Ephraim. Against this background, the aborted rebellion inspired by *Jeroboam son of Nebat, of Ephraim, who had been administrator of the forced Israelite labor, stood out (I Kings 11:26–40).

It is therefore evident that the prosperity during Solomon's reign was limited. Economic discontent was compounded by important factors that existed even before the establishment of the monarchy and by a rebelliousness whose roots were in the antagonism between the central monarchy and tribal separatist aspirations. These factors undermined the positive aspects of the monarchy until they destroyed the united kingdom.

Division of the Kingdom: The Earliest Kings

The internal dissension and rebelliousness did not topple Solomon's throne but broke out in full force after his death. *Rehoboam, his son, did not enjoy his father's and grandfather's popularity with the people. He was faced with the difficult problem of perpetuating the monarchy in the face of a growing wave of strong demands from the tribes to ease the economic burdens. The leaders of the tribes saw the time as propitious for putting pressure on the new king. Rehoboam's rule was accepted without protest in Judah and Jerusalem, but the king required the assent of the rest of the tribes, which is a clear indication of the seriousness of the state of affairs. Rehoboam was unable to find a suitable way of complying with the demands of the tribes in *Shechem to ease their burden, without risking his prestige, administrative dislocations, and loss of control. As a result of his refusal, the elders of Israel felt themselves free to sever their ties with Jerusalem, and crowned Jeroboam son of Nebat, who had returned from refuge in Egypt, with the support of certain prophetic circles (see *Ahijah).

The aims of those who wished to secede from Jerusalem and the Davidic dynasty were realized, but the recognition of the need for a monarchy remained in Israel. The crowning of Jeroboam proves that the elders wanted to perpetuate the monarchy, though separate from and without connection with the dynasty of David. The slogan circulated during the revolt of Sheba son of Bichri was used again: "What portion have we in David? We have no inheritance in the son of Jesse" (I Kings 12:16).

With the division, there arose two sister kingdoms, hostile to one another. In the south was established a small kingdom, including the territories of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin, which appears to have broken its connection with the tribes of Israel even during the period of the united kingdom. Judah controlled Edom and the Shephelah. The kingdom of Israel in the north included all the territories of the remaining tribes, maintaining its rule over Moab and probably over Ammon. Its first capital was Shechem.

The kingdom of Judah and the House of David did not accept the secession of the tribes. They regarded the move as illegal and sinful, in contradiction to national and religious imperatives. This viewpoint finds expression in biblical *historiography. It was not, of course, shared by Jeroboam son of Nebat and the advisors who established the kingdom of Israel. Jeroboam's very first acts were directed toward the establishment of a separate framework, free of all spiritual and political dependence upon Judah and the Davidic dynasty and of any cultic relationship with the Temple in Jerusalem. To this end, he made use of the ancient cultic centers at the ends of his kingdom, *Beth-El and *Dan. *Golden Calves, the base upon which the unseen God of Israel hovered, were placed in them;

they were not, as biblical tradition would have it, intended for idol worship. This tradition clearly reflects feelings in Judah toward Jeroboam (see I Kings 12:26–33); northern opposition to the Calves is not recorded before the prophet Hosea (eighth cent.; cf. Hos. 8:5f.; 10:5f.; 13:2). Jeroboam ordained a change in the times for festivals in order to discourage pilgrimages to the Jerusalem Temple (I Kings 12:33). The change was also in keeping with the northern agricultural calendar. Despite the negative opinion displayed toward Jeroboam in the Bible, it is becoming increasingly clear that his actions were based on an earlier northern Israelite priestly tradition, not in any way connected with abandonment of the worship of Yahweh. His acts also brought about the collapse of the administrative system in Israel, which until that time had been based upon Davidic loyalists. Judah, for its part, refused to regard the division as a *fait accompli*. This was the cause for the frequent wars between the two kingdoms. It appears that at first Judah was the more successful.

Five years after the division an Egyptian military expedition into Palestine was headed by Pharaoh *Shishak, who had been Solomon's enemy and had given asylum to Jeroboam when he fled after the abortive revolt. The final aim of and pretext for this expedition are the subject of some controversy. According to the data in Shishak's topographical list, the largest Israelite cities were destroyed and razed and the most fertile areas of the Northern Kingdom were damaged. The amount of damage to Judah was much less, either because Shishak was not interested in Judah proper but rather in the Negev and the Aravah, or because Rehoboam had bribed the pharaoh with tributes. In any case, as a result of the Egyptian invasion, Rehoboam began to establish a chain of fortified cities (II Chron. 11:5–12). It is significant that Judah's northern boundaries were not fortified, perhaps because of the hope that continued control over the kingdom of Jeroboam would be possible. Rehoboam's expansionist aims were advanced by his son *Abijah (911–908 B.C.E.), who had assumed some royal powers during his father's lifetime. He defeated Jeroboam's army and controlled the southern part of the hill country of Ephraim (II Chron. 13:13–19). There is reason to suppose that Abijah was in contact with Aram-Damascus, which had grown in strength since its liberation from Israelite rule at the end of Solomon's reign, and concluded a treaty with them directed against Jeroboam. From that point on, Aram-Damascus was a factor in the conflict between the two sister kingdoms and the chief beneficiary of their rivalry.

These frequent defeats undermined Jeroboam's rule, which apparently had not been sufficiently strong since the division. This may be seen from the short reign of his successor *Nadab (907–906 B.C.E.). When fighting the Philistines – who sought to take from Israel its territory in the lowlands – he had also to deal with a rebellion led by *Baasha son of Ahijah of the tribe of Issachar. This rebellion brought to an end the dynasty of Jeroboam and the hegemony of the tribe of Ephraim over the northern kingdom. The new king (906–883 B.C.E.) ensured himself against Aram-Damascus' intervention and succeeded in recapturing the territories lost during Jeroboam's time, from Judah, which was now ruled by *Asa (908–867 B.C.E.). Baasha penetrated almost as far as Jerusalem, posing the serious danger of isolation to the capital of Judah. Asa was forced to turn to *Ben-Hadad I, king of Damascus, and succeeded in breaking off the treaty between Ben-Hadad and Baasha and in provoking the penetration of the Arameans into the northern parts of the kingdom of Israel (I Kings 15:9–22; II Chron. 16:1–5). It is possible that at this time Israel also lost control of Moab. Baasha had to withdraw from Judah in order to protect his own kingdom from Aram. Asa utilized the lull in the fighting to fortify his northern boundary by means of the total conscription of the inhabitants of Judah. Some scholars see in this an abandonment of the hope of annexing Israel, which had been current in Judah since the division.

In Baasha's time, too, there was a diminution of earlier achievements as a result of his defeats. Baasha did succeed in preserving his throne, but with his death, civil war broke out in Israel and a few ministers struggled to obtain the throne. Elah (883–882 B.C.E.) was murdered in a plot instigated by *Zimri, one of the officers of the army. Zimri was killed by *Omri, with part of the nation backing *Tibni son of Ginath. After several years of conflict, Omri succeeded to the throne of Israel.

Asa, King of Judah, and His Descendants. The Omride Dynasty in Israel

Whatever hopes there had been during Abijah's successes for reunification under the Davidic dynasty were destroyed by the military failures of Asa against Baasha. Asa was successful, however, in defending the south of Judah from *Zerah the Cushite (II Chron. 14:8–14). Exact identification of Zerah is lacking and the numbers of his forces are fantastic, but there may be some historical core behind the report (Japhet, 709–13). In internal policy Asa's name is connected with the purification of Judah of cults of gods other than Yahweh. The purging of these foreign cults, some native, some imported, was connected with the removal of the queen mother from her high office and the reversal of her policies, which had almost certainly been responsible for the growth of Asherah-worship in Jerusalem (I Kings 15:13). Asa had the support of popular and prophetic circles for his purges.

The accession of Omri to the throne put a halt to the collapse of the central government in Israel which had resulted from Elah's death. Omri took decisive steps to stabilize the kingdom, such as the construction of the new capital in *Samaria. Like Jerusalem, this city became the king's personal landholding. It appears that Omri was subject to Aramean pressures, as is seen by the fact that Aramean commercial agencies (*ḥuẓot*) were located in Samaria and had special privileges (I Kings 20:34). At a later stage, Omri succeeded in establishing an independent foreign policy, concluding a treaty with Ethbaal, king of Sidon. This, like the treaties of David and Solomon, opened Phoenician markets to Israel's agricultural products and made it possible to import essential

goods and luxury products for Omri's kingdom. This treaty may have been intended as a stabilizing factor against the political aspirations of Aram-Damascus. The ties with Ethbaal were strengthened by the marriage of Israel's heir apparent to Ethbaal's daughter. Israel's main contribution to the alliance was control of the heights of Moab, in the territory north of the Arnon, whose conquest by Omri is attested by the *Mesha stele. The conquest enabled him to control and direct the products carried over the "King's Highway." It may be assumed that the efforts made by the king of Israel to improve relations with the kingdom of Judah were made out of his desire to establish an anti-Aramean alliance on the one hand, and to get Judah to join the Tyre-Samarian axis on the other. Judah's joining the axis was important, because of the Judahite control of the southern part of the "King's Highway," which passed through Edom, a land subject to it. In Omri's time Israel had become an important political factor. The stability and prosperity began to be felt when *Ahab son of Omri started his reign; he added to the achievements of his father. Despite this, Ahab is negatively evaluated in the biblical historiography because of his toleration of the expansion of Phoenician culture in his personal and royal affairs. The Tyrian cult began to gain popularity among Israel's upper classes – the officers and merchants – because of the close ties with Tyre, and especially because of the activities of *Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, and her followers (I Kings 16:32–33). The attitude of the biblical historiographer toward Ahab reflects that of circles close to Elijah. Elijah attacked the king, Jezebel, and the Baal prophets, who had attained a foothold in Israel (I Kings 18:18–45). Elijah enjoyed wide support among the populace, which bitterly resented the penetration of foreign cults and indeed suffered because of the innovations brought about by the Phoenician way of life (see also *Naboth).

The biblical view, however, does not negate the positive aspects of Ahab as a ruler. During his time solidarity between Judah and Israel increased, strengthened by political marriages. There appears to have been a treaty between the two nations, which placed both on an equal footing. In addition, Ahab enjoyed considerable success in his battles against Assyria and Aram-Damascus; these battles had taken on considerable importance by the end of his reign. It appears that Aram's intention was to destroy the Israel-Judah alliance, which was directed against it. Furthermore, the rule of Jerusalem and Samaria in Transjordan bothered the ruler of Damascus, *Ben-Hadad II. The unchanged economic interests of Aram made it necessary to hold the territory east of the Jordan as an economic hinterland for its caravan routes and agricultural products. At first the Aramean army tried to subjugate Israel by a quick campaign, which ended with its defeat at the gates of Samaria. The next battle took place at Aphek and also ended in a clear-cut victory for Israel. It is instructive that despite the Aramean defeat Ahab entered into a treaty with Ben-Hadad, whose terms were especially lenient: certain cities were returned to Israel and she received commercial concessions in Damascus. This desire to make peace with Aram without hurting her too much is criticized by the prophets. It is clear, however, that this desire resulted from political and military considerations connected with the events outside the borders of Aram and Israel, namely, the methodical penetration by *Shalmaneser III, king of Assyria, into Syria, which posed a concrete danger for the states in that area. These states came to the realization that Assyria had to be fought by an alliance of powers, and Ahab was no doubt party to this feeling. For this reason Ahab did not want to harm Aram's power to fight against the common enemy. One of Shalmaneser's inscriptions, in which the Assyrian king claims a victory over a coalition of kings of Syria and Palestine near Karkar (853 B.C.E.), prominently mentions "Ahab the Israelite" alongside the kings of Damascus and Hamath. Ahab came to the battle, according to this inscription, with a force of 2,000 chariots – the largest contributed by any of the allies; besides, he supplied 10,000 infantry. This is evidence not only of his political-military standing but also of the economic strength of the kingdom which could sustain such a force. Especially instructive is the find of Ahab's stables at Megiddo. To this may be added other archaeological evidence which testifies to the great development of Israelite cities, including the capital, in that period. The existence of an "ivory house," which is known from the Bible (I Kings 22:39), is confirmed by ivory plaques found in Samaria. Among the cities he refortified, according to the Bible, was Jericho. The fortification of this city appears to be connected with the increased control of Moab, north of the Arnon, over which Israel ruled. There too, according to the Mesha stele, widespread fortification activity took place. During the battle with Assyria, or shortly thereafter, Mesha revolted against Ahab, and began to eradicate Israel's rule in Moab. He may have been encouraged by Aram-Damascus, which resumed its thrusts against Israel after the battle at Karkar, at which the allies, at least temporarily, were able to stop the advance of Shalmaneser III into central Syria. (Another theory holds that Mesha revolted during the reign of Ahab's successor.) The renewed battle between Aram and Israel took place near Ramoth-Gilead, which appears to have been an area contested by the two sides. This time, Judah allied itself with Israel. The battle ended in the death of Ahab and the disengagement of forces following the king's death. It appears that the Arameans were unable to cross Israel's border in Transjordan, which means that the battle did not end in Israel's defeat.

Ahab's reign was a period in which Israel came to be a considerable force in the international affairs of the region; this resulted from her prudent policies and her highly developed military capabilities, which gave her an advantage over Aram. The great building and fortification activities reflect advanced economic development in the kingdom, as well as its stability which remained unbroken in Ahab's time despite the internal struggle against foreign religious and cultural influences. Attention should be drawn to the political, economic, and military ties that existed between Samaria and Jerusalem, which was ruled by *Jehoshaphat son of Asa

(c. 870–846 B.C.E.). As a result of this alliance, which was strengthened by a treaty, Judah enjoyed a relatively long period of peace. Jehoshaphat exploited these conditions by attempting a renewal of Red Sea commerce, which appears to have been interrupted after the death of Solomon. There is no doubt that Judah also received Phoenician technical support in this matter. The fleet which was built, however, sank before it could sail. The assertion of authority over Philistia and the Arabian tribes must be understood in the framework of the attempts to reestablish Judah as a commercial power (II Chron. 17:11). The rule of Edom was carried out by Jehoshaphat with the help of a governor, and at a later period by a vassal king. Because of Edom, Jehoshaphat feared a deep Aramean penetration into Transjordan which would have endangered his bases there. This is probably one of the reasons for the treaty with Ahab and the joining of the forces of Judah to those of Israel in the battle at Ramoth-Gilead. (One opinion holds that Judah also joined Israelite forces during the battle with Assyria at Karkar in 853 B.C.E. This would account for the high number of chariots of Ahab.)

Jehoshaphat devoted much attention to internal policy. He appears to have been the first king of Judah to establish firm foundations for the royal and administrative offices, which had been undermined since the division of the kingdoms, because of the frequent warfare of his predecessors. The account of Jehosaphat's building activities (II Chr. 17:12) may have archaeological support, but the description of his administrative innovations and teaching of the law is probably based of the midrash of his name – "Yahweh-has-Judged" – and reflects much later conditions (Japhet, 744–53). The cordial relations between Judah and Israel worsened during the short reign of *Ahaziah son of Ahab (852/1–851/0 B.C.E.), who wished to be included in Judah's commercial sea enterprises but was refused (I Kings 22:49–50). With the accession of his brother *Jehoram (851/0–842 B.C.E.) to Israel's throne, the friendly relations were resumed. Jehoshaphat even participated in an ill-fated campaign of Israel which was intended to reestablish Jehoram's authority over Mesha (II Kings 3:4–24).

According to II Chronicles 21:4, 13, the early part of the reign of Jehoshaphat's son *Jehoram (c. 851–843 B.C.E.) was marred by internal upheavals, including the murder of his brothers and certain high officials by Jehoram himself. His wife would later pursue a similar policy (II Kings 11:1). It may be that the defeats at the end of Jehoshaphat's reign were responsible for the agitation which became even greater by the loss of Edom and the economic benefits Edom had provided (II Kings 8:20ff.; II Chron. 21:8). Added to all of this was no doubt dissatisfaction with the activities of the king's wife, *Athaliah daughter of Ahab, who had been accustomed to Phoenician cultic practices in her home and worked at introducing into Judah these practices as well as the mode of life customary in the court of Israel. She may also have sought to increase Judah's dependence on Israel. Ahaziah, who reigned after his father's death (843–842 B.C.E.), was influenced by his mother Athaliah. He continued the policies set by his father, even joining Jehoram son of Ahab in a war against Aram at Ramoth-Gilead. During this period Ahab's son Jehoram reaped the fruits of dissatisfaction with the house of Omri. This opposition gathered strength as a result of Jehoram's failures on the field of battle. He was wounded during the renewal of the battle against Aram at Ramoth-Gilead. During his convalescence at Jezreel he was killed, when *Jehu called for reprisals against the house of Omri. On this same dramatic occasion Ahaziah of Judah was wounded and died. Additional light on these events may be shed by the ninth century Aramaic inscription discovered at Tel Dan (Halpern, Schniedewind, and see *Jehu).

The Dynasty of Jehu in Israel. Athaliah and Joash, Amaziah, Uzziah, and Jotham, Kings of Judah

Jehu son of Jehoshaphat son of Nimshi (842–814 B.C.E.) was an army officer stationed in Gilead. He was swept aloft by the wave of popular rebellion, supported by the army, circles of prophets, and dissatisfied elements among the populace. With great cruelty, he killed the royal family and its courtiers, settling the long-standing debt against Jezebel. He decisively cut off every trace of the Baal worship, killing followers of the cult. Thus, he fulfilled the wishes of his supporters, but did not consider that in so doing he had also destroyed the political and economic bases of his kingdom by cutting, with one blow, the ties of Samaria with Phoenicia and Judah and upsetting the internal organization of his kingdom and its military capabilities. Jehu was thus open to the pressures of Aram-Damascus, which at this time was ruled by a new and powerful king, *Hazael. In an effort to insure his own rule, Jehu quickly made himself submissive to the Assyrian Shalmaneser III, who reached Damascus in 841. Thus, for a short period of time Israel enjoyed a relaxation of pressures from the Arameans, who were busy defending themselves against Assyria. At a later stage, after Shalmaneser had failed to subjugate the capital of Aram, Hazael conquered the Israelite territories in eastern Transjordan. Toward the end of his reign, Jehu suffered another defeat when the Aramean army marched through Israel and reached the borders of Judah.

When Ahaziah died, his mother *Athaliah grasped the reins of leadership in Judah by killing the royal family (II Kings 11:1; II Chron. 22:10). There is no doubt that the revolution of Jehu in Samaria had its reverberations in Jerusalem, where there was a temple to Baal. It is of little wonder that a coup took place in the Judahite capital, led by the Temple staff and supported by the army and leaders of the people. Athaliah paid with her life and *Joash son of Ahaziah (836–798 B.C.E.), the only one to have escaped death at the hands of his grandmother, was made king of Judah. His coronation was accompanied by a covenant made between God and the king and the nation, and between the king and the people. These covenants stressed loyalty to the God of Israel and the renewed continuity of the Davidic dynasty in Jerusalem. The Jerusalem priesthood gained significant influence in political affairs thanks to *Jehoiada the priest, who had been the instigator

of the rebellion. The Temple was restored to its former glory; it was repaired by means of contributions solicited from the nation. That same year Hazael, king of Aram, reached Judah after having defeated Jehu. Joash was forced to pay a heavy tribute, which was taken from the Temple treasury (II Kings 12:18–19; II Chron. 24:23) in order to put off the destruction threatening his country. It may be that this act was interpreted as a blow to the Temple, thereby opening a wedge for activities against the king. (By means of a midrash on II Kings 12:3, the writer of II Chronicles 24:2ff. tells us that Joash turned to evil ways after Jehoiada's death, providing a theological reason for the Aramean invasion, which he postpones until after the priest's death, as well as for the king's assassination.) The king was assassinated in a palace coup, but his son Amaziah ascended the throne. This lack of stability continued during the reign of Amaziah son of Joash. The new king sought to allay tensions by not touching the descendants of his father's murderers, though he did avenge himself against the murderers themselves. It appears that he was able to quiet the circles which had formed the conspiracy, because the biblical sources speak of the conscription and organization of the army in Judah (II Chron. 25:5) to fight in Edom. This would have been impossible during a period of internal disturbances. According to Chronicles, Amaziah initially engaged a troop of mercenaries from Israel, but, not wanting to arouse new internal resistance, then gave them up and fought Edom by his own means. It appears that he was unable to conquer the whole of Edom. At a later date, probably encouraged by his victory over Edom, and believing that Israel had been greatly weakened after years of struggle with the Arameans, he turned against Israel. Amaziah was defeated by Jehoash son of Jehoahaz, the king of Israel, who entered Jerusalem, destroyed parts of her walls, looted the Temple and palace treasures, imposed economic sanctions, and took hostages away with him (II Kings 14:8–14; II Chron. 25:17–24). Judah's weakened condition probably was a factor in the successful conspiracy against Amaziah that eventually led to his assassination.

The defeats of Jehu led to the loss of territory and power by the kingdom of Israel. The period of decline continued during the reign of *Jehoahaz son of Jehu (817–800 B.C.E.). Echoes of this appear in the cycle of narratives about Elisha (II Kings 5–7). At the same time, Aramean pressures reached their peak, as a result of which the kingdom of Israel was forced to contract into the nearby environs of Samaria. Some slight relief from Aramean bondage was provided when Adad-nirari III, king of Assyria, conducted a campaign into Syria against Aram and Damascus its capital, failing however to defeat her. He appears to be the *moshi'a*, "deliverer," who, according to the biblical sources, saved Israel from Aram (II Kings 13:5). It is possible that Jehoahaz was subjugated by the Assyrian king, paying him, like Jehu before him, a levy during the time he was in the vicinity of Damascus. An Assyrian inscription mentions "the land of Omri" (an appellation for the kingdom of Israel even after the end of the Omri dynasty), among the lands subject to Adad-nirari III. It appears that during the latter years of Jehoahaz, Israel began to break free of the firm hand of Damascus, which was busy defending itself against Assyria. A stele discovered at Tel Rimah (Cogan and Tadmor, 335) mentions Jehoash (Joash) of Samaria, the son of Jehoahaz, king of Israel (800–784 B.C.E.), among those subjugated by Adad-nirari III. It may be that this subjugation was a continuation of the tactics of his father (if indeed the sources mentioned above refer to the time of his father and not to Jehoash's period), or he may have surrendered after the campaign of the king of Assyria into the valley of Lebanon in 796 B.C.E. In any case Jehoash utilized the decline of Aram to recapture territories taken from Israel during the reigns of his predecessors (II Kings 13:9–14). This is yet another indication of Israel's renewed military capability, which also displayed itself in Jehoash's war against Amaziah, king of Judah, in which he defeated Amaziah's armies and reached Jerusalem.

A protracted period of nonintervention on the part of Assyria in Syrian affairs, which occurred after Jehoash's time, had a positive influence upon the policies of the region's countries, including Israel and Judah. Furthermore, these two countries began to assume prime importance in filling the political vacuum left in the wake of Aram's decline following her war with Assyria. Thus, the period of *Jeroboam son of Jehoash (789–748 B.C.E.) was one of ascendancy for Israel. Some of his political and military achievements are briefly described in II Kings 14:23–29. These sources indicate that Jeroboam held widespread territories, including Aram-Damascus and eastern Transjordan. His northern boundary reached the kingdom of Hamath. The political and military activities were accompanied by economic expansion and building and fortification work in Samaria and its environs. Hints in the Books of Chronicles and Amos lead one to believe that Jeroboam initiated and strove to establish broader settlement areas in Transjordan and gave large pieces of land to his officers and followers. These individuals eventually developed into large and wealthy owners of estates of commanding influence, playing substantial roles in the final days of the kingdom of Israel. There were good relations at this time between Israel and Judah, as evidenced by a mention of a joint census in Transjordan (I Chron. 5:16–17).

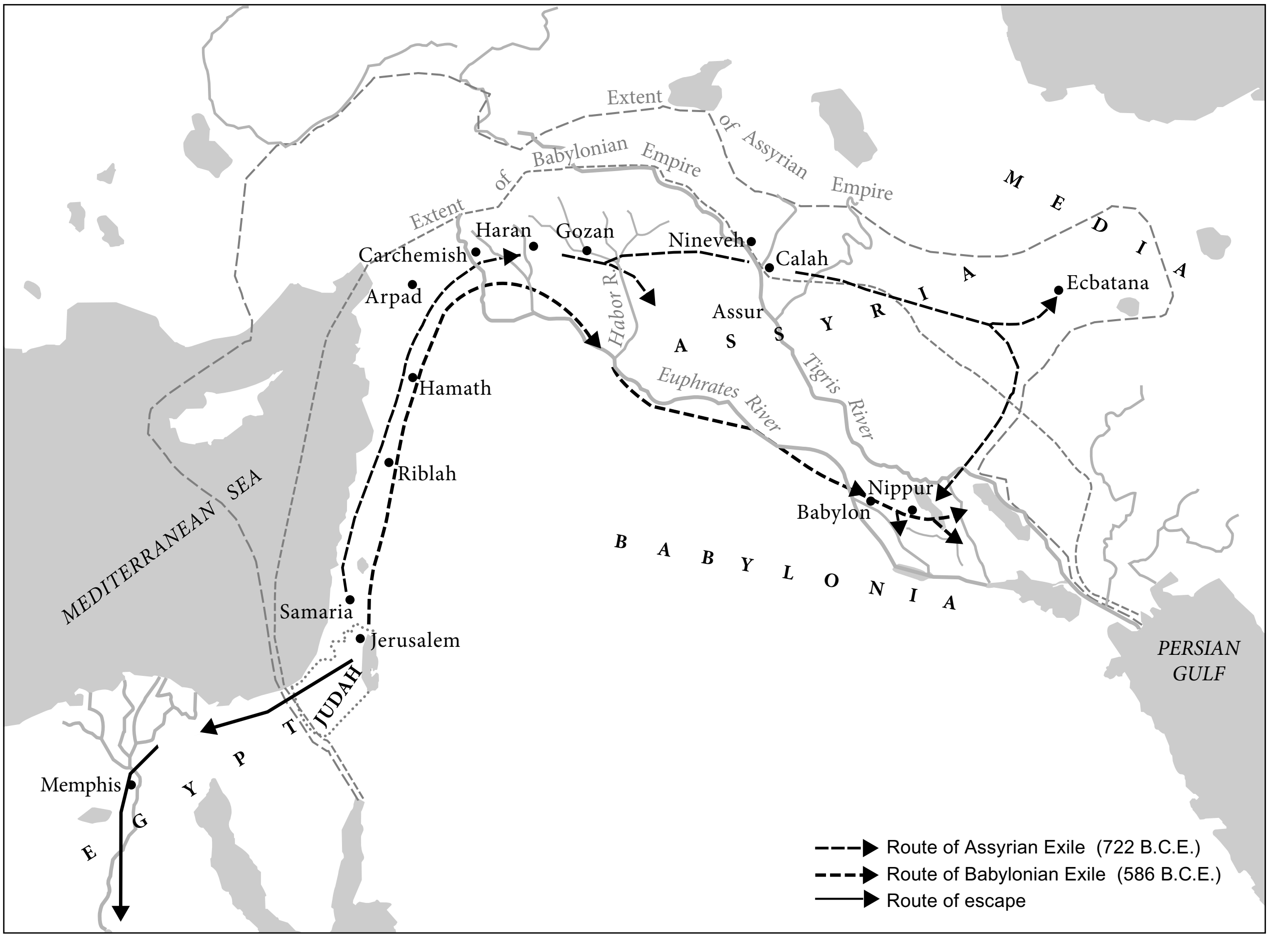
Judah, too, enjoyed a stability which stemmed from the convenient international situation. From the time of Joash the rule of Judah's kings was disturbed by incessant internal struggles and an inability to gather sufficient support to overcome the opposition to their rule. The reign of Jeroboam's contemporary, *Uzziah (Azariah) son of Amaziah (785–733 B.C.E.), was one of the most flourishing in the history of the kingdom of Judah. In the absence of external disturbances, Uzziah completed the conquest of Edom, including the important bay of Elath and its harbor (II Kings 14:22; II Chron. 26:2). He subjugated the Arabian tribes who lived at the borders of his kingdom and asserted his authority over Philistia, including Gath, Jabneh, and Ashdod (II Chron. 26:6–7). He strengthened his sovereignty over these areas by means of a far-flung building campaign and expanded agriculture and pasturing operations

in eastern Transjordan to meet the needs of the royal economy. A similar development was accomplished in the Negev and the Arabah, including operations to ensure water supply, settlements, and a chain of fortifications for communications and defense (26:10ff.). The army of Judah was reorganized and supplied with new weapons (26:11–15); special attention was given to the fortification of Jerusalem. These biblical data are probably connected with the anti-Assyrian war preparations which occupied the region due to the penetration of *Tiglath-Pileser III into Syria. It is possible that the "Azriau," mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions as the leader of a group of allies who fought the armies of Assyria in northern Syria and were defeated in 738, is in fact Uzziah, the king of Judah (Tadmor, 273–76 with references). But the question of how Uzziah became head of the alliance which fought in northern Syria is a difficult one. It is almost certain that Judah replaced Israel in importance in the area after Israel's precipitous decline following the death of Jeroboam son of Jehoash.

The Bible attributes Uzziah's severe skin disease to his attempts to secure special privileges for himself in the Temple service (II Chron. 26:16–21). The incident is not sufficiently explicit, but it is clear that the king's cultic activities were rejected by the priesthood. There may even be in the conflict between *Uzziah and the priests a continuation of the struggles that existed between the Temple staff and his father and grandfather. Biblical sources and chronological calculations (see also *Chronology) lead to the conclusion that as a result of Uzziah's infirmity his son *Jotham (758–743 B.C.E.) took part in the administration of the kingdom. Furthermore, Jotham's regency, though counted in the Bible as a separate rule, is included in the years attributed to Uzziah, who was still alive. It even appears that the years given as Uzziah's period of rule include a few years from the reign of Ahaz, his grandson. Jotham son of Uzziah acted according to the guidance and direction of his father. It is not unreasonable to assume that a good portion of the building and other activities ascribed to the father was actually accomplished by the son. In the light of what has been said above, it is difficult to distinguish between their reigns. In any case, he appears to have appeased the priesthood. He, too, is credited with the fortification of Jerusalem and cities of Judah and with the building of fortresses. In his time Ammon was brought under Judah's rule (II Chron. 27:5). It appears that as a result of this victory he was able to enlist the aid of Jeroboam son of Jehoash in the campaign into Transjordan (see above). After the defeat of 738, in which Judah was not directly affected, Jotham attempted accommodation with Assyria, thus arousing the ire of *Rezin, king of Damascus. The latter had restored independence to Aram with the help of his ally, the king of Israel. These two kings attempted to involve Judah in a new anti-Assyrian campaign.

The Last Days of Samaria. The Kingdom of Judah Until Its Destruction

With the death of Jeroboam son of Jehoash chaos broke out in Israel. Influential in the upheavals characteristic of this period were the great landowners and prominent parties from the eastern side of the Jordan. The short reign of *Zechariah son of Jeroboam (748/7 B.C.E.) ended in his assassination at the hands of *Shallum son of Jabesh (i.e., from Jabesh-Gilead). Shallum was deposed, before he could ascend the throne, by *Menahem son of Gadi (747/6–737/6 B.C.E.), who also appears to have been from Transjordan. He seems to have attempted to expand his territories and establish a firm rule (II Kings 15:16), but the iron hand of Tiglath-Pileser III prevented him from achieving his aims. There is no doubt that Menahem son of Gadi is "Menahem of Samaria," who is referred to in an Assyrian inscription of 738 B.C.E. as one of those who paid taxes to the king of Assyria. Menahem had little choice but to be counted among those loyal to Tiglath-Pileser III. Biblical sources describe Menahem as having been forced to pay a heavy tax to Pul (i.e., Tiglath-Pileser), the king of Assyria. This money was exacted from the wealthy landowners of Menahem's kingdom (II Kings 15:19–20). One theory based on the Samaria ostraca holds that the tax was collected in the form of agricultural products. After the death of Menahem, *Pekahiah, his son, lost control of affairs and soon fell in a conspiracy led by *Pekah son of Remaliah (735/4–733/2 B.C.E.), one of the nobles of Gilead. The cause of the conspiracy seems to have been dissatisfaction on the part of Transjordanian Israelites with Assyrian domination of Israel; these parties cultivated their own connections with Aram. Thus, when Pekah began his reign, he entered into a treaty with Rezin, king of Damascus, which was aimed against Tiglath-Pileser III. In order to create a secure flank these two attempted to compel Jotham, and later his son *Ahaz (743–727 B.C.E.), to abandon Judah's policy of submitting to Assyria. They attempted this by fomenting rebellion in Edom and inciting Philistia (II Kings 16:6; II Chron. 28:17–18), and by a military campaign toward Jerusalem which was intended to upset the Davidic dynasty. Ahaz therefore turned to Tiglath-Pileser III for aid, and, according to the biblical sources, submitted to the king of Assyria. The Bible blames him for practicing "abominations of the nations." The account that Ahaz ordered the construction of a Syrian style altar in the Jerusalem temple is not itself condemnatory but is now embedded in a hostile narrative. Nonetheless, it demonstrates the growing foreign influences upon Judah (II Kings 16:3–4, 10–18; II Chron. 28:3–4, 21–25). It is not clear whether the appearance of Tiglath-Pileser in Damascus resulted from Ahaz's request, since it is highly unlikely that the king of Assyria would have responded to such a call if he had not already decided to attack Damascus anyway. What appears more likely is that Ahaz turned to Tiglath-Pileser in 734, while the Assyrian army was already engaged in a campaign along the Phoenician coastline, reaching as far as the "brook of Egypt" (Wādi El-Arish). This Assyrian venture was intended to strengthen control over the Philistine coastal cities, and especially over Gaza. Thus Ahaz's request must have fallen upon receptive ears, since it suited Tiglath-Pileser's political-military plans. In 733–732 the Assyrians besieged Damascus and captured it, making it the center of an Assyrian province.



Map 1. The Assyrian and Babylonian exiles. From J. Shapiro (ed.), Historical Atlas of the Jewish People*, Tel Aviv, 1966.*

During the siege Tiglath-Pileser also conquered portions of eastern Transjordan and penetrated the Galilee and the Valley of Beth-Netuphah. As it appears from Assyrian sources and biblical references (II Kings 15:29), he may have reached as far as Ashkelon. Immediately following these events another revolt took place in Samaria. In place of the cruel and destructive Pekah son of Remaliah, who brought disaster to the kingdom, *Hoshea son of Elah (733/2–724/3 B.C.E.) became king, his position being confirmed by the Assyrian ruler.

Throughout this period Judah maintained its vassal status, thus being saved. Assyrian records refer to Ahaz (called Jehoahaz in the inscription; Cogan and Tadmor, 336) who paid a tax in 728 B.C.E.

With the death of Tiglath-Pileser III, widespread revolt broke out in Syria and Palestine. Even the kingdom of Israel, encouraged by Egypt (II Kings 17:4), joined in the revolt. The new Assyrian king, *Shalmaneser V, punished the rebels by means of a military campaign. Upon reaching Palestine, he besieged Samaria for three years, and the capital fell in 722 B.C.E. The exile of its inhabitants and the turning of Samaria into an Assyrian province was completed by the next Assyrian king, Sargon II (II Kings 17:6; cf. 18:9–11. The exact details are complicated because the Babylonian Chronicle attributes the fall of Samaria to Shalmaneser, while his successor Sargon II (722–705) takes the credit (see bibliography in *Exile, Assyrian and Map: Routes of the Exiles). He appears to have rushed his army westward in 720 to suppress rebellion in many parts of the area. Judah refrained from participation in this uprising. Assyrian inscriptions from Sargon's time mention Judah's submission. Still, there are hints about the involvement of *Hezekiah son of Ahaz (727–698 B.C.E.) in support of Ashdod, which was in rebellion against Assyria. As a result of this, sections of Judah's western border were attacked. In any case, Judah enjoyed a period of relative quiet, possibly because of its submission to Assyria. However, as soon as the Assyrian danger had passed, Hezekiah adopted a series of measures which may be interpreted as a shift in policy. The purification of the cult from foreign and popular native elements (II Chron. 28:24; 29:3) was intended to raise national morale and unite the people around the House of David and the Temple. Even the literary activity (Prov. 25:1) was an expression of a new nationalistic spirit which, like the purification of the cult, expressed aspirations of political independence. There were even attempts to bring closer to Judah

those residents of the former Israel living in nearby Assyrian provinces which had been established on the territories of the former kingdom of Israel. To this end, Hezekiah sent envoys to invite these people to participate in the Passover festival in Jerusalem, the date of which was made to conform to the calendar kept in the north (II Chron. 30:1–21). It is clear that these aspirations were bound to become involved with anti-Assyrian activities which were growing from Egypt to Babylonia. The mission of the Assyrian *Merodach-Baladan (II Kings 20:12; Isa. 39) to Jerusalem was intended to clarify Judah's stand in these activities. With the death of Sargon II the balance seems to have been tipped in favor of Hezekiah's participation in the anti-Assyrian front. Jerusalem prepared for revolt. The capital was fortified, and the *Siloam tunnel was built to bring the water of the Gihon within her walls in time of emergency. The army was reorganized in preparation for the revolt. It appears from Assyrian inscriptions that at this time the pro-Assyrian king of Ekron was imprisoned in Jerusalem, and Philistia was attacked (II Kings 18:8). This was done by Judah to create territorial continuity with Ashkelon, also a participant in the revolt.

*Sennacherib, who succeeded Sargon II, successfully fought Babylonia, and attempted to conquer the cities along the Phoenician coast, afterward making his way toward Palestine. During this campaign, according to the sources describing his acts in Palestine, the Assyrian king conquered Beth-Dagon, Jaffa, Bene-Berak, and cities of the kingdom of Ashkelon. At Eltekeh, at the approaches to Judah, he defeated the Egyptian relief force which had been sent to help Hezekiah. The Assyrian army entered Judah, destroyed its cities, distributing them among the Philistine kings, and exiled many of the people. (See Map: Routes of the Exiles). A siege was laid upon Jerusalem. Hezekiah, encouraged by *Isaiah the prophet who had high standing in the king's court, did not open the gates of the city to Sennacherib, though he did send him a heavy tribute. The subsequent activities of Sennacherib are not clear. He left Judah, though opinions are divided as to his reasons. He may have returned to Palestine at a later date. In any case, Hezekiah remained on his throne as an Assyrian vassal paying very high tribute.

This subjugation to Assyria continued during the reign of *Manasseh son of Hezekiah (698–642 B.C.E.), who reigned during the rule of the last great Assyrian kings. He introduced Baal worship and astral cults into Jerusalem and Judah (II Kings 21:1–9; II Chron. 33:2–9). He built altars to the astral deities in the Jerusalem temple. He also paid taxes to Assyria. A late source (II Chron. 33:11–13) relates that Manasseh was taken captive in chains to Babylonia, though he later returned to reign over Judah. It is said that, when he returned to Judah, he rooted out idolatrous practices and fortified Jerusalem and other cities (II Chron. 33:14–16). (For a discussion of this issue, see Japhet, 1000–4.) The reign of *Amon son of Manasseh was short-lived, ending in his assassination. *Josiah son of Amon (639–609 B.C.E.) was brought to the throne by forces loyal to the House of David. They had before them the example of Hezekiah who had tried to unite the nation and deepen its national and religious awareness by purifying the cult and repairing the Temple. As in former times, the usual political motivation behind these acts existed. In this case the motivation was the decline of Assyria during the time of Josiah. While in earlier times Assyrian declines may have been temporary, it was clear during Josiah's reign that the fall of Assyria was not just a passing phenomenon. The Books of Kings and II Chronicles are at odds over the order of events and their times. It has been argued that II Chronicles is the more dependable, since its chronology and time fit in with the stages of the decline of the Assyrian empire (II Chron. 34–35).

Josiah began by showing his faith in the God of David; he then cleansed his capital and cities and some of the former Israel territories of idolatry; and he finally arranged repairs of the Temple. This last deed is connected with other actions whose purpose was religious reform and the raising of national morale. These included the finding of a Torah scroll (see *Deuteronomy), the forming of a new covenant between the nation and its God, and the celebration of Passover in the capital. The biblical sources indicate that along with the national and spiritual activities of Josiah, there was also a territorial expansion into the former kingdom of Israel from which Assyria had retreated. In circumstances that are far from clear, Josiah met Pharaoh *Neco at Megiddo. According to II Chronicles 35:20–24, Josiah engaged Neco in battle. Scholars who accept the Chronicles account do so against the background that Neco had attempted to help the tottering Assyrian forces which had fortified themselves along the Euphrates against the advances of Nabopolassar, the Chaldean, who was the founder of the neo-Babylonian empire. Neco wanted to exploit the decline of Assyria to acquire its territories west of the Euphrates. In line with these facts it has been argued that Josiah went to Megiddo in order to block an Egypto-Assyrian coalition. In contrast, other scholars argue that II Kings 23:30 makes no mention of a battle and that Josiah had been summoned by Neco to a kind of court martial, or that he had walked into a trap (see Cogan and Tadmor, 300–3; Althann). In either event, Josiah was killed by Neco at Megiddo. With the death of Josiah, Judah's last period of national prosperity came to an end. After him came a period of decline, wars, bloodshed, and destruction. *Jehoahaz, his son, reigned in his stead, but was shortly removed by Neco, who made the areas west of the Euphrates his sphere of influence. Jehoahaz was replaced by *Jehoiakim (608–598 B.C.E.), Josiah's eldest son, who almost certainly must have displayed more loyalty to Egypt than his deposed brother. Judah became an Egyptian satellite and was forced to pay heavy tributes (II Kings 24:33).

Beginning with Jehoiakim, Judah was buffeted by the severe conflict between Babylonia and Egypt on the one hand, and the proliferation of conflicting political views among its own ruling classes and people on the other. With *Nebuchadnezzar's defeat of Neco (605 B.C.E.) and penetration into Philistia, it was clear that Babylonia was the dominant force in the Near East. As a result, Jehoiakim was subject to Babylonian

rule for a few years, though at the same time he tried to maintain his connections with Egypt, which encouraged him and promised aid. When Egypt enjoyed some temporary success in stopping Nebuchadnezzar, Jehoiakim's connections with Egypt turned into full-scale rebellion against Babylonia. Throughout this period, the prophet *Jeremiah counseled against a Judah-Egypt alliance, advising that the only way to save Judah from destruction was surrender to Babylonia. Promised Egyptian aid never reached Judah, when Nebuchadnezzar attacked, using his forces and soldiers from countries he had conquered (II Kings 24:2). Jerusalem was placed under siege at around that time. After Jehoiakim's death, his son *Jehoiachin held the throne for three months before being exiled to Babylonia (597), along with his court, army officers, and craftsmen. Babylonian documents make it clear that he was well treated in exile, even retaining his royal title.

Nebuchadnezzar appointed as king of Judah *Zedekiah son of Josiah (596–586 B.C.E.), who was at first loyal to Babylonia. At a later period he made connections with anti-Babylonian elements and joined a rebellion which encompassed Palestine, the Phoenician coast, and Transjordan. This revolt had the active support of Egypt, now ruled by Pharaoh Hophra. Zedekiah remained loyal to the rebellion even after some of the rebels surrendered to Nebuchadnezzar. He even resisted the pressures of prophets led by Jeremiah, as well as of some of his courtiers, who feared the fate Judah might suffer because of its rebellious activities against Babylonia. The *Lachish ostraca testify to the events of those days, when the Babylonian army stood at the gateway to the country. These ostraca reflect the internal confusion among the administrators, army, and courtiers, and illustrate the emergency situation within Judah. The Babylonian army penetrated the land and began to destroy its fortifications (589). It appears that an Egyptian force was rushed to Judah at that time, providing some temporary relief from the siege of Jerusalem, but the force was defeated. The capital then came under protracted siege until it was conquered and destroyed, along with the Temple. Zedekiah was captured while trying to escape and was severely punished. Judah was depopulated by the exile of her populace and by the flight of refugees to neighboring countries. Nor was she able to stop the Philistines, Edomites, and Arabian tribes from taking parts of her territories. The remnants of the population of Jerusalem and Judah concentrated themselves about Mizpeh. There *Gedaliah son of Ahikam was appointed by the Babylonians to govern the remaining inhabitants of Judah. He was murdered, however, by conspirators from among Judah's former officialdom, who were encouraged by outside forces. With his death, the end came for the last vestige of independence that yet remained. The territory of Judah became an administrative unit of Babylon, but its exact status is unclear. (See Map: Routes of the Exiles).

The destruction of Jerusalem and the termination of the kingdom of Judah brought to an end the long period of independence and sovereignty which the people of Israel had enjoyed. There remained only the deep impress of this period upon the history of the nation and the hopes it gave to future generations.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF ANCIENT ISRAEL

The Source

The only source of information on Israelite society in ancient times is the Bible. Archaeological excavations have so far produced no significant additional material on this subject; nor have the few epigraphical sources of that period which have been discovered in Palestine added to our knowledge in this field. The information gleaned from the Bible is fragmentary, discontinuous, and sketchy. Moreover, it is difficult to obtain a general picture on the basis of biblical material, since this material was mostly written at a much later date than the period it describes, even though it may have contained ancient traditions. The realistic aspects of society and social problems were of incidental interest to the authors and editors, who were preoccupied with questions of morality and social justice. Thus it is only indirectly that the Bible permits us to view the social structure and its component parts, the social concepts and customs, of the ancient era.

Methods

Owing to the nature of the unique source, the student of ancient Israelite society must rely chiefly upon typological comparisons with other societies bearing a chronological, ethnic, geographic, and linguistic relationship to ancient Israelite society, as well as with later societies having the same social structure. Such a study will range from the tribal organization of pre-Islamic Arabia to that of Bedouin tribes in the 19^{th} century. The analysis of ancient or recent parallels is guided by the fragmentary information provided in the Bible, which reflects a very well defined social system and way of life.

Hebrew Society Prior to the Rise of Israel in Canaan

The information derived from the Bible and by analogy from relevant examples (most particularly from the archive tablets found in the Mesopotamian city of *Mari, which contain important details about Western Semitic tribal organization) indicates that in the pre-Israelite period the structure of the Hebrew tribes was patriarchal. Tribal structure would have been made up of variously sized units which were related to one another by blood, claimed descent from the same patriarchal ancestor, and shared a religious-cultic tradition.

The Pre-Monarchic Period

Most of the evidence concerning the tribal structure of Israel relates to what the Bible refers to as the period of the settlement in the Promised Land and thereafter. There is no unequivocal material concerning the time and nature of the formation of the tribes. The 12 tribes, as we know them from the Bible, are merely a schematic device, a fixed number whose components apparently changed in the course of time, as may be concluded from certain sparse but unmistakable references. Some of these component parts probably dated from earliest times, while others arose later. According to one theory, the

duodecimal scheme was based upon an actual supra-tribal organization similar to the Greek and Etruscan amphictyonies. Another theory emphasises the "democratic" rather than ritualistic nature of the organization. Other scholars question the existence of any supra-tribal organization. It seems obvious, however, that whatever its nature, some super-tribal structure undoubtedly did exist.

Tribal and Sub-Tribal Units

The tribal framework contained two kinds of sub-tribal units (Josh. 7:13–14). This subdivision may also be schematic to some extent, as may be deduced from the variety of terms used to designate these subunits. It is, however, evident that the smallest unit was the household (*bet-ha-ʾav*), consisting of the sons of one father, with their wives and offspring. Several households made up a clan (*mishpaḥah*; Num. 2:34), which produced the military unit called "*elef*" (Judg. 6:15; I Sam. 17:18 and 22:7 et al.). The tribe consisted of several such clans. One tribe, Dan, supposedly consisted of a single clan. The "nuclear family," with which we are familiar nowadays, had no independent existence in those days, but was only a component of the larger household. The individual male enjoyed equality under the law and by tradition, but not within the family structure. The individual could participate in the large gatherings of his unit, which in turn gave him a voice in tribal and clan decisions, including the selection of tribal institution leaders.

Institutions

Tribal leadership and institutions arose from among the elders, as the heads of clans and households were known. They wielded political and judicial authority. This was a leadership elected by the units on the basis of lineage, experience, and wisdom, as well as the size of the bloc which supported the person in question. It is difficult to determine to what extent this representative and governing body known as the elders had a consistent nature and whether it had exclusive power in the spheres of its authority. It seems likely that it was not a rigidly consistent institution, in view of the variety of terms applied to various leaders who may or may not have been elders – *nagid* (I Sam. 9:16); *nadiv* (Num. 21:18; I Sam. 2:8 et al.); *ḥoqeq*, *meḥoqeq* (Judg. 5:9, 14); and *qaẓin* (Judg. 11:11). There was moreover a term which was applied to a more identifiable kind of leader – *shofeṭ moshiʿa*, literally, a "savior judge." These were temporary leaders who emerged in times of crisis to save the tribe from its enemies, and their authority was charismatic and outside the traditional leadership. It is, nonetheless, apparent that the term "judge" was frequently applied to important individuals whose authority derived from their lineage and property, and who were thus similar to the traditional elders. The so-called "minor judges" (Judg. 10:1–4 and 12:8–15) belonged to this category. It is not entirely clear what was the highest rank in the tribal hierarchy. Certain biblical texts suggest that the term *nasi* designated this highest authority. It seems likely that the *nasi* was elected from among the elders (Num. 1:44 and 2:7).

Social Changes

The tribal structure with its subunits was always adapting to new circumstances and needs, so that institutions and functions acquired new meanings. Time witnessed the rise in power of private property and enhanced proprietary awareness. The social distinctions between sub-tribal units also increased, as did the differences between the tribes, resulting from the varied geographic and geopolitical conditions they encountered in their settlements. All this in turn served to weaken the intertribal association and the supra-tribal organization. The economic basis of the clans and households also changed. Sheep and cattle raising, previously the exclusive resource of the tribe, was being replaced by the cultivation of fruit and grain crops. At the same time, crafts necessary to the settled way of life and to agriculture were also on the increase. One phenomenon known already in the second millennium (see *Habiru) was the appearance of a marginal society of unintegrated, nonproductive elements without property, who became mercenaries and followers of revolutionary leaders (Judg. 9:4, "worthless and reckless fellows"; and 11:3, "worthless fellows").

Urbanization

Urbanization accelerated social and economic processes. The qualitative changes which took place among the Israelites who became urbanized is clearly seen in various biblical texts. Such texts deal largely with the institutions of leadership, although there were no doubt corresponding changes in the personal and judicial spheres as well, as evidenced by the laws in Deuteronomy, which are clearly associated with an urban existence (Deut. 19, 21, etc.). Tribal traditions and customs began to weaken, although they did not entirely disappear. The elders, an institution with tribal-patriarchal roots, became the established authority in the Israelite city (I Sam. 11:3). At the same time, the congregation of all free citizens emerged as a broader-based institution (*ibid.* v. 1). It becomes evident that urban life produced new criteria for the selection of elders, economic power replacing hereditary status. Thus of the ancient tribal institution only the title and framework remained, while the content underwent complete change. Urban life also affected the status of the sub-tribal units – the clan and the household grew in importance while the status of the tribe declined. This must have been so, despite the biblical emphasis on the tribe as the chief organization of Israelite society.

Changes in the Tribal System

The most basic changes were those which affected the tribal system. This large entity did not disappear entirely during the period under discussion. The tribe and its leadership remained very powerful. The Bible gives us a picture of a tribal framework which did not disintegrate even while it changed from being a group related by blood to a typical territory-based unit. There have been theories that the tribe originated with the settlement. Be that as it may, the criteria which determine membership in a nomadic tribe, i.e., blood ties and a common patriarchal ancestor, were obviously unsuited to the new way

of life, in which geographic consideration took precedence over genealogy. In other words, membership in a tribe became predicated upon residence within its territory. In this way the tribes were able to absorb alien ethnic elements, as well as migrant groups from other tribes who either became absorbed in the tribe or retained a form of dual-tribal affiliation. Thus the city with its inhabitants became a new component of the tribal system, to which a person could be related in the same way that he was related to a clan or household, and which appeared in genealogical lists as a descendant of the ancient ancestor of the tribe. There are numerous examples of this concept in the early chapters of I Chronicles. The picture which emerges in this late source is, no doubt, highly simplified, but it must have had its basis in reality, since in many cases an entire clan must have settled together in one city and formed the bulk of its population.

This is not to suggest that the urban citizen was subject to the authority of the tribal elders, for the city was a fairly independent entity. Rather, the city as an autonomous whole participated in the overall tribal organization which, by then, had some of the characteristics of a political alliance, where previously it had been an association of clans. All these changes took place over a long period of time and in a complicated manner. The process of settlement varied in its phases from tribe to tribe and from clan to clan. The story of the migration of the tribe of Dan from the south to the north (Judg. 17, 18) illustrates this fact.

The Monarchy and the Tribal System

The monarchy in Israel emerged as an antithesis to the tribal system (see *King). By its very nature and in this specific instance, the monarchy acted as a catalyst upon certain social processes, of which some were ancient and others new. It is hardly surprising that the advent of the monarchy in Israel became the decisive factor in the disintegration of the tribal system. In the beginning the monarchy apparently attempted to coexist with the tribal authority, and probably strove to incorporate it into the administration of the kingdom. However, the growing strength of the centralized royal authority inevitably led to clashes with the separatist interests of the tribal leaders, who naturally struggled to preserve their autonomy, even though they had previously concurred with the creation of the monarchy in order to meet certain exigencies. The activities of the monarchy, especially the division of the land into administrative regions (I Kings 4), also served to weaken and restrict the traditional, tribal-rooted authority. Thus, in the course of the monarchical era, tribal membership became largely a traditional symbol lacking any real function. The monarchy also undermined the tribal leadership by creating a whole new class of functionaries – "royal employees" dependent on the king, from the highest ministers (I Sam. 8:18–26; I Chron. 18:15–17; II Sam. 20:23–26; etc.) to officials, professional soldiers (I Kings 9:22 et al.), managers, and laborers on the royal estates (I Sam. 8:12). Concurrently, the appointed priesthood and probably the Levite administration, as well as an emergent mercantile community, thrived under the influence of the monarchy. The monarchical economy encouraged the rapid development of specialized skills and enhanced crafts and the status of artisans. The elders were rapidly losing power in the urban centers, and authority became increasingly vested in the ministers who governed the affairs of the city. Nevertheless, these changes did not seriously affect the customs and way of life within the framework of the clan and the household, which continued to derive their inspiration from the patriarchal tradition and the ancient social institutions. The kings took care not to destroy the accepted way of life. In any event, the clan was still a vital and effective factor during the period of the Return to Zion (Ezra 2; Neh. 4:7).

National Class Structure

The decline of the tribal system and the reorganization of the population, first in terms of territory and then as a kingdom, led to the emergence and crystallization of a nationwide class structure. The main stratum consisted of landowners, large and small. A class of artisans arose beside it. Additional strata emerged in the course of the monarchical period: royal functionaries, merchants, and government officials. It remains, however, impossible to reconstruct a satisfactory picture of the overall social stratification of ancient Israel. The Bible refers to various social classes whenever the narrative requires it, and apparently recognizes the existence of social stratification, although it emphasizes chiefly the division between the free and the enslaved, the poor and the rich. It would, therefore, be a mistake to attempt to reconstruct a complete model of the stratification of that society. A broad outline which includes an upper, a middle, and a lower class, together with the marginal elements and the slaves, will have to suffice. The priesthood and the Levites are not included in the aforementioned division, because of their special status and ritualistic functions, although in part they may have been considered as officers of the government (II Sam. 8:17 et al.).

Landowning Class

The broad base of the kingdom – and later of the separate kingdoms of Israel and Judah – was the landowners and the peasantry, who together comprised the bulk of the population. The sources frequently mention the landowners ("the great men," II Sam. 19:33), both on account of their political activities and in connection with the bitter denunciations hurled at them by the prophets. Large estates had begun to appear even before the monarchy, as may be seen in the case of prominent individuals like Barzillai the Gileadite (II Sam. 19:32) and Nabal the Carmelite (I Sam. 25:2) in David's time. However, on the whole, great estates were a product of the political-economic policies of the kings, who rewarded their supporters and followers with land grants of conquered, annexed, or purchased territories (II Sam. 9:7–10; 19:30). There seems to have been a concentration of such *latifundia* in Transjordan. The economic power wielded by the estate owners soon turned into a massive political weapon in times of crisis

and royal weakness, such as toward the end of the Kingdom of Israel – a period during which the Transjordanian nobles apparently exercised a decisive influence in the affairs of the capital, Samaria. In the Kingdom of Judah the landowning class does not seem to have played such a major role, perhaps because it was a small class – in view of the territorial limitations and the topography of the kingdom – and perhaps also because the Davidic dynasty was a strong one. From about the middle of the ninth century B.C.E., a section of the population described as "the people of the land" (*am ha-areẓ*) became increasingly prominent. There has been a great deal of speculation and research concerning this group, whose nature is not entirely clear. "The people of the land" played an active role in events of the highest political significance, such as the crowning of a new king, especially following revolutions and regicides (II Kings 11:14; II Chron. 33:25, et al.). From these sparse references it may be deduced that "the people of the land" was a broadly representative class in Judah and that its power rested in its ownership of the land, although it seems unlikely that this class included the major landowners. Apparently "the people of the land" succeeded the ancient "democratic" concept of the "congregation," which had more or less vanished shortly after the establishment of the monarchy. It has been suggested that the Northern Kingdom's equivalent of "the people of the land" were the "mighty men of wealth" (*gibbore ha-ḥayil*) mentioned in II Kings 15:20 and Ruth 2:1, upon whom the Israelite king Menahem imposed a special levy in order to pay the tribute to King Tiglath Pileser III of Assyria. There were 60,000 of them at that time. Some scholars have suggested that the term designated a landowning warrior who supplied his own as well as his men's military equipment.

Lower on the social scale stood the class of the small landowners, the tenant farmers of the great estates and of the royal estates. The origins of this group may have been in peasantry which had lost its own land through poverty or expropriation (Isa. 5:8). Some may have been settled on the land by the kings who wanted to strengthen the border regions or prevent social unrest. Thus the kings were able to enjoy larger revenues from the land than if it had been cultivated by slave labor.

Merchant Class

The mercantile community was of great social and economic importance. As we have seen, this class emerged and grew thanks to the royal initiative in international commerce, which the Bible traces to King Solomon (I Kings 9:26–28; 10:14–15; II Chron. 20:35–36), and which reached its peak in the golden age of the two kingdoms, i.e., the ninth century B.C.E., under Ahab and probably somewhat later in Judah. While there is little data on this matter also, it would seem that there was a broad spectrum of mercantile activity, both on the international level and within the realm, both as part of the royal administration and as private enterprise. The Bible is not explicit in these matters, but it seems that the higher echelons of the merchant class exercised a considerable influence in the royal court, even in political affairs. There are indications that the Israelite merchants, like others in the Ancient Near East, invested in areas which did not have a direct bearing upon their main trade – finance, real estate, the slave trade, etc. (cf. Ex. 22:24; Lev. 25:36–37; Isa. 24:2; Jer. 15:10; et al.). It is not inconceivable that the merchants, through their commerce with neighboring and distant lands, served as the channel through which outside cultural and material influence penetrated Palestine. Moreover, it is likely that this class, together with the great landlords, intensified the class distinctions among the free population of Israel.

Artisan Class

The development of crafts was also accelerated by the advent of the monarchy. Archaeological finds in Israel have shown that the monarchical age brought about an expansion of crafts and increased productivity to sustain the economy and commerce of the realm (I Chron. 4:23). Throughout that age, crafts remained within the family and were not open to all comers. Skills were passed on from father to son (I Chron. 2:55 and 4:21). Though there may have been some pressure upon the artisans to widen their ranks in order to provide for the expanding economy of the kingdom, the familial pattern remained in effect. This is not to suggest that there were proper guilds, or guild-like organizations, as one scholar proposed. Craft guilds are based upon different principles and have a different organizational structure. Certain texts superficially seem to suggest the existence of guilds – the mention of streets devoted to a certain craft (Jer. 37:21), artisan quarters (Neh. 3:32), industrial centers (Neh. 11:35 and compare Isa. 44:13, et al.), as well as craft nomenclature for families (Neh. 3:8, 12, 15, 31). However, this conclusion is misleading; there were no commercial guilds in existence. It appears that only at a relatively late date did the artisans entirely sever their ties with the land and it may be assumed that in small communities artisans owned land. It is not possible to determine the exact relationship of the artisan class to the other strata of society, but it is most likely that it represented one of the chief components of the middle stratum and the marginal elements.

Marginal Elements

Lower still on the social scale were the laborers without property or skill, who were hired by the day or by the season (Lev. 19:13; Deut. 24:14–15; Isa. 16:14). They were employed on the great estates, by the craftsmen, and in the service of the king or private individuals. In addition to these, there were also the remnants of the autochthonous elements which for some reason had failed or been unable to assimilate among the Israelites (Deut. 29:10). They were called "aliens" or "resident aliens" (see *Strangers and Gentiles) and they existed on the fringes of Israelite society. Their status determined the nature of their relationship to society. Legally and socially their status fell between that of the wholly disfranchised slaves and the free populace (II Chron. 2:16). It is likely that later on other alien elements were added to the authochthonous group. Their

status apparently improved with time, and this may account for the apparent contradictions concerning their way of life and privileges in biblical texts. The aliens generally enjoyed the status of protected dependents (Deut. 1:16; 5:14; 29:10), and were more than once cited together with the poor and the helpless (Lev. 19:10 and 25:6), who were entitled to partake of a special tithe and other poor dues (Deut. 14:28–29 and 24:19, et al). Conversely, mention is also made of propertied aliens (Lev. 25:47; Deut. 28:43). A distinction must be made between the marginal, indigenous alien residents and a certain limited group of autochthonous families who allied themselves with royal families and the highest officialdom and kept their ancient exalted status. This was the outcome of moves made by the early kings, who had to establish a new administration at a time when there were no Israelites with the necessary qualifications.

Slaves

Lowliest of all were the slaves, who were deprived of all rights. They were of various origins – some had been captives taken in battle (cf. Deut. 21:10–14, II Chron. 28:8ff., et al.), and some were descendents of the aboriginal inhabitants of the land (I Kings 9:21; cf. Ezra 2:43–54; Neh. 7:46ff.). Finally, there were Israelites who were so improverished as to submit, voluntarily or under duress, to bondage to their creditors (II Kings 4:1–17; Isa. 50:1; Neh. 5:1–5). Biblical law endows the Israelite slave with certain rights (though these may fall within the bounds of a social-legal utopia), entitling them to their freedom after a limited time in bondage (Ex. 21:2–11; Lev. 25:40; Deut. 15:12–18). However, there is little evidence that slaves were in reality granted their freedom on a regular basis. There does appear to have been some distinction between the status of a purchased slave and one who was born in the household (Gen. 17:12; Lev. 25:41). Private persons as well as the king owned slaves (II Sam. 12:31). There are also some hints suggesting the existence of temple slaves, the "Nethinim" (Ezra 8:20, cf. Ezek. 44:7; Neh. 3:31 and 11:21), who were drawn from among the alien elements. There are no available data concerning the number and economic importance of slaves in ancient Israel. By analogy with other ancient societies in the Near East it may be assumed that during periods of territorial expansion and conquest they were numerous and of some economic importance.

[Hanoch Reviv / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

FROM THE DESTRUCTION TO ALEXANDER

The Restoration

The destruction of the Temple constituted a double crisis. Not only were the people cast off the land but the Divine Presence departed from Jerusalem (Ezek. 10:19; 11:23). Once the city was bereft of the God of Israel, its Canaanite origins came to the fore (Ezek. 16). The process of restoration (see *Exile, Babylonian) would be a lengthy one that would carry the people along the same route traversed by their ancestors who emerged from Egypt. Like the Exodus from Egypt, the one from Babylonia was depicted in miraculous terms. The Sinaitic theophany was paralleled by the reconstruction of the Temple, which restored the Divine Presence to Jerusalem (cf. Ezra 6:12; 7:15), while the revelation of the laws to Moses had its counterpart in the reading of the Torah and the legislative activity of Ezra. The sanctity of the newly occupied land could only be preserved if the Sabbath was observed, if each member of the nation cared for his brother, and if the men did not take wives from among the pagan peoples. The Restoration was depicted in the terms outlined above in Deutero-Isaiah, Ezra, and Nehemiah. As the Lord revealed Himself by preparing a passage through the Red Sea, so would He reveal Himself by clearing a road through the desert separating Babylon from Jerusalem (Isa. 40:3ff.). Israel would be redeemed from its present as from its former bondage and gathered in from the four corners of the earth (Isa. 43:1ff.). As Israel took spoils from the Egyptians in its earlier Exodus (Ex. 3:21–22; 11:2–3; 12:35–36), so would it now receive the tribute of all the nations (Isa. 60). The miraculous and munificent return described by the prophet is echoed in the historical books. The neighbors of the repatriates from Babylonia "strengthened their hands" with silver and gold vessels, cattle and goods of all sorts (Ezra 1:6). The Persian king Darius contributed toward the construction and sacrificial cult of the Temple (Ezra 5:8ff.) and this policy of support was continued by Artaxerxes I, who together with his seven advisers, also sent contributions (Ezra 7:15ff.). Though nothing is told of the journey of the repatriates who returned shortly after Cyrus' decree, the return of Ezra and his small band was carried out under divine guidance. In his memoirs Ezra writes "I was ashamed to ask the king for a band of soldiers and horsemen to protect us against the enemy on our way; since we had told the king 'The hand of our God is for good upon all that seek Him'…" Fasting and prayer thus secured safe passage (Ezra 8:22ff.). Since the historical books of Ezra and Nehemiah are structured so as to base the account of the Restoration on the model of the early stages of Israel's nationhood there is no "complete" account of the history of the period. The source is silent on the 30 years of the reign of Darius after the dedication of the Temple (515–486). A single sentence states that "at the beginning of the reign" of King Ahasuerus (Xerxes) i.e., in his accession year, an accusation was written against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem (Ezra 4:6). Egypt had rebelled against Persia on the eve of Darius' death and the rebellion was subdued by Xerxes. It had traditionally been the case that Judah could sustain her rebellion against an imperial power, be it Assyria (Isa. 30–31) or Babylon (Jer. 37:6ff.), only by reliance upon Egypt. Thus it may be that Judah was involved or suspected of being involved in the Egyptian rebellion. The historical source is silent for another period of almost 30 years. In the seventh year of Artaxerxes I (458) Ezra was officially authorized by the king to "investigate" the situation in Judah and in Jerusalem in accordance with the law of God which was in his possession. He was entitled to appoint judges for the Jews beyond the confines of Judah, that is, throughout the satrapy of the Trans-Euphrates

("Beyond the River"). Jews ignorant of the divine law were to be instructed, while those who violated either that law or the law of the king were to be suitably punished whether by death, banishment, fine, or imprisonment (Ezra 7:25–26).

Ezra

Who was this Ezra and why should Artaxerxes grant him such broad authority in the year 458? In a genealogically conscious era, Ezra's genealogy is one of the most elaborate. He is a priest who traces his line directly back to Aaron through the latter's son and grandson Phinehas son of Eleazar. His immediate ancestor is given as Seraiah whose name is identical with that of the chief priest slain by Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah (II Kings 25:18ff.). With the exception of two lacunae, the genealogy is identical with that in I Chronicles 5:29–40. As recorded in the Book of Ezra (7:1–5) it gives the appearance of schematic arrangement (seven names between Aaron and Azariah (absent in Chron.) and seven names between Azariah and Ezra (hypocoristic of Azariah). While the genealogy is silent, perhaps deliberately so, about Ezra's relationship to the executed Seraiah's grandson, Jeshua son of Jehozadak, its schematic selectivity suggests divine determination: "For Ezra had set his mind on investigating the Torah of the Lord in order to teach effectively its statutes and judgments in Israel" (Ezra 7:10). The Hebrew term for "set" is identical with that used to describe the erection of the altar (Ezra 3:3), indicating that Ezra was fulfilling the second major task in the complete restoration of Israel. What were his qualifications for this undertaking? He was a "scribe skilled in the Torah of Moses given by the Lord God of Israel" (Ezra 7:6; cf. 7:11). In its Aramaic formulation his title was "scribe of the Law of the God of Heaven" (Ezra 7:12, 21). The scribe was not only one versed in writing (cf. Ps. 45:2), he was also learned, "a wise man" who transmitted his wisdom (cf. Jer. 8:8; Ahikar, in: Pritchard, Texts, 427). The divine law in which Ezra was proficient was "the Wisdom of his God in his possession" (Ezra 7:25). In their wisdom, scribes were also called upon to advise kings (cf. Ahikar) and fill other governmental posts so that scribe, "secretary," also appears as an official title (II Sam. 8:17, et al.; Ezra 4:8 et al., Neh. 13:13). Whether in his capacity as scribe Ezra held a post in the Persian government, as some scholars have maintained, is uncertain.

Whatever his status in the Persian Empire, Ezra "the priest and scribe" (Ezra 7:11) claimed that divine favor was responsible for Artaxerxes' giving him everything he requested (Ezra 7:6). The historical reason for the fame Ezra enjoyed may have been the revolt which broke out in Egypt ca. 463/2. It was in the interest of the Persian king at just this juncture to strengthen his hold on the territory bordering on Egypt. The Jewish garrison at *Elephantine in Egypt having remained loyal to Artaxerxes throughout the decade of rebellion in lower Egypt, the king must have felt that he could rely on the Jews in the Trans-Euphrates as well. Their loyalty would be assured if the internal law which they observed received the same absolute sanction as did imperial law (Persian *dātā*; cf. Esth. 1:19; 8:8; Dan. 6:9) and if the enforcement of both laws was entrusted to a respected Jewish personality such as Ezra. It should be mentioned that scholars are not in agreement as to the date of Ezra's mission, some preferring to see it in the reign of Artaxerxes, the second king of that name, who reigned from 404–359. The seventh year of his reign would accordingly have been 398, and Ezra's mission would likewise have coincided with a rebellion in Egypt. This later revolt included all of Egypt and the garrison at Elephantine acknowledged the ruling Egyptian king Amyrtaeus by June 19, 400. The motive for the privileges granted Ezra are thus the same whether the king is hypothesized as Artaxerxes II or Artaxerxes I. Were the king in fact Artaxerxes II, Ezra would have followed Nehemiah, whose arrival in Jerusalem, because of a correlation with a date in the Elephantine papyrus (cf. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri* 30:18, 30 with Neh. 12:22–23), is fixed to 444 (cf. Neh. 2:1). Some scholars, rather than shifting Ezra to the year seven of the reign of Artaxerxes II, maintain that the king was Artaxerxes I and emend the year date to 27, 32, (33), or 37, thus placing Ezra's arrival either in 438 (during Nehemiah's first mission), 432 (433) (after Nehemiah's first mission), or 428 (during Nehemiah's second mission). The arguments for the shifting of the king and the emendation of the date are numerous but most rest on specious considerations and dubious textual interpretation. The return under Ezra was a replica in miniature of that under Zerubbabel. Stress was laid on the unity of Israel. Ezra's caravan contained members of the major groups of society. Included were two priestly families, Hattush of the Davidic line and 12 lay families numbering together with Ezra, 1,500. Special efforts were taken to enlist Levites, of whom 38 were recruited, and Temple servants, who numbered 220 (Ezra 8:1–20). Concern for Temple cult and personnel played a primary role. Contributions of gold, silver, and vessels from the king and his advisers and from Jews remaining in Babylonia were duly recorded, carefully transported, and officially deposited in the Temple (Ezra 7:15–16; 8:24–34). All the Temple officials from priest to lowly servant were to be exempt from taxation by the Persian government (Ezra 7:24). Just as the Temple dedication was celebrated by the sacrifice of 12 he-goats as sin offerings, to atone for the whole house of Israel (Ezra 6:17), so the arrival of Ezra in Jerusalem was marked by the sacrifice of 12 bulls as burnt offerings and 12 he-goats as sin offerings (Ezra 8:35–36). The numbers of the other sacrifices were typological multiples – 96 rams, a multiple of 12 (cf. Num. 7:87–88), and 77 lambs, a multiple of seven, the number offered on all the festivals, the New Moon, the New Year, and the Day of Atonement (Num. 28–29).

DISSOLUTION OF MIXED MARRIAGES. Ezra set out from Babylon on the first of Nisan (Ezra 7:9), departed from a place called Ahava on the 12th of Nisan (Ezra 8:31), and arrived in Jerusalem on the first of Av some five months later (Ezra 7:8). On the 20th of Kislev, in the middle of the winter and in pouring rain, Ezra convened an assembly in Jerusalem (Ezra 10:9ff.) with the express purpose of dissolving the many

mixed marriages, prevalent in all levels of society, which were called to his attention shortly after his arrival.

Interestingly there is no mention of Jewish women married to foreign men. The whole situation revolves around foreign wives. There is not even any effort made to convert them to Judaism. Israel is the "holy seed" and must not become contaminated by the "abominations" of the Canaanites, Ammonites, Moabites, and Egyptians. Mixed marriages would be "sacrilege" against the holy. At the core of this view of the situation lies not only a midrashic interpretation of the various laws in the Torah regarding intermarriage (Ex. 34:11ff.; Deut. 7:1ff.; 23:4ff.) but the notion that the land, being resettled as in the days of the conquest, was once more susceptible to the taint of its aboriginal impurity (cf. Ezra 9–10 with Deut. 7–9). The procedure which culminated in that fateful assembly on 20 Kislev, 458, bore distinct resemblance to the ceremonies surrounding the condemnation of Achan, who committed sacrilege through misappropriation of the devoted things (cf. Ezra 9:1–10:8 with Josh. 7; Deut. 7:2, 26).

The mourning and confession of Ezra upon learning of the mixed marriages and the subsequent ceremony on that rainy day established the mood appropriate to the dissolution of the mixed marriages. However, the act itself was preceded by three months of work, from the first of Tevet to the first of Nisan, which consisted of investigating and recording the names, according to their families, of each male who had married a foreign wife. The list is headed by four members of the high-priestly family who agreed to put away their foreign wives and offered a ram as a guilt offering (Ezra 10:9–19), the sacrifice prescribed for one who unknowingly committed sacrilege against a sacred object (Lev. 5:14ff.). The number of lay families as recorded in the Masoretic Text was ten but a Septuagint reading in Ezra (10:38) yields the traditional 12. The latter figure indicates that, although the recorded instances (111 or 113) were few, relative to the size of the population, the desecration affected "all Israel." Strangely, the outcome of this enterprise is uncertain. The concluding verse to the whole account in the Masoretic Text is obscure and noncommittal, but the apocryphal Book of Esdras is decisive in asserting that the men all sent away their foreign wives together with their children (I Esd. 9:36).

FORTIFICATION OF JERUSALEM. Similarly uncertain are the circumstances surrounding the next step attempted in the Restoration of the people to its land. The source for the event is an Aramaic correspondence between officials in Samaria and Artaxerxes (Ezra 4:8–23). The letters are not dated and the account is incorporated into Ezra according to a topical arrangement – setbacks first (Ezra 4), successes, last (Ezra 5–6) – rather than a chronological one (i.e., Ezra 4:6–23 preceding Neh. 1). The Samarian officials were the chancellor Rehum and the scribe Shimshai. They write in the name of the local bureaucracy as well as of the settlers from Erech, Babylon, Susa, and elsewhere, introduced into the area by the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (669–27), possibly around 642. The letter informs Artaxerxes I that the Jews who recently arrived (along with Ezra?) were busily fortifying Jerusalem. It goes on to say that the city was notoriously rebellious and that, if the fortifications were to be completed, the people would merely not pay royal taxes. The king reported back to his officials that he had duly investigated the reputation of Jerusalem and discovered that it had been a rebellious city as charged. He therefore ordered the Samarian officials to proceed to Jerusalem and put a halt to the fortifications. They acted with dispatch and by force of arms.

The desire of the Jews to refortify Jerusalem was natural. Jeremiah had prophesied that "the city would be rebuilt upon its mound" (Jer. 30:18), and, according to Deutero-Isaiah, Cyrus himself would carry out the task (Isa. 44:28). Cyrus apparently never issued such orders and hopes for an early Davidic restoration ceased with Zerubbabel's inexplicable disappearance from the scene. The broad powers given to Ezra may have encouraged the Jews to believe that the time was ripe to rebuild Jerusalem. Perhaps, too, the struggle for independence pursued by Egypt, now in alliance with Athens, spurred on Judah. Whatever the reason, the plan miscarried. The northern rival Samaria prevailed and Judah was put to shame. Word of the situation eventually reached Nehemiah, the king's cupbearer in Susa. His immediate reaction was similar to that of Ezra upon learning of the mixed marriages – fasting and confession of guilt (Neh. 1). However, Nehemiah was a decisive man of action. Praying to God for assistance, he sought an appropriate moment to ask leave of the king to travel to Judah and rebuild Jerusalem. Leave was granted, and preparations for the journey and the task to be undertaken were carefully laid. Nehemiah requested, and received, letters of safe conduct and a military escort – unlike Ezra, who relied on divine assistance alone – along with an authorization to the keeper of the king's forest for timber for a Temple citadel, his own residence, as well as for the wall of the city (Neh. 2:1–9).

Nehemiah

The account of Nehemiah's activity is reported in his own memoirs. Like Ezra, Nehemiah ascribed his success with the king to the hand of God (Neh. 2:8). Historically it is not clear what prompted Artaxerxes I to contradict himself in 445 and allow the reconstruction of the walls he had earlier ordered destroyed. Perhaps the high position and forceful personality of Nehemiah were responsible. Nehemiah noted that the queen was present when he put forth his request. Certainly he showed skill in formulating his petition. Like Haman who sought from Ahasuerus destruction of "a certain people" who "do not keep the king's laws" (Esth. 3:8), without mentioning the Jews by name, so Nehemiah sought permission from Artaxerxes to rebuild "the city of the graves of my fathers" (Neh. 2:5), not specifying Jerusalem. Even if the king were fully aware that the permission being granted Nehemiah reversed an earlier decision of his, he may have felt that, if his trusted servant were in charge of the project, fear of rebellion was minimal. Accordingly, Nehemiah was appointed governor of Judah, a

post he held from 445 until 433 (Neh. 5:14) and then again for an unspecified period after returning to the court at Susa (Neh. 13:6–7). This appointment may also have been an attempt to strengthen Persian control in the area in the wake of the recent rebellion of Megabyzus, satrap of the Trans-Euphrates.

REBUILDING OF THE WALL OF JERUSALEM. In his memoirs, Nehemiah described his task of building the wall as having gone through seven stages, each one punctuated by opposition on the part of Judah's neighbors. These were Sanballat (1) the Horonite, governor of Samaria (cf. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri* 30:29), Tobiah of Transjordan, and Geshem (Gashmu) king of Kedar (cf. Tell el-Maskhuteh inscription). Both Sanballat and Tobiah were "Jewish," i.e., worshipers of the God of Israel, as attested either by their own names or those of their descendants (cf. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri* 30:29; Aramaic papyri from Wadi Daliyeh), who inherited their official posts. Both were allied by marriage to prominent families in Judah (Neh. 6:17ff.; 13:28). For a time Tobiah enjoyed a chamber in the Jerusalem Temple (Neh. 13:4ff.). The factors that allowed the high priest Eliashib to join Nehemiah in reconstructing the wall in the teeth of Sanballat's opposition yet permitted Eliashib's grandson to marry a daughter of Sanballat to Nehemiah's great annoyance (Neh. 13:28) are unknown. Suffice it to say that all three foreigners viewed Nehemiah as a personal enemy. The feeling was reciprocated. He never referred to Sanballat as "governor," denigrated Tobiah by referring to him as the "Ammonite servant" (Neh. 2:10), and called Geshem simply "the Arabian."

The first stage of Nehemiah's activity was his journey to Jerusalem. His arrival greatly displeased Sanballat and Tobiah because "someone had come to seek the welfare of the Israelites" (Neh. 2:10). In stealth and with circumspection Nehemiah conducted a nocturnal inspection of the wall and then inspired the leaders to agree to reconstruction by informing them of the divine and royal favor he enjoyed. Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem mocked and derided the decision of this second stage of Nehemiah's activity, but he replied with an affirmation of divine assistance and told them decisively, and apparently not gratuitously, "you have no share, right, or memorial in Jerusalem" (Neh. 2:11–20). The policy of exclusion initiated by Zerubbabel (Ezra 4:2–3) and carried through by Ezra (Ezra 9–10) was now being vigorously pursued by Nehemiah.

The third stage in Nehemiah's activity constituted the actual building (Neh. 3). Jeremiah had prophesied, "Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when the city shall be rebuilt for the Lord from the Tower of Hananel … to the Horse Gate … sacred to the Lord" (Jer. 31:38ff.). The wall was divided into some 40 sections, and groups from all classes of the people were assigned to work on each section. The first section extended from the Sheep Gate to the Tower of Hananel and was restored by the high priest Eliashib (Neh. 3:1). One of the last sections constructed was the Horse Gate where, too, priests were at work (Neh. 3:28). In addition to providing a detailed description of the wall, the list is valuable for some of the random information it supplies, e.g., it indicates the presence of guilds in Jerusalem such as the goldsmiths', the ointment mixers', and the merchants' guild (Neh. 3:8, 31). When Sanballat and Tobiah learned that construction had begun in earnest they became angry and expressed themselves in mockery, "Can they revive the stones from the dust heap? From burned stones? Should a fox jump up, he would demolish their stone wall." Nehemiah cursed them for their taunts as the work proceeded apace until the wall reached half its intended height (Neh. 3:33–38). The reaction of Sanballat and Tobiah, the Arabs, Ammonites, and Ashdodites to this fourth stage of the reconstruction was to prepare armed intervention. Word of the plan reached Nehemiah through the Jews dwelling in those districts, and he not only placed guards at vulnerable spots along the wall but armed the builders. He encouraged the workers by assuring them that should an attack come, "our God will fight for us" (Neh. 4).

This fifth stage of activity almost brought the work to its completion. It was now threatened, however, by internal discontent. Jews were not behaving like "brothers." Short of food to eat and money for taxes, many were forced to take costly loans, mortgage their fields, and sell their children into slavery. Even Nehemiah and his servants were guilty of extorting heavy interest and taking pledges. Demanding interest from a brother in need was incompatible with fear of the Lord (Neh. 5:9; cf. Lev. 25:36) and would not be conducive to God's blessing on the newly occupied land (cf. Deut. 23:20–21). If the building of the wall were to be brought to successful completion, all debts had to be canceled and pledges returned. Nehemiah convened an assembly of the people and forced his reform through (Neh. 5).

Unable to thwart the building itself, Sanballat and Geshem sought to lure Nehemiah into a private conference where presumably his life would be threatened. They circulated the rumor that he was planning a rebellion and appointing prophets to acclaim him king of Judah. They themselves hired Noadiah the prophetess to frighten him and the prophet Shemaiah son of Delaiah to entice him into seeking refuge in the Temple. Tobiah's allies in Judah likewise spoke to Nehemiah on behalf of Tobiah. The reaction of Nehemiah's enemies to this stage availed as little as the earlier ones. After 52 days of strenuous labor, the wall was finished on 25 Elul, 445. Josephus maintained that the labor took two years and four months (Ant. 11:179). There remained nothing for the "enemies" to do but appear downcast and acknowledge God's contribution to the project (Neh. 6), and so the seventh and final stage of Nehemiah's building activity was brought to a successful conclusion. Guards of the city were appointed and Nehemiah's God-fearing brother, Hanani(ah), was put in charge of the citadel (Neh. 7:1–3).

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION AND DEDICATION OF THE TEMPLE. It was now the 14^{th} year since the arrival of Ezra in Jerusalem and nothing had yet been said of his having im-

plemented the instruction to teach the Torah (Ezra 7:25). No doubt he had been engaged in this project over the years, gathering around himself a band of teachers, primarily levites, able to expound the Torah and render it into the Aramaic vernacular. The timing was now right for a grand ceremony patterned on that of Zerubbabel and the first repatriates. To emphasize the imitation of the earlier period, the editor of the historical source (Ezra-Nehemiah) even reproduced verbatim the original list of repatriates (Ezra 2; Neh. 7:6–72). Although fortification of Jerusalem enhanced the status of Judah and removed its shame, Davidic kingship had not been restored. Foreign rulers still occupied the land. The gains already achieved could only be maintained if the people observed the Torah.

On the first of Tishri after their return, Zerubbabel and the Jews with him had reestablished the Temple altar to offer burnt offerings "as written in the Torah of Moses the man of God" (Ezra 3:1–7). Now on the first of Tishri after the completion of the wall the people called upon Ezra to publicly read from the "book of the Torah of Moses which the Lord prescribed for Israel" (Neh. 8:1). The description of the ceremony, which began at sunrise, makes it clear that Ezra was prepared for the occasion. A special wooden podium was prepared, and six men stood on his right and seven on his left, altogether 14. Upon opening the Torah, Ezra blessed God and the people responded with "Amen," and prostrated themselves. Ezra then read until noon and 13 levites expounded the significance of the text and perhaps translated it into Aramaic. The people interrupted the reading with crying, and Ezra and Nehemiah informed them that the day was holy, one of rejoicing, feasting, and giving gifts to the poor. Similarly, when the Temple foundations had been laid, the elders who remembered the original Temple broke out in tears, while others rejoiced (Ezra 3:12).

After the original repatriates had dedicated the altar on the first of Tishri, they celebrated the seven days of Sukkot by offering the sacrifices, "according to number and prescription." This would bring the number of bulls to 70 (Num. 29:12–32), suggesting the 70 members of Jacob's family (Gen. 46:27: Ex. 1:5) and indicating the unity of Israel. The Jews under Ezra and Nehemiah gathered on the second of Tishri to continue studying the Torah and they discovered "written in the Torah which the Lord prescribed through Moses that the Israelites should dwell in booths on the festival of the seventh month" (Neh. 8:14). And so "the whole congregation which had returned from the captivity" constructed booths on their roofs, in their courtyards, in the Temple courtyards, and in public squares. Such an observance had not been held since the days of Joshua, i.e., the time of the conquest. The Torah was read daily throughout the festival (Neh. 8:13–18). Is it coincidental that these Torah-reading ceremonies fell in the 14th year? (Ezra arrived in the seventh year of Artaxerxes I and Nehemiah in the 20th year.) Might this have been related to the Deuteronomic injunction to publicly read the Torah every seventh year, the year of release, at Sukkot time with the idea of instructing future generations "as long as they live in the land which you are about … to occupy" (Deut. 31:10ff.)?

The imagery of the booth (*sukkah*) recurs in the Bible with overtones of redemption and providence. The levitical injunction to dwell in booths is explained by the notion that God settled the Israelites in booths (*sukkot*: cf. also Ex. 12:37) when He delivered them from Egypt (Lev. 23:43). Subsequently God's own booth or dwelling was in Jerusalem. There He protected His people (Ps. 76). After God's judgment of the wicked city the purified remnant will again be protected by a booth (Isa. 4). The activity of Nehemiah in rebuilding Jerusalem's walls and repairing its breaches (cf. Neh. 1:3; 2:5, 17; 3:35) was doubtless believed to fulfill the prophecy of Amos that God would "raise up the fallen booth of David" (Amos 9:11). The final deliverance – complete independence – would be celebrated annually when the nations came to Jerusalem to worship the Lord on the occasion of Sukkot (Zech. 14:16).

To hasten that day, the Jews, now reconstituted on their soil, their Temple reconstructed, and the city fortified, concluded on the 24th of Tishri a solemn agreement to "follow the law of God which had been transmitted through Moses the servant of God." The covenant ceremony was preceded by purification, i.e., separation from the foreigners, fasting, sackcloth, and confession, and concluded with the signature of a written document by Nehemiah, 21 priestly families, 17 levites and 44 lay families (Neh. 9:1–10:30). In addition to having sworn to observe the written Torah, the people undertook to observe some 18 decrees not explicitly mentioned in the Torah but derived from it through the procedure of *midrash halakhah*, "legal interpretation," developed by Ezra and his associates. The earlier celebration of Sukkot, building booths out of the various species "as written" (Neh. 8:15; cf. Lev. 23:40) is an example of such interpretation and of one subsequently abandoned. The decrees, now recorded, centered on the prohibition of mixed marriage, the observance of the Sabbath and the seventh year, and provisions designed to show that the people would "not neglect the House of … God" (Neh. 10:31–40).

Nehemiah had raised up Jerusalem's stones from the dust (Neh. 3:34) in answer to the call of Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 52:2). The agreement not to intermarry (Neh. 9:2, 10, 29, 31) was necessary for the fulfillment of the promise that "the uncircumcised and the unclean" shall no more come into the "holy city" (Isa. 52:1). Jeremiah had promised that once more people would proclaim, "the Lord bless you … O holy hill" and that "Judah and all its cities shall dwell there together" (Jer. 31:22–23). The penultimate task of Nehemiah was thus the populating of the now secure and spacious "holy city." The leaders already lived there and the rest of the people cast lots to bring 10% of Judah's population into the capital. The partial list of towns in which the rest of the people were settled indicates that the southernmost town was Beer-Sheba and the northernmost Bethel. The western border extended to Ono, while the list of the first repatriates and the list of builders indicated that to the east the province of Judah included Jericho (Ezra 2:34; Neh. 7:36, 3:2, 7:4; 11:1–36).

The final ceremony in which Nehemiah participated was the dedication of the walls. The people, the gates, and the wall were purified. Two musical processions were organized to march around the city in opposite directions on the top of the wall and meet in the Temple for the sacrificial service. The procession going to the right was led by Ezra; the one to the left included Nehemiah. The circumambulation is reminiscent of certain Psalms: "His holy mountain … is the joy of all the earth … walk about Zion; go round about her" (Ps. 48:2, 13).

Nehemiah remained in Jerusalem for another dozen years before returning to Susa. Virtually nothing is known of his rule during this period other than his own statement that he ruled with a lighter hand than his predecessors and did not claim the governor's food allowance from the local populace. This in spite of the fact that he supported a retinue of 150 and regularly entertained foreign visitors. The refrain in Nehemiah's memoirs runs "Remember to my credit, O my God, all that I did on behalf of this people" (Neh. 5:19; 13:14, 22, 31). God's attention is similarly drawn to his opponents (Ezra 6:14), and these did not disappear after his main task was completed. During Nehemiah's absence, Tobiah was assigned a chamber in the Temple by Eliashib the priest, and the people failed to pay the levites their allotments, so that they left Jerusalem and retired to their fields. Upon his return, Nehemiah expelled Tobiah and enforced payment of the tithe (Neh. 13:4–14).

Even more serious than neglect of the levitical dues were the outright violations of the first two decrees in the solemn agreement sworn to earlier – work and commerce on the Sabbath and marriage to Ashdodite, Ammonite, and Moabite women. Nehemiah rebuked the leaders for the Sabbath desecration in terms reminiscent of Jeremiah who had said, "If … you keep the Sabbath day holy … this city shall be inhabited forever …. If you did not listen … fire … shall devour … Jerusalem" (Jer. 17:24–27). He then ordained that the gates of the city be shut for the Sabbath and the levites stand guard against local and foreign traders. The fate of Solomon's kingdom was cited against the men who took foreign wives, and Nehemiah cursed all, struck some and pulled out their hair. The grandson of the high priest Eliashib, who was married to a daughter of Sanballat, was "chased away." Successful implementation of the other cultic decrees was assured (Neh. 13:14–31).

Since kingship was not to be restored until the advent of the Hasmoneans 300 years later, Judah continued to exist as a theocracy – a province ruled by God's law with a civil head in the person of the governor appointed by the Persian king and a religious head in the person of the high priest of the line of Zadok. In the fourth century there appear coins and seal impressions bearing the Aramaic inscription *YHD Yahud* = Judea. With one or two notable exceptions, our information for the remaining 100 years of Persian rule dries up. It is possible that Nehemiah's brother Hananiah succeeded him as governor (cf. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri* 21). In the last decade of the fifth century the governor was one who bore the Persian name Bagohi (Cowley, 30/31). The high priest Johanan was challenged by his brother Jeshua and Johanan murdered him. A stiff penalty was thereupon placed on the community by the strategos of Artaxerxes II who also bore the name Bagohi (Jos., Ant., 11:298–301). One incident that has come down through the Aramaic papyri relates that Bagohi joined the sons of Sanballat, Delaiah, and Shelemiah, in responding favorably to the request of the Elephantine Jewish community for intercession with the Persian ruler in Egypt for help in the reconstruction of their temple (Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri* 30–32). The attraction-repulsion between Samaria and Judah of the days of Nehemiah repeated itself on the eve of Alexander's conquest. Nikaso, daughter of Sanballat III, was married to Manasseh, brother of the high priest Jaddua. Jerusalem authorities objected to the marriage and asked Manasseh to choose between his wife and the priesthood. He thereupon accepted the offer of Sanballat to be high priest in the temple to be erected on Mt. Gerizim and "governor of all the places" under Sanballat's control. Many Jewish priests followed him to Samaria (Jos., Ant., 11:306–12). The Samaritan schism thereupon became final.

[Bezalel Porten]

EREẒ ISRAEL – SECOND TEMPLE (THE HELLENISTIC-ROMAN PERIOD)

In the last third of the fourth century B.C.E. decisive changes and developments took place in Ereẓ Israel. Prior to that time the country had been under the rule and influence of the great Oriental powers and civilizations. Thereafter, and until the Arab conquests in the seventh century C.E., Ereẓ Israel and all its neighbors fell under the influence of kingdoms and cultures whose main source of inspiration derived from the Greek and later also from the Roman world (see *Hellenism). *Alexander the Great's subjection of Ereẓ Israel in 332 B.C.E. encountered no serious opposition; only in Gaza did the Persian garrison defend itself heroically against the conqueror. Jerusalem and Judea reached a settlement with Alexander according to which they continued to enjoy the rights granted to them under Persian rule. However, relations between the Samaritans and the Macedonian conquerors soon deteriorated. Alexander the Great did not remain long in Ereẓ Israel, and its conquest was completed by his commanders who laid the foundations of the Hellenistic regime in the country.

Ptolemaic Rule

After Alexander's death (323) Ereẓ Israel was caught up in the vortex of wars fought among themselves by his successors, the Diadochi, among whom control of the country changed hands several times, in consequence of which the population suffered greatly. In 301 the country was finally conquered by *Ptolemy I, the ruler of Egypt, and was included in the Ptolemaic kingdom until 200, its history during this period being bound up with that of the Ptolemaic state. In the third century Ptolemaic rule in Ereẓ Israel was on the defensive against the *Seleucid kingdom which governed Syria and which also laid claim to Ereẓ Israel. For most of that century the Ptolemies generally had the upper hand and only with the accession of

*Antiochus III (223–187) to the throne of the Seleucid kingdom did the initiative pass to the rival dynasty. Already at the beginning of his reign Antiochus succeeded in conquering the greater part of Ereẓ Israel but was defeated by the Ptolemaic army at Rafa in 217. After an interval he renewed the war and in 200 his forces gained a notable victory near the sources of the Jordan, as a result of which, despite repeated efforts by the Ptolemies to regain control of Ereẓ Israel by war or political means, its rule passed to the Seleucid dynasty. Nevertheless, in terms of duration, the Ptolemaic sway over Ereẓ Israel lasted longer than that of any other foreign power in the period between the downfall of Persia and the rise of Rome. Moreover, the administrative patterns as well as the social and economic institutions and influences which appeared under the Ptolemies persisted in the country until the Roman period. In the days of Ptolemaic rule, Ereẓ Israel did not constitute a distinct administrative region, its territory being an inseparable part of the region known officially as Syria and Phoenicia. The borders of this district were not permanent but liable to changes resulting from the ascendancy now of the Ptolemaic, now of the Seleucid kingdom. In any event, it is clear that Ptolemaic Syria and Phoenicia included the whole of Ereẓ Israel and Transjordan. Among the most conspicuous results of Greek rule in Ereẓ Israel was the transformation that took place in the ethnic composition and organizational forms of its population. An extensive Greek settlement developed, Greek military colonies were established, and the character of the ancient cities underwent a change. In fact the vast majority of the Hellenistic cities were ancient ones which were now organized according to the politico-social pattern of the Greek cities. Within a short time the members of the upper classes among the local population joined the ranks of the settlers who had come from Greece, particularly prominent in this respect being the Phoenicians who became the standard bearers in Ereẓ Israel of Hellenism. Among its most notable centers were Gaza and Ashkelon on the southern coast and Ptolemais (Acre) to the north. Cities bearing a Hellenistic stamp were also established in the vicinity of the Sea of Galilee and in Transjordan. The process of Hellenization was extremely slow in the interior of Ereẓ Israel. There the original Semitic character was preserved – except for Samaria, where Macedonians settled already at the beginning of the period. Hellenism also made deep inroads in the Idumean city of Marisa, the Ptolemaic administrative center in southern Ereẓ Israel. Under the Ptolemies and later under the Seleucids, Judea was one of their many administrative units. The Hellenistic period witnessed the continuation of the state of *Yahud* which dated from the days of Persian rule. To the Hellenistic rulers Judea represented a nation – an ethnos – whose center was in Jerusalem and whose autonomous leadership was entrusted to the high priest and the Gerousia, the council of elders. In this way there were preserved in Hellenistic Judea the patterns of Jewish administration in the form it had assumed under Persian rule. The high priests belonged to the house of Zadok and the division of Jedaiah, and were descendants of Joshua son of Jehozadak, the high priest at the time of the Return. The high priesthood passed by inheritance from father to son. To the Jews and non-Jews alike the high priest was the head of the nation, its religious as well as its political leader. He presided over the council of elders and was charged with the supreme supervision of the Temple, with the security of Jerusalem and the provision of its regular water supply. Supporting the high priest was the Gerousia, which was, it seems, officially even superior to him. The Hellenistic kingdom confirmed the Jewish "ancestral laws" as the constitution binding on the entire territory of semiautonomous Judea. This constitution was identical with the Pentateuch as interpreted and shaped by Jewish tradition throughout the generations. Recognized as they were by the ruling kingdom, the Jewish authorities were permitted to impose the commandments of the Torah on all the inhabitants of Judea and to eradicate idolatry from its soil.

Judea's religious and social life centered round the Temple. The Greek historian Polybius even described the Jews as a nation that dwells around its famed Temple in Jerusalem. Associated with the Temple were the priests who represented the aristocratic class in Judea which included not only the high priest, the recognized head of the nation, but also many members of the Gerousia and those in leading positions. To the non-Jews, Judea was a land governed by a hierarchy. In addition to the dynasty of the high priests there were several notable priestly houses who fulfilled important functions in Jewish society and in its political life. Among these were, for example, the sons of Hakkoz (Accos). Johanan son of Hakkoz conducted negotiations with Antiochus III in order to obtain privileges for Jerusalem after its conquest by the Seleucids; his son Eupolemus led the delegation to Rome on behalf of Judah Maccabee. Conspicuous among the lay houses which attained positions of great influence in Judea in the third century B.C.E. was that of the *Tobiads, whose roots went back to First Temple times and the basis of whose power was in southern Gilead where the family estates, famous as "the land of Tobiah," were situated. The influence of the Tobiads increased under Persian rule. The Tobiah who lived in the days of Nehemiah was connected by marriage with important personages in Jerusalem and was among those who organized the opposition to the policy and decrees of Ezra and Nehemiah. One of his descendants, Tobiah who lived in the days of Ptolemy Philadelphus, was the head of the military colony in the "province of Ammon" which was composed both of Jews and non-Jews. Joseph b. Tobiah, following in the ways of his father, established close ties with the royal court and transferred the center of his activities from Transjordan to Ereẓ Israel. A temporary deterioration in the relations between the high priest and the Ptolemaic kingdom presented Joseph with new opportunities. Appointed tax-collector by that kingdom, he collected the taxes on an unprecedented scale and felt at home in Samaria no less than in Judea, to which his operations brought great wealth. With him there entered into Jewish life ways and customs alien to the Jewish tradition. His path was followed by his sons, and the Tobiads and their circle became the chief disseminators of

Hellenism in Jewish Ereẓ Israel. In their way of life the upper Jewish classes, both priestly and lay, drew increasingly closer to the non-Jewish sections of the population, and there was a revival of tendencies which had not entirely ceased even in earlier generations: opposition to the emphasis on the uniqueness of the Jews and a desire to merge with the upper strata of the general society of Ereẓ Israel. Hellenistic influence in Judea was chiefly evident in the sphere of material civilization. As early as in the Persian period the coins of *Yahud* had imitated those of Athens, and the Hellenistic financial system gradually conquered Jerusalem too. In the spheres of building and of art, the influence of Hellenism also made itself felt. A notable outward indication of the Hellenization of Judea was the widespread use of Greek names, for which Jews, and not only those estranged from Jewish tradition, felt a need. Yet it must be emphasized that shortly before 200 B.C.E. Greek culture had in general not succeeded in striking deep roots in Judea. Due to the practical requirements of life, Jews learnt to speak Greek, but it is doubtful whether there were as yet many Jews in Ereẓ Israel who learnt the language in order to study Greek classical works and thought.

Seleucid Rule

Antiochus III's conquest of the country did not greatly change the pattern of the administration and the habits prevalent in Ptolemaic Judea. The Seleucid king confirmed the existing regime there and even gave its inhabitants additional privileges: the Judean population was exempted from all taxation for three years and thereafter granted a reduction of a third in its taxes. The priests, the freedmen, and the members of the Gerousia were given complete exemption from taxes. Similar relations continued also under Antiochus' son, Seleucus IV (187–175). However, the political and financial crisis which came upon the Seleucid kingdom led to changed relations between it and the Jews. As a result of Antiochus III's defeat by the Romans and the peace treaty of Apamea (188), a heavy financial burden was imposed on the Seleucid kingdom which was obliged to pay an indemnity to the victorious Roman republic. The kings of the Seleucid dynasty now found themselves compelled to raise money from every source. Nor did they overlook the treasures kept in the wealthy temples throughout their kingdom. This explains the attempt of Seleucus IV to plunder the Temple treasuries, an act which, though not directly aimed at the Jewish religion, must be regarded as the first stage in the conflict between the Jews and the Seleucid kingdom.

The reign of his brother *Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164) proved to be a turning point in the history of the Jewish nation. During the first seven years after his accession his military and political activities centered on his kingdom's southern border – on Ptolemaic Egypt – and hence the importance he attached to Judea. Already at the beginning of his reign he intervened in the internal affairs of Jerusalem, deposed the high priest *Onias III and replaced him by the latter's brother *Jason who had Hellenizing tendencies and had promised the king to raise more taxes than his predecessor. With the Seleucid kingdom's approval, Jason introduced far-reaching changes in the administration of Jerusalem, whose purpose was to transform that city into a *polis*, named Antiochia, by establishing in it institutions characteristic of the Hellenistic *polis*. Notable among these was the gymnasium, which soon superseded the Temple as the focus of social life, to the deep dismay of those loyal to the Jewish tradition. After a few years Antiochus also deposed Jason and appointed *Menelaus in his stead (171). Henceforward a new chapter opened in the relations between the Seleucid kingdom and Judea. Against the background of Antiochus' Egyptian wars, significant events took place in Judea. Already in 169 B.C.E., on his return from his first invasion of Egypt, the king with the help of Menelaus plundered the Temple treasuries, and, a year later, during his last expedition to the Nile Valley, rumors of Antiochus' death spread in Judea. Returning to Jerusalem, Jason seized power in the city. But when Antiochus was on his way back from Egypt after Roman intervention against him, he captured the city and punished its inhabitants. To ensure his future control of Jerusalem he stationed in its citadel, the Acra, non-Jewish settlers who were joined by extreme Hellenists from Menelaus' party. Through their domination of the capital of Judea, the Jewish character of the city became obscured. Antiochus went a step further. He totally prohibited the fulfillment of the *mitzvot* of the Jewish religion and any Jew found observing the Sabbath or circumcising his son was put to death. He likewise forced upon the Jewish population idolatrous rites and prohibited food, chiefly the eating of swine's flesh. The Temple was desecrated and henceforward called after Olympian Zeus (167). Contrary to Antiochus' expectations, the majority of the nation remained faithful to its religion and members of its various classes showed a readiness to undergo martyrdom. The unlimited devotion of the Jewish masses to their religion was in any event deep-rooted but on this occasion there unfolded, for the first time in the history of mankind, an epic chapter of martyrdom on a large scale that served, in the resistance of the martyrs and the *Hassideans during the religious persecutions, as a symbol and an example throughout all succeeding generations to both Jews and non-Jews. Associated with this martyrdom was an eschatological expectation. There was a growing belief that a period of unprecedented suffering was approaching, heralding the downfall of the evil kingdom and the fulfillment of the visions of the "end of days" (see *Eschatology).

The Hasmonean Revolt

Against Antiochus' policy there arose a large movement of rebellion which was speedily forged into a powerful fighting force by the Hasmonean dynasty, a priestly house from Modi'in in the district of Lydda. Henceforward, for a period of about 130 years, the Hasmonean dynasty was at the center of Jewish life. The revolt was led first by *Mattathias. Under him the rebels refrained from fighting pitched battles against the Seleucid army, contenting themselves with guerrilla war-

fare, Mattathias' activities being directed at consolidating the organization of the rebel groups and at ending Seleucid rule in the villages and country towns of Judea. His strategy gradually reduced the area in Judea under Seleucid control and in effect isolated Jerusalem from the other military bases of the enemy. After Mattathias' death the leadership passed to his sons, of whom *Judah, known as Maccabee, was distinguished for his military talents. Gaining four decisive victories over the Seleucid armies, Judah used his military superiority to liberate Jerusalem, except for the Acra, in Kislev 164. The Temple was purified of idolatry and the sacred service in it entrusted to priests from among the ranks of the rebels. To commemorate the purification of the Temple a festival, that of *Ḥanukkah, was instituted to be observed for all generations. The Seleucid kingdom could not long remain indifferent to the operations of the Hasmoneans. There was also a growing fear that Judah would take the Acra. *Lysias, who acted as regent on behalf of the youthful king Antiochus v, attempted once more to invade Judea and subdue the rebels. The invasion ended in a peace settlement. The Seleucid kingdom unequivocally revoked Antiochus Epiphanes' policy of religious persecution, and, with the aim of appeasing the Jews, Menelaus, now made the scapegoat for the failure of that policy, was executed, and Alcimus, a moderate Hellenist, appointed high priest. The Seleucid kingdom did not recognize Judah Maccabee as the head of the Jewish nation, although he continued to be the leader of troops of Jewish fighters loyal to him. The principal achievement of the Jews was the Seleucid kingdom's recognition of their complete religious freedom, although militarily and politically the treaty bore the character of an armistice only. Tension increased in Judea with the appearance in Syria of a new king, *Demetrius I (162), who supported Alcimus and sought to put an end to Hasmonean supremacy in Judea. In the encounter between Judah Maccabee and the Seleucid commander *Nicanor, the former gained his last victory (the Day of Nicanor, Adar 13, 161). Henceforward political independence became Judah's ardent purpose, and to this end, ties with Rome seemed an important step. The treaty concluded between them marked the Roman republic's official recognition of Judea. While it is not clear whether the treaty had any immediate results, since it did not deter Demetrius from again sending his forces against the Jews, the Hasmoneans nevertheless set great store by it since it admitted Judea into the ambit of international relations. Judah Maccabee did not long enjoy the results of his victory over Nicanor, for Demetrius' defeat of his enemies in the east enabled him to send large forces to Judea, and Judah fell in battle (160 B.C.E.) *Jonathan and *Simeon, Judah's brothers, gathered around themselves the remnants of the fighters but failed to regain Jerusalem, and were compelled to adopt the earlier tactics of guerrilla warfare. Rallying after several years, the Hasmoneans took up their residence at *Michmas (Mukhmās). When a rival to Demetrius I arose in the person of *Alexander Balas, new opportunities presented themselves to Jonathan the Hasmonean. Appointed high priest by Alexander, he first served in that capacity on Tabernacles 152, and during the next 115 years the high priesthood continued to be held by the Hasmonean dynasty. Jonathan went from strength to strength and was able to take advantage of the Seleucid kingdom's internal difficulties for the advancement of Judea. The country now filled a role of prime importance throughout southern Syria. Among the territorial achievements under Jonathan was the annexation of southern Samaria and the region of Ekron; the southern coastal cities, too, came under Jewish influence.

Independent Judea

Jonathan was treacherously murdered by *Tryphon, the Syrian commander. His successor and brother, Simeon, followed in his footsteps and even obtained recognition of the freedom of Judea from the Seleucid king *Demetrius II who agreed to exempt the country from paying taxes to the kingdom (142 B.C.E). This official recognition was regarded by the Jews as the beginning of the freedom of Ereẓ Israel ("Then the people of Israel began to write in their instruments and contracts: 'In the first year of Simeon the high priest, the commander and leader of the Jews'" – I Macc. 13:42). Simeon continued in various ways the work of Jonathan. In foreign affairs he adopted a hostile attitude toward those forces in the Seleucid kingdom that were inimical to the independence of Judea. To make Judea militarily secure he eradicated the last cells of opposition from its soil, and obtained for it access to the sea. As early as the beginning of his rule he dispatched an armed force to Jaffa, and, driving out the non-Jews, secured the harbor for Judea. He also took Gezer, which dominated the road leading from Judea to the coastal plain and captured the Acra, the conquest of these places having been made possible by the speedy progress of the Jewish army in the technique of subjugating cities. The inhabitants of Gezer were expelled, the city was cleansed of idolatry, and Jews loyal to their religion were settled in it. There Simeon built a palace for himself, and the city, of which Simeon's son, John *Hyrcanus was appointed governor, became one of Judea's administrative centers. The capture of the Acra (Iyyar 23, 141) made an even greater impression on that generation, for as long as it was occupied by the Hellenists the independence of Judea did not seem assured. The day on which the Acra was taken was appointed a festival. During Simeon's final years, relations deteriorated between him and *Antiochus VII Sidetes, the last great king of the Seleucid dynasty, who sought to curtail the influence of Simeon and bring him once more under the yoke of the Seleucid kingdom. Demanding in particular the return of Jaffa, Gezer, and the citadel of Jerusalem, Antiochus ordered his governor of the coastal plain to launch an attack on Judea from the base at Jabneh. A large Jewish force under the command of Simeon's sons set out against the king's army and put it to flight, pursuing it beyond Ashdod. Never again in the days of Simeon was there any open Seleucid intervention in Judea.

Hasmonean Rule

Simeon was anxious to obtain Jewish sanction for his rule and to secure for his house the status of a hereditary dynasty in

Judea. In 140 B.C.E. a great assembly took place in Jerusalem which confirmed both Simeon and his sons after him "until there should arise a faithful prophet" as ethnarch, high priest, and commander-in-chief of the Jewish nation. This decision of the Great Assembly became the cornerstone of the Hasmonean regime and correctly reflected the union, in the hands of that dynasty's representatives, of the functions of the high priesthood, the civil rule, and the military command, a union of functions which was characteristic of the Jewish state's entire development under Hasmonean rule. Simeon endeavored to attract to himself circles that were at first opposed to the policy of the Hasmoneans, among these being men of local influence in various parts of the country, such as Ptolemy, Simeon's son-in-law, whom he appointed governor of Jericho. Resolved apparently, with the support of Antiochus Sidetes, to supplant Simeon in Judea, Ptolemy murdered him and two of his sons. But the murder (134 B.C.E.) failed in its political purpose. Affection for the Hasmonean dynasty was deep-seated in the nation and Simeon's surviving son, John Hyrcanus, succeeded him as the ruler of Judea. The growth and expansion of the Hasmonean state of Judea were influenced by the processes which led to the increasing disintegration of the Seleucid kingdom. At the beginning of his rule, after he had overcome his internal enemies, John Hyrcanus was still faced with a threat from the central Seleucid government in the person of Antiochus Sidetes. The fighting was protracted (134–132 B.C.E.) and several of the king's advisors even tried to give it the character of a new religious war. After a drawn-out siege of Jerusalem, the sides came to terms. Antiochus accorded official recognition to John Hyrcanus' rule of Judea, while the latter undertook to pay him an indemnity for the cities which his predecessors had taken outside the confines of Judea. He also undertook to assist Antiochus in his campaign against the Parthians, thus renewing for a time the relations between Judea and the Seleucid kingdom. But after Antiochus VII's death during his expedition against the Parthians (129 B.C.E.), the entire structure of the Seleucid kingdom collapsed, whereupon John Hyrcanus, having succeeded in regaining the complete political independence of Judea, initiated a policy of expansion in Ereẓ Israel. His conquests were in effect a continuation of the war upon which his Hasmonean predecessors had embarked, his basic approach being that the country as a whole was the ancestral heritage of the Jewish nation. Under him the expansion, which took place in various directions – southward, northward, and eastward – had decisive consequences for the country's future.

Already in the 20s of the second century B.C.E. John Hyrcanus succeeded in annexing to Judea most of the territory of Ereẓ Israel and especially what was outside the limits of Hellenistic cities. In terms of its results for subsequent generations, particular importance attached to the expansion southward to Idumea (see *Edom), which, together with its two principal centers, Adora and Marisa, was annexed to Judea. Its inhabitants were converted to Judaism. The proselytization of the Idumeans was the first of its kind in that it was one of an entire race and not merely of a single or more individuals. The Idumeans soon became an inseparable part of the Jewish nation and their upper classes began to occupy important positions in the government and society of the Hasmonean kingdom. Henceforward the proselytization of the whole of Ereẓ Israel assumed the character of a fixed aim of Jewish policy.

John Hyrcanus also undertook military operations in Transjordan and captured Madaba and Samoga; he attacked the Samaritans, took their capital Shechem, and destroyed their temple on Mount Gerizim. During his last years, his conquests reached their zenith in the capture of the large Hellenistic cities of Samaria and Scythopolis (Beth-Shean), thereby opening to the Hasmoneans the way to Galilee, parts of which were, it seems, annexed to Judea already in his days.

His son and successor, *Aristobulus I (104–103), completed the conquest of Galilee and defeated the Itureans who apparently ruled over part of Upper Galilee. As a result of the conquests of John Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, the area of Judea was enlarged several fold. Almost all the population outside the confines of some Hellenistic cities now fell under Jewish rule and became part of the Jewish nation, and even some Hellenistic cities were captured.

This expansionist policy was continued chiefly by Alexander *Yannai (103–76 B.C.E.) under whom all the foreign cities of Ereẓ Israel, except Ashkelon, were taken. The Jews also made an onslaught on the cities of the Decapolis, and, among other places, took Gadara.

The Hasmonean conquests eradicated the main political impact of Hellenism from the territory of Ereẓ Israel and transformed most of the country's non-Jewish inhabitants into an integral part of the Jewish nation. Judea now became the accepted designation of the country as a whole and continued as its official name until the days of the emperor Hadrian, thereby reflecting the ethnic and power changes engendered at the time of the Hasmonean rulers' conquests. Facts of great significance were established, and, even after the downfall of the Hasmonean dynasty, Ereẓ Israel remained for centuries a country with a Jewish majority, a fact that had many implications for the future.

At the basis of the constitutional development of Hasmonean Judea lay the decision of the Great Assembly of 140 B.C.E. which sanctioned the position of the Hasmoneans as the rulers of the Jewish state and established the connection between the Hasmonean dynasty and the high priesthood. The status of the Hasmonean ruler as regards the outside world was at first expressed in the title of ethnarch, but a decisive change occurred in the days of Aristobulus I, who assumed the title of king in order to enhance the prestige of the Hasmonean ruler, since that of ethnarch no longer reflected his status as compared to that of other rulers in the region.

Judea's transformation into a monarchy enlarged the importance of the Hasmonean king as far as the traditional institutions that directed the nation during the preceding period were concerned. Yet, despite the enhanced status of the rulers of the Hasmonean dynasty, they did not officially regard

themselves as absolute rulers, with the possible exception of Alexander Yannai at a certain period during his reign. At least internally they emphasized that, in the state, the entire nation was sovereign alongside the ruler, as clearly indicated in Hebrew inscriptions on Judean coins.

At the outset of its career, the Hasmonean dynasty was borne along on a tide of religious-national enthusiasm. For the Jewish masses it was the dynasty to which the deliverance of Israel had been entrusted. But, already at an early stage of the accession of the Hasmonean dynasty, it was evident that its supporters were not all of one complexion. Only with difficulty was a common language found between the leaders of the priestly aristocracy that joined the Hasmonean dynasty and the Hassideans. At first the Hasmoneans were the natural leaders of the circles which were under the influence of the *Pharisees, but, during John Hyrcanus' rule, a breach occurred between the Hasmoneans and the Pharisees which widened in the days of his sons. Several of the factors that marred the relations between the Hasmonean dynasty and the Pharisees may be conjectured. The atmosphere prevailing in the royal court and its external Hellenization, as also that of the kingdom, were incompatible with the outlook of the Pharisees. The gradual basing, too, of the Hasmonean dynasty on various social elements throughout the country which in part had nothing in common with the ideals of the holy war increased the tension. Some rejected the transformation of Judea into a monarchy. Among the opponents of the Hasmonean dynasty were also those who wanted to leave it in the possession only of the secular government, on condition that the high priesthood was given to others. There were circles, too, that repudiated especially the assumption of the royal crown by the Hasmoneans, grounding their opposition on the outlook that this crown was reserved for the House of David only (see also *Sadducees; *Essenes).

Nonetheless, the nation greatly honored the Hasmonean dynasty and even its leading opponents showed a willingness for an accommodation. The gravest crisis in relations took place during the reign of Alexander Yannai, who came, however, to realize that a compromise had to be reached at least with a section of the hostile elements among the Jews. His last victories in his wars against the enemies of Judea in Transjordan likewise earned him great popularity among the masses of the nation.

The reign of his widow *Salome Alexandra (76–67) was a period of close cooperation between the Pharisees and the throne. In her days the leaders of the Pharisees were given the direction of the state, and their traditions and ordinances, abolished under John Hyrcanus, became once more obligatory.

Alexandra's death (67 B.C.E.) left Judea in a state of civil war. Her elder son *Hyrcanus, deposed by his brother *Aristobulus from the kingship and the high priesthood, tried after a short time to realize his legitimate claims to them, and through one of his supporters, *Antipater II, conspired with *Aretas III king of the *Nabateans. Their combined armies defeated Aristobulus and besieged him in Jerusalem. Meanwhile the Romans, having arrived in Syria, compelled the Nabateans to withdraw from Judea. The decision with regard to the succession to the Hasmonean throne was left to *Pompey, the Roman commander, who was disposed to entrust the rule to Hyrcanus. After some hesitation Aristobulus surrendered to Pompey, and the Roman army advanced against Jerusalem, whereupon Hyrcanus' adherents opened the gates of the city to it. It was only on the Temple Mount that the Romans encountered any strong opposition. After a three-month siege the Temple Mount, too, was taken and thousands of its defenders were killed (63). An end had come to the independence of Hasmonean Judea, which had lasted for some 80 years and had achieved the political consolidation of Ereẓ Israel under Jewish rule.

THE ROMAN PROVINCE. The Roman conquest led to decisive political changes in the country. Syria became a Roman province, while Judea, reduced in area, was granted limited autonomy and made dependent on the Roman governor of Syria. Judea was deprived of the whole coastal plain and of access to the sea. Part of Idumea (Marisa) and of Samaria was severed from Judea. In this manner the territorial continuity of Jewish settlement in western Ereẓ Israel was destroyed, the only road linking Galilee and Jerusalem being now by way of the Jordan Valley. Pompey naturally freed from Jewish rule the large Hellenistic cities in Transjordan as well as Scythopolis, which were joined to the Decapolis and recovered their autonomous city life. The Greek cities on the coast also regained their freedom. The territory remaining under Hyrcanus II's rule thus comprised Judea and southern Samaria, most of Idumea, the areas of Jewish settlement on the eastern bank of the Jordan, and Galilee. Hyrcanus was divested of his royal title, and the obligation to pay taxes to the foreign government reimposed. The Jews in the country did not willingly accept the new regime and the following years witnessed frequent insurrections usually led by men who represented Aristobulus' branch of the Hasmoneans.

A notable change for the better took place under *Julius Caesar who was well disposed to the Jews and even regarded them as allies. After his victory over Pompey, Hyrcanus and Antipater went over to his side and helped him when he was in danger in Alexandria. The fact that Hyrcanus had joined Caesar's camp influenced the attitude of the Jews of Egypt, who dominated key positions at the gateways to the country. When the danger threatening him had passed, Caesar took several decisions in favor of Hyrcanus II and the Jews in Ereẓ Israel. Hyrcanus and his sons after him were confirmed as high priests and as ethnarchs of Judea, the walls of Jerusalem demolished in the days of Pompey were rebuilt, and the harbor of Jaffa was restored to the Jews. Under the new arrangements instituted by Caesar, Antipater rose to greater power, and his sons were given influential positions in the government, *Phasael, the elder, being appointed governor of Jerusalem and *Herod governor of Galilee.

The assassination of Caesar (44 B.C.E.) drew Judea, too, into the vortex of the Roman civil war. Cassius, one of the leaders of the pro-republican forces, went to the east and gained control of Syria and Ereẓ Israel. Antipater and his sons now sided with Cassius who tried to extort as much money as possible from the population of Judea. While Antipater fell victim in the internal struggle then taking place in Judea, his sons extended their influence.

Following the Parthian invasion in 40 B.C.E. of Rome's eastern provinces, momentous changes occurred. Mattathias Antigonus (*Antigonus II), Aristobulus' younger son, now considered the time opportune for entering into a compact with the Parthians and in this way regaining his ancestral throne. As the Parthian forces advanced along the coast, the Jews in the neighborhood of Carmel and in the vicinity of Apollonia (Arsuf) flocked to join Antigonus. Hyrcanus and Phasael, who went out to negotiate with the Parthians, were taken prisoner by them, while Herod escaped from Jerusalem and made his way to Rome to obtain military and political assistance.

With the aid of the Parthians, Antigonus now became king of Judea, thus reestablishing the Hasmonean kingdom brought to an end 23 years earlier by Pompey. In the meantime Herod, the sole ally of the Romans in Ereẓ Israel, was received with great honors in Rome by its rulers Antony and Octavian. To raise Herod's prestige above that of Antigonus, he was given the title of king. Returning to Ereẓ Israel, he succeeded with the help of the Roman legions in capturing Idumea, Samaria, and Galilee. After the defeat of the Parthian armies in the east, large Roman forces became available for the war in Judea and the fate of Antigonus was in effect sealed. Following a siege of five months Jerusalem fell to the Roman army (37 B.C.E.) and Antigonus, the last king of the Hasmonean dynasty, was executed, ushering in Herod's rule in Judea.

Herod's Rule

Herod's reign was chiefly the creation of Rome's eastern policy. The Romans supported him as the ruler of Judea, seeing in him a powerful personality capable of preserving the existing order in the country and one whose loyalty to them was not in doubt. Since the Jews constituted the overwhelming majority of the population of Ereẓ Israel, it also seemed proper from the Roman viewpoint that its king should be a Jew. However, in order to include within the borders of Judea a large non-Jewish population, it was necessary that the character of the regime should not be theocratic, as had been the case with the Hasmoneans when the ruler combined the functions both of king and high priest. Herod thus fulfilled the demands of Roman policy in Ereẓ Israel, and was a commander and politician who throughout his life cooperated fully with Rome's representatives in the east.

Herod's foreign policy faithfully mirrored that of Rome. He loyally carried out Antony's policy when the latter still enjoyed great power, and, against the background of the policy of Antony and Cleopatra, he became involved in a military struggle with the Nabatean kingdom (31 B.C.E.). After the fortunes of war had gone first to Herod and then to the Arabs, his considerable military talents enabled him to gain a decisive victory over the Nabateans, thus proving to Rome's rulers his value as a leader capable of sustaining security and order in the region.

After Octavian's victory over Antony (30 B.C.E.), the former confirmed Herod as king of Judea and even extended the area under his rule. In the days of *Augustus' principate in the 20s of the first century B.C.E., Herod's kingdom comprised almost the whole of Ereẓ Israel, except for the enclave of Ashkelon and the coastal strip north of Carmel which were at no time during the Second Temple period incorporated within the Jewish state. In 23 B.C.E. Herod's kingdom was considerably enlarged when Trachonitis, Batanea (Bashan), and Auranitis (Hauran) were included under his rule. Further areas near the sources of the Jordan were annexed to his kingdom in 20 B.C.E. Rather than being based on official arrangements, Herod's political status in the Roman Empire was grounded on personal relations which he had prudently cultivated with the leaders of the Roman state and on the ties he had established with Augustus himself and with Agrippa, the greatest contemporary Roman commander and the princeps' right hand.

Herod's great influence with the Roman politicians enabled him to help Jewish communities in the Diaspora. When a serious dispute broke out about the rights of the Jews in the cities of Asia Minor, Agrippa, to whom the decision was entrusted, decided in favor of the Jews. Over his subjects in Ereẓ Israel itself Herod exercised unlimited sway. Generally he succeeded in maintaining peace within the borders of his kingdom, nor did embitterment against him lead during his reign to open rebellion. With an iron hand and timely concessions, with rigorous police supervision and the promotion of social elements dependent on him for their status, he succeeded in sustaining his regime until the day of his death.

Herod's conquest of Jerusalem spelled the end of the institutions of the old Hasmonean regime. He established a royal council which was not rooted in the Hasmonean past and which dealt with all important matters. The traditional Jewish *Sanhedrin was divested of political power. Another notable Jewish institution whose prestige was curtailed was the high priesthood. Since Herod himself did not belong to the priestly class and was accordingly unable to serve as the high priest, he was constrained to appoint others to that office but took care that they should be his loyal supporters and not too deeply involved in the Hasmonean past. He also abolished the custom whereby the high priest was appointed for life.

The external splendor of Herod's reign found expression in his court, which was in every respect identical with those of other Hellenistic kings in the east. Many of his important ministers were Greeks and among his intimate friends were several luminaries of contemporary Greek literature. The tutors of his sons as well as his bodyguard were non-Jews. Herod's fame and extensive international ties attracted to his court visitors from various places in the Greek world who even played a cer-

tain part in the events that took place in the royal court. Herod married many wives who bore him sons and daughters. By his first wife he had a son, *Antipater; by his second, *Mariamne the Hasmonean, he had *Alexander and *Aristobulus. After he executed Mariamne he married various women, among whom were an Alexandrian Jewess, a Samaritan woman, and a native of Jerusalem. The presence of different wives' sons, all of whom entertained the ambition to succeed their father, vitiated the royal court. Herod executed three of his sons, the two born to his Hasmonean wife and his eldest son Antipater, on the charge of conspiring against him. These deeds, the outcome of an atmosphere of suspicion, clouded the success generally enjoyed by Herod during most of his reign.

More than all Jewish rulers during the period of the Second Temple, Herod devoted himself to building new cities and erecting magnificent edifices, as was customary among the rulers of *Rome. In this sphere his most important achievements were the establishment of Caesarea (on the site of Strato's Tower) and Sebaste (on the site of Samaria). At Caesarea he also built the largest harbor in Ereẓ Israel which soon played a very significant part in the country's economic life. In Sebaste he settled many of his demobilized soldiers to whom he gave fertile allotments, and beautified the city. These two cities he organized on the pattern of the Hellenistic cities in the east and their establishment to some extent upset the balance of power that had existed in Ereẓ Israel between the Jewish and the non-Jewish populations. He also built the fortress of Herodium to the southeast of the capital, as well as Phasaelis in the Valley of Jericho, and Antipatris, improved and embellished Masada, and built the fortress of Machaerus. As a result of Herod's activities Jerusalem became one of the most resplendent capitals in the entire east. In it he erected a palace, rebuilt the Temple, and constructed the impressive towers of the Upper City, the fortifications of the stronghold of Antonia, as well as a theater and an amphitheater. He also built magnificent palaces in Jericho and in other places.

Under the Procurators

Herod's kingdom did not survive his death (4 B.C.E.). In his last will, subsequently confirmed by Augustus, he bequeathed Judea, Idumea, and Samaria to his son *Archelaus; Galilee and Perea to another son Herod *Antipas; and the northeastern parts of the kingdom to a third son *Philip. For the nation, Herod's death was the signal to demand an alleviation of the burden of taxation and a change in the nature of the regime. When their demands were not met, a dangerous rebellion broke out which was only suppressed by the vigorous intervention of Varus, the governor of Syria. Augustus did not bestow the title of king on Archelaus who had to be content with that of ethnarch. He failed to win the support of his Jewish and Samaritan subjects, and they complained of him to the emperor, who ordered that he be deposed and that his inheritance, Judea, be organized as a Roman province (6 C.E.). Believing that there was no need to send Roman legions to Judea and that an *auxilium* would be enough to maintain order and security and to suppress disturbances, Augustus laid down that the governors of the province of Judea were to be of equestrian rank. At first the governors of Judea bore the title of *praefectus* and only after Agrippa I's death were they officially referred to as *procurators.

Something is known of the origin of several procurators of Judea. One of them, Julius Alexander *Tiberius, of Jewish parentage, was an apostate. Felix was a Greek and a freedman. The last procurator, Florus, came from a city in Asia Minor. Procurators of eastern-Hellenistic origin were naturally more disposed toward the Hellenized urban population than to the Jews.

The governors of Syria intervened in the affairs of Judea. In several instances this intervention may be explained as resulting from the special authority granted by the emperor to the governor of Syria. At any rate, it is clear that the auxiliary forces stationed in Judea were not enough to suppress serious revolts, and the procurator of Judea was in effect dependent on the help given to him by the governor of Syria, who was not merely governor of an ordinary province but the most distinguished of the Roman Empire's governors, the supreme commander of the Roman east, and responsible for the Parthian border. Accordingly, he regarded himself as responsible, to some extent, for the security of the province of Judea as well, even though he was assigned no special authority over that territory.

As a rule the Roman administration granted a large measure of autonomy to the local Jewish institutions, which were charged with preserving peace and order and which assisted the Romans in collecting the direct taxes. Foremost among the Jewish institutions was the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem, the Great Bet Din, which met in the Chamber of Hewn Stone. Whereas administratively its jurisdiction was restricted to the limits of Judea, its authority in the sphere of religion and as regards its enactments extended beyond these circumscribed territorial borders. Its functions were varied. It was the supreme institution of the Jewish nation in matters of religion and worship, issued regulations in the religious and juridical spheres, and supervised religious life both in Ereẓ Israel and beyond its borders.

Under the earlier procurators relations between the Jewish nation and the Roman Empire had not yet become acute. Before the time of *Pontius Pilate (26–36 C.E.) there is no mention of bloodshed in Judea. But from his days and onward there are increasing references to a messianic ferment, to disturbances, and to a gradual disappointment in the Roman administration, which had at first tried to find a suitable way of preserving order in Judea by respecting the religious feelings of the Jews, for example, by prohibiting the entry into Jerusalem of representations and images. But it was not often that the two sides reached agreement. The stationing in Jerusalem of part of the auxiliary army, usually inimical to the Jewish population, in itself led to clashes. There were also the heavy taxes and the inflexibility of several procurators which

contributed to increasing the tension between the Roman administration and the Jews.

The first open breach between the Jews and the Roman Empire occurred during the reign of Gaius *Caligula (37–41 C.E.). After the emperor's death, peace was indeed outwardly restored but there nevertheless remained murky sediment that clouded the relations between the two sides. It had suddenly become clear to the Jews what evil lay in store from the rule of an omnipotent ruler. The renewal of Antiochus Epiphanes' decrees had become a present reality. Taking advantage of the dangerous mood of Caligula who, sincerely believing in his own divinity, demanded divine honors from his subjects, the non-Jewish inhabitants of Ereẓ Israel erected in Jabneh an altar which the Jews demolished, thereby arousing the anger of the emperor, who ordered that a massive golden image be set up in the Temple in Jerusalem, and delegated the task to Petronius, the governor of Syria. The implacable opposition of the entire Jewish nation and *Agrippa I's intervention with the emperor prevented the execution of the order and only Caligula's death averted a yet graver situation.

The death of Caligula and the accession of *Claudius (41 C.E.) ushered in great prospects for the advancement of Agrippa I, the grandson of Herod and of Mariamne the Hasmonean, who was appointed king of the whole of Ereẓ Israel. For three years (41–44) the status of Judea as a province was annulled. Nor did Agrippa conform to the traditional policy of the Herodian kings who were always Rome's faithful servants. His personal ties with the emperor encouraged in him the hope that he would be permitted to do what others had not succeeded in doing. Of all the leaders of the Herodian dynasty, he alone in all his strivings gave primacy to the Jewish nation and its future, and became the most illustrious Jewish politician of his generation. The last years of his life were marked by a complete identification with the Jewish nation and with its needs as he saw them, and to this end he cooperated with the greater majority of the Jews of Ereẓ Israel who regarded him as in every respect a Jewish king and the heir to the Hasmonean rather than the Herodian dynasty. The non-Jews in Ereẓ Israel, however, looked upon him as their enemy.

The death of Agrippa (44 C.E.) led to the reimposition of direct Roman rule in Judea. But the last 20 years of existence of the Second Temple were marked by a complete deterioration of the Roman administration, by a growing tension between the procurators and those under their rule, and by a breakdown of order and security throughout Judea. Typical in this respect was the procuratorship of Felix (52–60 C.E.). At first his rule was animated by a conciliatory attitude toward the Jews – whose leaders and especially the former high priest Jonathan b. Anan even strove for his appointment as procurator – but it eventually ended in an open crisis between the Roman regime and the Jews. In his days there was an increase in the activities of the extremist freedom fighters, now a permanent feature of life in Judea. At the outset of his procuratorship Felix tried to arrest the spread of the movement and acted energetically against those who inspired messianic hopes among the Jews. He suppressed, among others, a movement which arose under the inspiration of an Egyptian Jew's prophecies who promised to overthrow the walls of Jerusalem with the breath of his mouth. Outside the limits of Judea, too, the procuratorship of Felix was distinguished by disturbances and bloody clashes. The main focus of tension was at Caesarea, where the cause of the conflict was the struggle for civic rights between the Syrian-Greek majority and the large Jewish minority. While the latter enjoyed superiority in wealth and power, their opponents relied on the garrison whose soldiers were drawn from Sebaste and from Caesarea itself and naturally disposed to help their brethren. In the days of Florus (64–66 C.E.), the last procurator before the revolt, there was a decisive breach between the Roman administration and the Jewish nation. Neither the Roman authorities nor the Jewish autonomous institutions were able to preserve their influence and power. There was growing anarchy alike in the streets of Jerusalem and in the rural areas of Judea.

The Revolt (The First Roman War)

The great revolt which broke out in 66 C.E. was the result of a combination of several factors. In the realm of theory there was a conspicuous discrepancy between the Jewish belief in the divine choice of the Jewish nation and in its glorious future on the one hand, and on the other the present reality of the Roman Empire's omnipotent rule. This discrepancy found vent in increasing messianic hopes and in expectations that the eternal kingdom of the Jewish nation would be established. The contrast was sharpened by the very essence and character of the Roman Empire with its tyrannical rule and its idolatry which extended even to political manifestations, such as emperor worship (see also *Zealots, *Dead Sea Sect).

In addition to these feelings there were also several tangible features of the Roman regime which gravely offended the Jews. The presence of a Roman army in Jerusalem, the supervision by the authorities of divine worship and of the Temple, the heavy burden of taxes and customs duties – these, but perhaps most of all the Roman administration's support of the non-Jewish population in Ereẓ Israel, caused the Jews to hate the rule of Rome.

The revolt also bore the character of a social revolution, its revolutionary social character being particularly prominent in those extremist groups in which messianic leaders, such as *Menahem the Galilean and *Simeon Bar Giora, were active. To them the revolt was not only a war against Rome. It was also a struggle against the upper classes of Judea who for many years had cooperated with the Roman regime.

The immediate events that led to the great revolt were associated with the tension in Caesarea and with the procurator Florus' conduct in Jerusalem which provoked a clash between the Jews and the Roman army. On the initiative of Eleazar b. Hanania, sacrifices were no longer offered for the welfare of the Roman people and the emperor. The Roman garrison in Jerusalem was destroyed, and the Roman army in Syria under the command of Cestius Gallus, the governor of

Syria, was defeated at the ascent of Beth-horon. A provisional government was set up which united under its rule the whole of Jewish Ereẓ Israel.

The emperor *Nero could not remain indifferent to events in Judea and dispatched a huge Roman army under the command of *Vespasian to suppress the revolt. Vespasian invaded Galilee and, after overcoming stubborn resistance, crushed Jewish opposition there (67) and in Transjordan. The significant events that took place in the heart of the Roman Empire after the death of Nero (June 9, 68) greatly delayed the continuation of military operations by Vespasian who at the beginning of July 69 proclaimed himself emperor of Rome. In the spring of 70 C.E. his son *Titus laid siege to Jerusalem.

After a brave stand, Jerusalem was taken by Titus' armies, who burnt the Temple and so in effect terminated the war. Not long afterward Masada, the last fortress of the Jews, fell into the hands of the Romans (73).

[Menahem Stern]

DIASPORA – SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD

During the period of the Second Temple, Jewish history was mainly concentrated in Ereẓ Israel. Whatever may or may not have been the relative population figures inside and outside the country, the main currents which were subsequently to shape the Jewish destiny were within that country. These included the development of the elaborate Temple ceremonial as the sentimental focus of the life of the Jew everywhere; the establishment of the biblical canon; the beginnings of regular instruction in the Torah; the development of the *Oral Law and of the activities of the rabbis; the first elements of the liturgy; the national resurgence centering on the Hasmonean revolt; the development, if not the origin, of the *synagogue; and the evolution of Jewish sects and the triumph among these of the Pharisees. In comparison with all this, Jewish life outside Ereẓ Israel was anemic and unimportant. Indeed, we do not know at this period of any contribution to Judaism in its fundamental sense which was not a product of Ereẓ Israel.

On the other hand, it would be erroneous to imagine that the Jewish people were at this time concentrated in Ereẓ Israel. From the period of the Babylonian captivity there had been a considerable center in Mesopotamia (Babylonia), not all of whom by any means had returned to Ereẓ Israel in the Persian period. Of their history during the Second Temple period there is only sporadic information, but enough to make it certain that there remained in this area a solid Jewish nucleus, closely attached to Ereẓ Israel sentimentally and sometimes displaying an independent political cohesion and activity as evidenced in the first century. Whether deriving from Mesopotamia or from Ereẓ Israel, Jewish settlements were thick in *Asia Minor. There had been a Jewish settlement in Egypt from the days of the last pharaohs, which left its vestiges in the Jewish military colony in *Elephantine in the fifth century B.C.E. After the Greek occupation of Egypt in 333 B.C.E. there was a considerable Jewish colony, ultimately Greek-speaking and with Hellenic aspirations, settled in the Delta and especially in *Alexandria, which produced its finest flower in the philosopher *Philo: this extended along the coast westward, so that at least from the second century B.C.E. there was an important outpost in *Cyrene. Inscriptions show that there was a Jewish settlement in *Greece from the second century B.C.E. and the Acts of the Apostles demonstrate its importance in the generation before the fall of Jerusalem in 70. In *Italy, particularly in Rome, there was some infiltration as early as the second century B.C.E., which thereafter knew no interruption: and there is evidence too of the presence of Jews shortly after this period in *Spain, Gaul, (see *France), and other Roman provinces. That these settlements were profoundly influenced by the vicissitudes and experiences of the Jewish nucleus in Ereẓ Israel is obvious. There is some slight evidence of Jewish propaganda in Rome in the wake of the Hasmonean revolt, and the war of 66–70 had dramatic repercussions in Egypt and Cyrene at least. But it is only after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 that it is possible to think of Jewish history outside Ereẓ Israel in terms of the Diaspora communities.

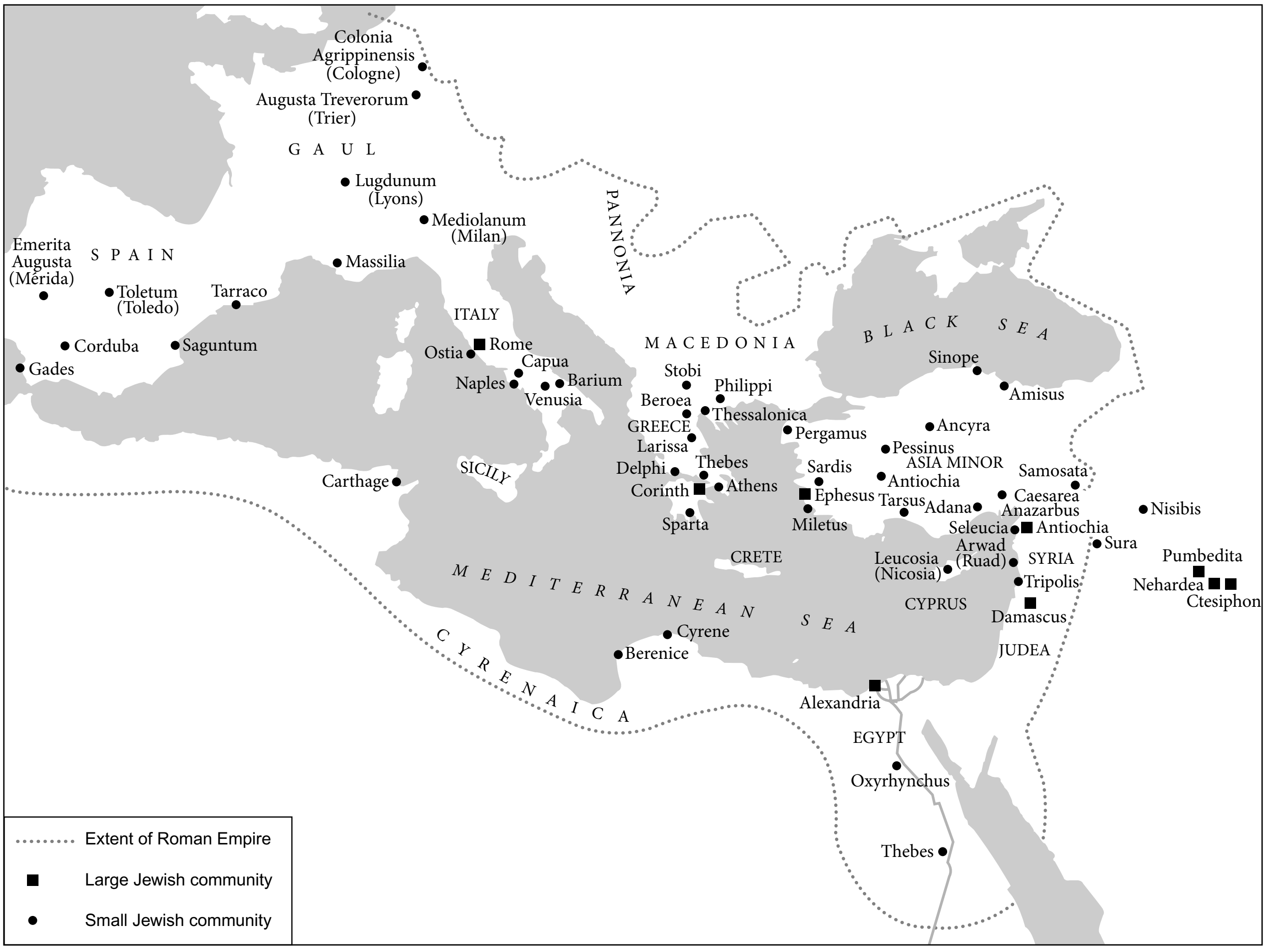
[Cecil Roth]

THE AFTERMATH OF THE FIRST ROMAN WAR

Introduction

The destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem and the abolition of Jewish statehood caused of necessity the revision of some of the basic tenets of Judaism. The infrastructure of the nation had not indeed suffered badly, even in Ereẓ Israel, apart from the Holy City and some areas (Gamala, Jotapata, Taricheae) where the fighting had been exceptionally severe. The Diaspora had not suffered at all, apart from some anti-Jewish riots in a few big cities. Ereẓ Israel had indeed suffered a loss of population, both through death and enslavement, but the enslaved at least could be redeemed, and went on to increase the Jewish Diaspora, especially in Italy and Egypt. There were also many fugitives; many of them were *Zealots, who stirred up revolts in Alexandria and Cyrene (Jos., Wars, 7, 409–419, 436–446). The lands in Judea were confiscated and became part of the imperial estate; but they had to be leased back to the farmers willing to till them. Likewise the local administration in Judea at village and town level remained Jewish. The classes most affected by the lost war were the Herodian aristocracy and the upper priesthood. Many of the former assimilated with the Roman nobles; the priests merged with the rest of the nation. The reestablishment of a national authority (the Sanhedrin) at *Jabneh affected the Diaspora also. There, under the presidency of R. *Johanan b. Zakkai, and afterward of *Gamaliel II of the House of Hillel, certain measures were taken to strengthen Judaism after the catastrophe. The sacrifices were declared replaceable by charity and repentance, the Bible canon fixed and the infiltration of heretics (**minim* – often Judeo-Christians) was barred by the **Birkat ha-Minim*, an addition to the *Amidah* prayer.

One effect of the lost war was the imposition on all the Jews of the Roman Empire of a tax of two drachmas in lieu of the half-shekel paid to the Temple. This tax was in theory



Map 2. The Diaspora in the Roman Empire in the Mishnaic and Talmudic periods. Based on H.H. Ben-Sasson (ed.), Toledot Am Yisrael*, vol. 1, Tel Aviv, 1969.*

payable to the Capitoline Jupiter, but in fact was earmarked for a special department of the imperial treasury, the *fiscus Judaicus (Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana* 6:7, 2), administered by a *procurator ad capitularia Judaeorum* (CIL, 6:2, no. 8604). Although decreed only in the third year of Vespasian, it was levied also for his second year, thus mulcting the Jews and enriching the imperial treasury twice over. The tax was enforced with great harshness under *Domitian (Suetonius, *Domitian*, 12:2) but its administration was made less severe under *Nerva (as witnessed by a coin struck on the occasion). It soon lost its importance owing to the depreciation of Roman coinage.

During the Flavian dynasty, Jews continued to enjoy their privileges, and their influence grew even among the Roman aristocracy. A close relation of the emperor, the ex-consul Flavius Clemens, was executed and his wife banished, because of "Judaic practices." The visit to Rome of the patriarch Rabban Gamaliel II, accompanied by Joshua b. Hananiah, Eleazar b. Azariah, and Akiva, was possibly connected with this event; in any case, it had a beneficial effect on the Diaspora. The closing of the Temple of Onias in *Leontopolis (73 C.E.) was regretted by few.

The Revolts Against Trajan

Part of the strength of Judaism was the fact that a considerable portion of the nation lived in Babylonia outside Roman rule. The campaigns of the emperor *Trajan in Mesopotamia (114–117 C.E.), which threatened this remnant, brought about a renewal of hostility between Jews and Romans – especially because a new generation had by now grown up, which had not lived through the horrors of the year 70. When a revolt broke out in conquered Mesopotamia, in which Jews took an active part, the emperor ordered his general *Lusius Quietus to expel them and, if necessary, to exterminate them. While this was happening, a serious revolt of the Jews broke out in Cyrene, inspired by a messianic movement and led by *Lucuas (called Andreas in Greek). The rebels overran Cyrene, destroying its temples and baths and cutting off the road to its harbor. Then they moved on to Alexandria. There the revolt was suppressed with force, the Romans mobilizing the native Egyptians and the Greeks. The famous synagogue of Alexandria was destroyed on that occasion. From Alexandria the fighting spread from the Delta to Upper Egypt. The Romans had to reinforce the troops in Egypt with two legions, commanded by

Marcius Turbo. The struggle took on the character of a war of annihilation and by its end in 117 there were hardly any Jews left in Egypt, except at Alexandria. The same result awaited the Jews of *Cyprus, who had also rebelled and who were subdued only after great slaughter. Talmudic sources mention a "*polemos shel Kitos*" ("War of Quietus") but it is not clear whether they refer to the acts of Quietus in Mesopotamia, or to some struggle during his governorship in Judea. Although the revolts against Trajan ended in failure, they played their part in bringing about the Roman retreat from Mesopotamia, thus saving Babylonian Jewry.

The Bar Kokhba War

Trajan's successor, *Hadrian, made peace with the Parthians but became involved in a war with the Jews. This struggle, known as the War of *Bar Kokhba, was provoked by the decision of the emperor to establish a Roman colony on the ruins of Jerusalem (see *Aelia Capitolina). Among the leaders of the incipient revolt was R. *Akiva, the greatest scholar of the age. A short time before the outbreak of the revolt he went on an extensive tour of the Diaspora (except Egypt, where Judaism was at an ebb after 117). R. Akiva visited Gaul, Africa, Athens, *Antioch, Mazaca-Caesarea in Cappadocia, and – crossing the border into Parthia – Ctesiphon and Ecbatana. He was not the only one active – two sages, *Pappus and Julianus, were executed at Laodicea in Syria because they were collecting money on behalf of the rebels.

The War of Bar Kokhba lasted three years, and strained the military resources of the empire to the utmost. When it ended after the capture of Bethar near Jerusalem and the destruction of the last rebels in the caves of the Judean desert, the Jewish population of Judea was either dead, enslaved, or in flight. The whole area round Jerusalem was settled with non-Jews. Only Galilee remained a bastion of Judaism in Ereẓ Israel. In order to strike at the root of Jewish resistance, Hadrian prohibited the practice of the Jewish religion – an order which was for some time strictly enforced in Galilee but which seems to have remained a dead letter elsewhere. In other ways the disasters of the Bar Kokhba War strengthened Judaism in the Diaspora – first there were the fugitives who crammed all the ports of the Mediterranean, then the slaves, who were sold in such vast numbers that the prices in the Roman slave markets fell. Among those going to the Diaspora were many scholars; some, like R. Meir, R. Yose b. Ḥalafta or R. Johanan ha-Sandelar returning to Ereẓ Israel, others remaining abroad. The communities of Asia Minor were now the most prosperous, as is witnessed by their synagogues, of which that of *Sardis was the most splendid. Greece was by now in decline, and the Jewries of Egypt and Cyrene, as well as that of Cyprus, were in shambles. Rome, with the cities in its vicinity, now received many more of the Jewish refugees, and there was a marked movement of the Diaspora westward – into Gaul, Spain and up the Rhine. Being mostly merchants or craftsmen, the Jews settled in the great commercial centers, provincial capitals, or near legionary camps. In the larger cities they were organized into several communities each with its own synagogue, which served also as a school. Besides the elected heads of the community (the *archisynagogus and his deputies) there was a permanent scribe or teacher, the *grammateus*. The communities were recognized legally, with the right to hold property and even with a kind of internal jurisdiction. To judge from the inscriptions in their burial places (especially the *catacombs of Rome) they clung to the Greek language, with only gradual Latinization; Hebrew was known but not much used.

The Bar Kokhba War marks the final separation of Judaism and *Christianity; henceforward both communities were in competition in their missionary activity. The disasters of the Bar Kokhba War handicapped Jewish *proselytism (although it was not quite extinct) while Christian missionaries flourished. The result was a bitter struggle, which has left its mark in the centuries in which the church was victorious. The rest of the gentile world changed its attitude to the Jews, but in another sense. While in the first century the Jews were a subject for contempt because of their "queer" observances, their poverty, and their low social status, there was a period of acute hatred after the revolts, but hatred mixed with fear and akin to respect. Later on, the decline of the official Olympian religion benefited the position of Judaism together with all Oriental religions.

The Roman Empire – Antoninus Pius to Constantine

*Antoninus Pius (138–161) abolished the decree of Hadrian, except for the prohibition against proselytism. His reign marks the reconstitution of the central national authority in Ereẓ Israel and the beginning of a compromise between the Roman government and the Jews. At an assembly at *Usha near Haifa the surviving scholars reconstituted the Patriarchate and the Sanhedrin, the authority of which was soon recognized throughout the Diaspora. The first patriarch after Usha was Rabban *Simeon b. Gamaliel. It was under his successor, R. *Judah ha-Nasi, that the patriarchate reached its apogee. R. Judah gave final shape to the *Mishnah, the codification of the Oral Law elaborated in the previous four centuries. He imposed his authority on the Sanhedrin and obtained the right to nominate *rabbis and teachers throughout Jewry. His messengers, the *apostoloi*, inspected Jewish communities and were empowered to depose their functionaries. They also collected the voluntary tax, the *apostole*, which the Diaspora continued to contribute for the maintenance of the Patriarchate. As the head of the central institutions of Judaism, the patriarch dominated his lesser brethren, the "little patriarchs" each in his province. By keeping in his hands the right to fix the dates of the holidays, the patriarch controlled in effect Jewish religious life everywhere. He was also able to revive – under the guise of courts of arbitration – the civil (and sometimes even the criminal) jurisdiction of the rabbinical courts. In the third century the Palestinian *amoraim* of the first to the third generation laid the foundations of the "Jerusalem" (Palestinian) *Talmud. The Patriarchate was supported by the Roman gov-

ernment as part of the unwritten agreement by which the Jewish authorities undertook to prevent Zealot outbreaks, while the Romans restored the status of Judaism as a lawful religion with all that this implied, as well as the privileges enjoyed by individual Jews, such as exemption from military service, the right not to appear in the lawcourts on a Sabbath and on holidays, etc. Only on two points did the Romans refuse to mollify their stand; they did not allow proselytism and they refused Jews the right to settle in or even visit Jerusalem. On both points, reality did, however, modify the legal position; proselytism continued and around the communities there gathered groups of "God-fearing" people ("proselytes of the gate" as they were called in Jewish sources) who sympathized with Judaism without fully adopting it. Also access to Jerusalem was rendered de facto much easier, although the prohibition to settle there was still enforced. (According to G. Alon, there was a Jewish community in the Holy City in the third century.) The status of the Jews was more and more equalized with other citizens of the empire under the Severan dynasty (193–225), although the motives of the emperors in granting equality were fiscal. Septimius *Severus allowed Jews to hold municipal office, exempting them from practices contrary to their beliefs (Justinian, *Digest*, 27:1, 15, 6; 50:2, 3, 3); his son *Caracalla granted them (together with most of the other inhabitants of the empire) Roman citizenship in 212. In general, the Severan dynasty, which started from a Libyan-Punic soldier and his Syrian consort, did not follow the hard Roman line of the Antonines. It seems even that Caracalla is identical with the mythical "Antoninus," the friend of the patriarch Judah I (see *Antoninus and *Marcus Aurelius). The successors of the Severan emperors continued the friendly policy of the dynasty: Severus Alexander was even called "*archisynagogus*" by his enemies. In the two generations between 225 and 284 Roman Jewry suffered with the rest of the empire from the severe political, economic, and social crisis which shook the Roman world. Barbarian invasions and civil wars between pretenders to the imperial throne led to a disruption of economic life, increased taxation, inflation and all the other ills connected with a deep crisis and which were especially serious for communities dependent on commerce and craft. The eastern part of the empire was overrun first by the Parthians (who killed 12,000 Jews at Mazaca) and then by the Palmyrenes, whose relations with the Jews were cool. When the emperor *Diocletian finally restored order, he continued the Jewish privileges; they were exempted from pagan sacrifices at a time when Christians were forced to perform them. Soon after his death, Constantine, the first Christian emperor, ascended the throne and thus began a new chapter in the history of Judaism.

The Babylonian Diaspora

Babylonian Jewry, the oldest mass-settled group of Jews outside Ereẓ Israel, had maintained its strength throughout the period of the Second Temple. Living since 129 B.C.E. under Parthian rule in the context of a loosely knit semi-feudal state, it was able to develop its autonomous institutions with little interference from the royal government. The Parthians, who had always feared Roman intervention, welcomed Jewish opposition to Rome, at least until the time of Hadrian, when peace reigned on the border. They left a free hand to the *exilarch (*resh galuta*) who headed Babylonian Jewry. Descended allegedly from the House of David, proud of their genealogical purity, the exilarchs wore the *kamara*, the sash of office of the Parthian court, and disputed precedence with high Parthian officials. The community which they headed was both numerous (estimates of its number vary from 800,000 to 1,200,000, i.e., 10–12% of the total population of Babylonia) and well-based economically, comprising a fair number of farmers and many traders who grew rich as intermediaries in the profitable silk trade between China and the Roman Empire passing through Babylonia. The Jews enjoyed not only freedom of worship, autonomous jurisdiction, but even the right to have their own markets and appoint market supervisors (*agoranomoi*). These favorable conditions continued after the replacement of the weak Parthian kings by the much stronger Sasanids, beginning with Ardashir I in 226. The Sasanids were devout followers of the religion of Zoroaster, and its priests, the magi, exercised much influence at the court. After a period of troubles and disagreement at the beginning of the reign of *Shapur I (241–272), better relations were gradually established with the king; one of the reasons for this understanding was Shapur's plans of conquest in the Roman Empire. Jewish help could be of great value in his campaigns, and the Jews of Babylonia had proved their staunch opposition to Rome in the revolt against Trajan. At Mazaca in Cappadocia Jews did indeed oppose Shapur with the rest of the population and suffered accordingly, but in Ereẓ Israel the popular opinion was pro-Parthian and anti-Palmyrene to a large extent. Indeed one of the strongholds of Babylonian Judaism, *Nehardea, was destroyed by a Palmyrene raid under Papa b. Nazer in 259. The good relations with the court continued under Shapur's successors, including Shapur II (309–379).

Apart from its political and economic status, which was apparently much higher than that of the Jews in the Roman Empire, the main interest of Babylonian Jewry was its relations with the national centers in Ereẓ Israel and its spiritual development, which led up to the creation of the Babylonian *Talmud. The relations of the Babylonian Diaspora with Ereẓ Israel were characterized by ambivalence from the beginning. Hillel the Elder, a Babylonian who imposed his personality on the scholars of Jerusalem, was an exception; but a small center of learning existed at Nisibis led by the Benei Bathyra family. About 100 C.E. *Hananiah, the nephew of R. Joshua, had to leave for Babylonia; his attempts to render Babylonia independent of the authorities in Ereẓ Israel ended in failure. During the Hadrianic persecution several scholars of standing, R. Johanan ha-Sandelar, R. Eleazar b. Shamua and other pupils of R. Akiva settled temporarily in Babylonia and thus enhanced its prestige. However, the masterful personality of the patriarch R. Judah I dominated even this far country. There

were at least five Babylonians at his court, and he claimed and was accorded the right to ordain judges for Babylonia also. R. Judah did indeed admit the genealogical superiority of the exilarch, R. Huna, but only at a safe distance.

Conditions in Babylonia changed with the arrival in 219 at Nehardea of Abba Arikha (*Rav), one of the pupils of R. Judah. He found at Nehardea *Samuel, the son of Abba b. Abba, a rich silk merchant. Samuel had established excellent relations with King Shapur I; it was due to him that the rule *dina de-malkhuta dina*, i.e., civil law has the force of religious law, became the guiding light for the Diaspora. When Rav gave up his candidacy for *resh sidra* (head of the school) at Nehardea to Samuel, he moved first to *Huzal and then to *Sura, where he established a school which continued the traditions of Ereẓ Israel as taught by Rabbi. Rav died there in 247. In the meantime the school of Nehardea was dispersed after the Palmyrene raid of 259 and reassembled at *Pumbedita, which became the rival of Sura among the Babylonian schools. The leaders of Pumbedita (R. *Hamnuna, R. *Huna – who remained head of the school for 40 years, dying in 297 and his successor R. *Ḥisda) established the special "Babylonian" trend of talmudic learning, marked by a sharpness of logical dissection.

The great crisis of the Roman Empire in the third century changed the relations of Babylonia and Ereẓ Israel. Although there were still communities of Babylonians settled at Jaffa, Sepphoris, and Tiberias, after the death of R. Johanan more and more students went from Tiberias to Sura and Pumbedita. This exodus took such proportions that the old rule that a *ḥaver* (member of the rabbinical association) lost his rights on emigration had to be rescinded (TJ, Dem. 2:3, 23a). The Babylonians, who were always proud of their descent, now began to insist also on their priority in learning. Thus, for example, R. Judah b. Hezekiah even forbade his student R. Zeira to go to Ereẓ Israel (R. Zeira went nevertheless). In the third generation of the **amoraim* it was the Babylonians R. *Ammi and R. *Assi who ruled in Tiberias; if after them this state of affairs did not continue, it was because the Babylonian scholars had lost interest in teaching a declining community. When under Constantine the patriarch *Hillel II made the rules of the *calendar public, he cut the one remaining tie of Babylonia with the Jewish homeland. Henceforward Babylonia was on its own and girded itself for its great spiritual task, the Babylonian *Gemara*.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

FOURTH TO SEVENTH CENTURIES

Reshaping of Forces and Circumstances

At the beginning of the fourth century the vast majority of the Jewish people were dispersed in Mediterranean countries, a distribution which continued for many centuries afterward. Throughout their dispersion Jews were not only attached spiritually and emotionally to Ereẓ Israel, but this country still harbored an important concentration of Jewish population; the Patriarchate was to continue in more than a century of active and prestigious leadership of Jews almost everywhere (see **nasi*). The great concentration of Jews in the "Persian" empire (Babylonia (בבל) in Jewish historical-geographical nomenclature) flourished under the leadership of the exilarch, increasing in numbers and with a prosperous economy which had a broad agricultural stratum and some involvement in commerce and *crafts. In the Roman Empire the vast Jewish Diaspora was concentrated in great numbers in important cities, occupied as traders and craftsmen. The centers of the empire, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome, were also essential to Jewish life as they were central to the empire. The so-called edict of Milan, issued in June 313, was couched in terms expressing general tolerance and coexistence of religions; in reality it was the first step toward establishing the dominance of Christianity. Its declared intention was to grant *et Christianis et omnibus* freedom of religion, to each person according to his choice. The definitions there of divinity fit monotheistic religions as well as an enlightened paganism. Deity is described as *Summa Divinitas* or *Divinitas in sede caelesti*. The decree declares expressly that it was not designed to injure any person either in status or in religion. The sentiments to a large extent express a diplomatic softening for pagans and, for Jews, a sweetened coating of the bitter pill of the beginning of Christian domination. However, they also reflect an existing mood in the relationship between the religions at that time that could augur a future of real coexistence but in the event was destroyed by the pact between the Christian *Church and the Roman Empire.

The interpenetration of modes of existence and conceptual patterns of the environment is evident in Jewish life in the fourth to sixth centuries. The decoration of synagogues, both in Ereẓ Israel as well as in the Diaspora, shows a readiness to use pictorial art, and even representation of human and animal figures, for synagogue murals and mosaics. It also demonstrates that pagan symbols had lost their idolatrous implications for the Jews, who took them over almost without change to adorn their own houses of worship. Thus a trend, evident notably at the synagogue of *Dura Europos, developed and became increasingly reflected in Jewish life at this time. The symbolic pictography and inscriptions on Jewish funerary reliefs also show, in both Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora, the same assimilation of pagan elements. The other side of this process, and parallel to it, was a still continuing movement of proselytes to Judaism, the presence of Jewish elements in pagan magic papyri, and above all, the entry of many central Jewish elements into the pagan world, which enabled its Christianization.

This interpenetration, however, was not destined to become the framework of a social and political coexistence. The intense hatred generated during centuries of missionary propaganda and the fierce persecution to which it had been subjected caused the victorious Church in turn to adopt toward paganism the Jewish monotheistic stance at its harshest, and to employ in regard to Jews and Judaism the old popular pagan anti-Jewish animus, which developed into a tenet of dogmatic

absolutism at its cruelest. The *tertium gens* formed by Christianity declined to confront Judaism on a basis of equality and, once achieving dominance, took over all the potentialities and actualities of power with which to intensify division and persecution. This challenge, although the cause of much suffering, elicited a vital Jewish response in a concentration on inner values and a refusal to continue the process of interpenetration. From the sixth century on, pagan decorative motifs are no longer to be found in synagogues, while the painting of live figures for synagogue murals was abandoned for many centuries after that time.

CHRISTIAN POLITICAL PRESSURE AND PROPAGANDA. During the fourth and fifth centuries the Jews in the Roman Empire both recognized and felt the effects of a sustained Christian effort to redefine their legal status, to blacken their image in the eyes of gentiles, and to reduce their standing in society. This policy was pursued with a curious combination of acute love-hatred toward the Jewish people and its history, and an even more acute fearfulness of Jewish competition for the spiritual allegiance of the disintegrating pagan world. Internal Christian dissensions in the fourth century added fuel to hatred of the Jews in a Church that was already divided on its conception of the Trinity, quarreling about theological definitions, even to the extent of hairsplitting, and hitherto unaccustomed to the use of force to impose its authority. It now began to turn to imperial powers of coercion on the one hand and to interference in state affairs on the other, that, in the church's eyes, provided it with the combined means and formula for working out the divine will in history. Striving to retain its newly acquired power, it regarded Arianism and other heresies that emerged in this early period as a Judaizing attempt to undermine its precarious position.

Already under Constantine I (306–337) laws were published forbidding the persecution of Jewish *apostates to Christianity. In 339 Constantius II prohibited marriage between Jews and Christians, and the possession of Christian slaves by Jews. This last prohibition went far to undermine the economic structure of Jewish society, in *agriculture in particular. In this period it was inconceivable to maintain any fair-sized agricultural unit without employing slaves, who were rapidly becoming Christianized.

A flicker of the old-type coexistence, this time with an anti-Christian emphasis and a pro-Jewish tendency, reemerged under Emperor *Julian (361–363), regarded by Christians as "the apostate." His attempt to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem, his respectful language in reference to Jews, and the rights he granted them were not only motivated by a wish to disprove the Christian contention that Judea had been obliterated with the rejection of Jesus, they were also actuated by esteem for a great Jewish past and for steadfastness in adhering to a religious historical course.

The Church and the Christian empire, alarmed but not sobered by the reemergence of paganism and its bid for an alliance with the Jews, crystallized a policy of obtaining laws against Jews and heretics. These were subsequently promulgated: "… in order that these dangerous sects which are unmindful of our times may not spread into life the more freely, in indiscriminate confusion, as it were, we ordain by this law to be valid for all time …" (*Novella* 3 of Theodosius II, Jan. 31, 438). On this basis Jews were denied all civic offices and dignities because "we believe it is wrong that the enemies of the heavenly Majesty and of the Roman laws should become the executors of our laws, and that they, fortified by the authority of the acquired rank, should have the power to judge or sentence Christians, … as if they insult our faith … For the same reason we prohibit that any synagogue should rise as a new building" (*ibid.*).

Hence, at this early stage, the foundations were laid for the conception that the holding of public office by a Jew constituted both an insult to Christianity and a danger to Christians. Of the two reasons cited, the first was prompted by the competition between religions that continued into the fifth century and by the pride of victory. The second stemmed from suspicion of the character of the Jew and the view that he was perhaps activated by base motives in dealing with other people. Thus motivation was advanced for the principle that only if the Jews were humiliated and rendered powerless would Christianity and Christians be safe; on this principle Jews were barred from honors and public office in Christian states (and later in Muslim states) from the fifth until the 18th centuries. Although there were to be many exceptions to, and breaches of, this rule, these only proved its wide acceptance, as amply evidenced down the centuries in the bitter opposition to Jews holding positions of authority by the Church leadership and the consensus of popular opinion in Christian and Muslim societies.

The change in legal status gained popular acceptance because of the consistency and virulence with which Church leaders preached hatred of the Jew. The eight anti-Jewish sermons delivered by John Chrysostom (see *Church Fathers) in Antioch in 387 both reveal the existence of a continuing good relationship at this time between parts of the general population and the Jews and instance the type of propaganda used by the Church fathers to disrupt it. The sermons vilify the Jews, their synagogues, their way of life, and their motives of behavior at length and in scathing terms. *Augustine of Hippo had a deep historic sense of the vital force displayed by the Jewish people. Several times in his writings he returns to the mystery presented by the non-assimilation of a small people, separated from the rest of the population not only by its specific beliefs, but also by a detailed way of life and its development of an individual culture, in an empire that was moving to increasing uniformity in all these respects. His conception of what the Jewish people might have been, and what under Christian dispensation it had become, emerges from his musings about the likely destiny of the Jews had they not constantly revolted against God and finally rejected Jesus, and about the reason for their continued existence in the world:

> And if they had not sinned against Him, led astray by unholy curiosity as by some magic arts, falling away to worship idols and finally murdering the Christ, *they would have remained in the same kingdom, and if it did not grow in size, it would have grown in happiness.* As for their present dispersion through almost all the lands and peoples, it is by the providence of the true God, to the end that when the images, altars, groves, and temples of the false gods are everywhere overthrown, and the sacrifices forbidden, it may be demonstrated by the Jewish scriptures how this was prophesied long ago. Thus the possibility is avoided that, if read only in our books, the prophecy might be taken for our invention (*City of God*, ed. and tr. by W.C. Greene, Book 4, 34 (1963), 129).

Augustine's assertion that a redeemed Jewish people would have remained happy and a separate nation in Ereẓ Israel was later remembered by few Christians. Both of his assumptions, that the Jewish dispersion proves the truth of Christianity through the Holy Writ that is in Jewish possession, and that it was necessary to provide proof of the correctness of the biblical passages quoted by Christians from the text in Jewish hands to doubting infidels – neither Jewish nor Christian, but pagan – clearly indicate a situation, at least within living memory, of a triangle in which Judaism, Christianity, and paganism are confronted. Later on, his premises provided the theoretical formulation for Christian readiness to suffer Jews in their midst. Augustine's understanding of Psalms 59:12 (Vulgate 58:12) as relating to sufferance of the Jews, on the condition that they be visibly dispersed and humiliated, was widely quoted and applied in the Middle Ages.

INTERNAL CULTURAL AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES. At the same time that the church was preaching to its converted the dictum that the Jews continue to exist for the sake of Christianity, as despiritualized guardians of a spiritual "Old Testament," the Jewish people were developing a great and fruitful new life of intellectual and social creativity. In about 359 a constant calendar was determined and formulated, thus basing archaic sacred attitudes to time, its division, and purpose, on mathematical principles, and bringing to completion a long process of Hellenistic cultural influence. The leadership provided by the patriarchate and the patriarchs (see **Nasi*) through these difficult times, although frequently criticized, was on the whole successful and helped create a productive period in both the Jewish and general cultural spheres. The *nasi* Gamaliel b. Hillel maintained a regular correspondence with the great Antiochian rhetor Libanius over the last four decades of the fourth century, showing points of contact between the great Jewish jurists and those of the Roman world.

Jewish creative and cultural activity was continuing at a time when a mob led by monks in 388 burned down the synagogue at Callinicum in Mesopotamia. Bishop *Ambrose of Milan thereupon asserted the authority of the Church and overruled Emperor *Theodosius I by insisting that the culprits should go unpunished. Also in this period Emperor Theodosius II and his ecclesiastical advisers attempted to deter Jews from worship by forbidding the erection of new synagogues (see above). Jews reacted to this situation by recourse to both traditional and new solutions. The Patriarchate was extinguished by imperial decree in 429. However, Jewish leadership of the communities in the Roman empire continued in a less centralized but more successful form.

In Ereẓ Israel the Jewish population held on to its soil and maintained its spirit of resistance by every means available, from the revolt in Galilee against Gallus in 351 up to the revolt in the reign of Emperor *Heraclius and its alliance with the invading Persian armies in 614 (see below). In Babylonia the exilarchs were able to exercise their hegemony under more relaxed and stable conditions than those prevailing in the Roman and Christian spheres. But when a series of persecutions overtook the community in the second half of the fifth and the sixth centuries the exilarchs had the foresight to withdraw with their institutions to inaccessible regions and there to continue cultural activities and social leadership. In 495–502 the exilarch Mar *Zutra II led a revolt, created a small Jewish state, and paid with his life for this attempt.

YEMEN. Semitic tribes in the region of present-day *Yemen became converted to Judaism and maintained a Jewish principality in *Ḥimyar that had close ties with the *nasi* at Tiberias. It was crushed by a coalition of Christian *Byzantium and *Ethiopia after a battle to preserve Judaism and with the death of the king *Yūsuf dhu Nuwās in 525.

REDACTION OF THE JERUSALEM AND BABYLONIAN TALMUDS. At the time of these events Jewish intellectual activity added a new dimension and prototype to the national literature. The academies of Ereẓ Israel and Babylonia constituted a living forum for discussion of the tenets and implications of Jewish morals and Jewish law, continuing despite external humiliations and harassments. The redaction of the so-called Jerusalem Talmud took place in the second half of the fourth century. During the second half of the fourth century and throughout the fifth – from the days of Rav *Ashi (371–427) until *Ravina (499) – the redaction of the so-called Babylonian Talmud was completed. Both Talmuds represent whole libraries of legal discussion and formulation – *halakhah* – and record fragments of moral and exegetical sermons – *aggadah*. The thoughts and efforts of numerous scholars are reticulated in them to form a protocol of the discussions, thus setting down a rich legacy for posterity and providing an exemplar for a specific mode of learning, of living, and of moral decision. The Talmuds became canonized in Jewish esteem alongside the Bible and the Mishnah – theoretically in a diminishing scale of sanctity. In practice, interpretation of the Talmud and the talmudic mode of discussion eventually dominated Jewish scholarship and set the pattern for Jewish modes of thought until modern times. After a short transitional period of creative activity by the **savora'im*, the Talmuds were regarded as closed and canonized entities. Beside the Talmuds, there also remain from this period the amoraic midrashim (see *Midrash). These in technique bear close

affinity to the writings of the Church Fathers, while in content and aims they represent a system of Jewish culture, its values and aspirations, and its defense against Christian attacks.

APPEARANCE OF ISLAM. The degree and scale of Jewish influence on *Muhammad and early *Islam is much in dispute, but there is no denial of its existence and considerable significance. From early attempts at alliance with Jewish groups in Arabia – the so-called Jewish "tribes" – Muhammad turned against them, and, in a series of wars and battles in the years 624 to 628, succeeded in either extirpating them or expelling them from Arabia. Awareness of these influences and of the alliances and wars of the past was important later in determining the attitude of Islam toward Jews.

TRENDS IN CHRISTIAN POLICY TOWARD THE JEWS. By the end of the sixth century, two approaches toward the Jews were tried in the Christian sphere. Emperor *Justinian attempted to influence Judaism in a missionary spirit, to interfere in the conduct of Jewish worship, and to direct the Jews as to what they should retain or relinquish in their scriptures and beliefs. In the preamble to his Novella 146 (Feb. 8, 553) he states expressly: "Necessity dictates that when the Hebrews listen to their sacred texts they should not confine themselves to the meaning of the letter, but should also devote their attention to those sacred prophecies which are hidden from them, and which announce the mighty Lord and Savior Jesus Christ." The post-biblical strata of Jewish literature are to be excised: "The Mishnah, or as they call it the second tradition [Deuterosis], we prohibit entirely … it is … but the handiwork of man, speaking only of earthly things, and having nothing of the divine in it. But let them read the holy words themselves, rejecting the commentaries" (as translated by J. Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue* (1961), 392–3). Justinian's argumentation against Deuterosis has a fundamentalist ring, but the stress is on negation instead of a positive evaluation of the Bible. The emperor failed in his object, not only as many of his other strong-armed attempts had failed because of the weakness of the empire in the late sixth century, but essentially because the Jews remained consistently attached to the whole of their corpus of scriptures and refused to become Jews according to Christian concepts. Not until the 13th century was a similar approach again attempted, when a campaign was launched against the Talmud, which also failed (see below: The Middle Ages).

At the end of the sixth century another attempt to eradicate the Jews in a Christian country was begun in Visigothic Spain. With the changeover from Arianism and the attempt to unite the country under Catholicism by King Reccared I, compulsory conversion of Jews to Christianity became an integral part of the policy of the Visigothic state. However, barehanded force essentially proved no more successful than Justinian's attempt at dictation (see below).

Pope *Gregory I at the end of the sixth century developed a different and more enduring line of approach. In his many letters concerning Jews he proposed to tempt them to Christianity by offering fiscal alleviations in the belief that if the first generation did not become fully fledged Christians the second would become so. He thus authorized the use of economic pressure and reward to bring about Jewish apostasy. However, while insisting on strict maintenance of the status quo in respect of Jewish existence, he was vigilant in ensuring that Jews should not acquire any new rights or opportunities. He thus developed a practice which was in part based on application of the theory of Augustine and in part on a dogmatization of the various anti-Jewish laws of the later Roman emperors as incorporated in the Codes of Theodosius and Justinian. In his theoretical writings, in particular in his *Moralia* on Job, and in his commentaries on Kings and Ezekiel, Gregory views the Jewish way of life and Jewish identity as the arch-enemy of Christianity. Jacob here represents the gentiles, and Esau the Jews.

SETTLEMENT IN WESTERN EUROPE. The sixth century also saw the reemergence of Jews in Western Europe north of the Pyrenees. The existence of a Jewish community at *Cologne in 321 is already attested in an edict of Emperor Constantine. Discoveries of coins, and, in the opinion of some scholars, also terra cotta figurines found at *Treves (Trier), prove the presence of Jews – or at least of passing merchants – in several places in Western and Central Europe in the fourth century. However, there is no evidence of the continuance of these Jewish groups, or of the movement of individual Jewish merchants, in the disordered times of the barbarian invasions and the creation of the Germanic states in the late fourth and fifth centuries. South of the Pyrenees, in Arian Visigothic Spain and in the kingdom of Theodoric in Italy, Jews were to be found, living in relatively favorable conditions. The Arians did not simply adopt the attitude of the Catholic Church toward Jews; since individuals in these Arian Germanic states were regarded as subject either to the existing Roman law or the Germanic law of the conquerors, Jews were classified, under this definition, with the Romans. Procopius recounts (*De Bello Gothico*, 1, 5, 10.25) that the Jews of *Naples courageously and stubbornly defended this city for Theodoric against the Byzantines in 536.

Though migration from a warmer southern climate to a colder northern one, and from an ancient and familiar cultural milieu to a new and uncivilized region, is not usual, this is the direction taken by relatively many Jews during the sixth century when they appeared in the Catholic kingdom of the Franks in what is now *France. They were attracted by the rare opportunities for enterprising merchants in the newly developing countries. Seen through the writings of Bishop *Gregory of Tours, Jews were able to tempt bishops and princes with the spices and costly cloths they brought with them. In the second half of the sixth century there is mention of sizable communities, as at *Clermont-Ferrand, *Paris, and *Marseilles, which had their own synagogue buildings – certainly not constructed in accordance with the requirements imposed

by the Church – and stubbornly defended, sometimes to the death, their right to live as professing Jews. The figure of the Jew *Priscus exemplifies the best in these groups: learned in the Bible, he is shown disputing as an equal, and unafraid, with Bishop Gregory in the presence of King Chilperic about Judaism and Christianity. He died a martyr's death at Paris, having dispatched his son to safety in Marseilles.

THE JEWISH REVOLT IN EREẒ ISRAEL. On the eve of the appearance of Islam as a world power and third great monotheistic religion – the last throes of the disappearance of the old order of the classical world – Jews in Ereẓ Israel again raised the standard of revolt in an attempt to reestablish Jewish rule in Ereẓ Israel. Desperate through persecutions under Emperor Heraclius they rebelled in 614, joined the Persian armies then invading the country, and between 614 and 617 established Jewish rule in Jerusalem. Their failure and cruel suppression (see also *Benjamin of Tiberias) add to the character of this event in Jewish history, which represents a last gleam of the classical constellations and one of the many harbingers of the new medieval situation.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

THE MIDDLE AGES

Formative Times (7^{th} to 11^{th} Centuries)

The conquest of the Persian empire by Muslim forces obliterated polytheism as a political force over the entire horizon of Jewish existence. Jews had to accustom themselves to the situation that throughout "the whole world" monotheistic religions claiming the mantle of the Jewish faith were pursuing a consistent policy of derogation and humiliation toward the Jews. To the Christian clergy as a carrier of the inculcation of hatred of the Jews in the masses was now added the Muslim clergy. On the other hand, the conquests of Islam reunified the vast majority of the Jewish people. By 712 Islam ruled from the borders of India to south of the Pyrenees, thus uniting under its sway more than 90% of the existing Jewish population. The success of the Muslims was seen by Jews as divine retribution for the evil and perfidy of Byzantium and Persia. The sudden change in the political order revived hopes for even greater changes that would bring about Redemption and the Messiah. It was not by accident that several militant Jewish *messianic movements followed shortly on Islamic successes. Jerusalem was taken by the Arabs in 638. The Christian prohibitions on the entry of Jews to the Holy City were soon lifted. The attitude of the Muslims to the "People of the Book" was more favorable toward the Jews than that of the Christian rulers (see below). The Muslims had much to learn from the Christian and Jewish infidels, while the existence of many shades of faith other than Islam in the Muslim realm saved Jews living within its borders from the onus of being the main, frequently even the sole, representatives of nonconformists there as they became in Christendom.

UNDER ISLAM. The Muslim conquest had far-reaching consequences for Jewish economic and social structures. The first generation of Arab rulers knew little about agriculture, nor cared about it. They imposed a heavy burden on infidel farmers, not being concerned with the disastrous results. On the other hand, they respected trade and regarded the city as a favorable milieu for leading the good Muslim life. The military camps of the conquerors soon developed into cities. All this combined to draw Jews away from the villages and agriculture toward the developing towns and an appreciated occupation in trade. Their links with other Jews along the commercial routes in the vast empire worked in the same direction, as also the opportunities offered by the connections of Jews in Muslim countries for trading with their brethren in the Christian countries. In the lands taken from Byzantium, the new circumstances only completed a process of squeezing out Jews from agriculture that had been begun by the Christian denial of slave manpower to Jewish agricultural undertakings. In the former lands of the Persian Empire this was a relatively new process. By the end of the eighth century it had been more or less accomplished everywhere in the Muslim empire: although some Jewish individuals and groups remained attached to the soil despite unfavorable circumstances, the vast majority of the Jews became townspeople, and retained this structure until the present.

Wherever a new city arose or an old one developed, Jews formed large and enterprising merchant and craftsmen communities, as in *Kufa, *Basra, and *Baghdad (almost from its foundation by the *Abassids) in *Iraq; in *Cairo-Fostat and *Alexandria, in *Egypt; in *Kairouan and *Fez in the Maghreb; and in *Cordoba and *Toledo in Muslim *Spain. Their occupations covered all the varieties found in the towns. Thus the foundation was laid for the variegated structure of Jewish economy and society in the Muslim city, which existed – with spatial and temporal modifications – up to the almost total liquidation of the Jewish communities in Muslim lands after the creation of the State of Israel.

In various regions of the Muslim Empire the lower strata of Jewish society were occupied in every kind of craft. An anti-Jewish writer in the ninth century, in what was certainly a tendentious one-sided view, could even regard certain of the coarser crafts as the main occupation of the Jews in Egypt. The upper stratum of Jewish society in the caliphate engaged in large-scale trade and in money-lending, sometimes even supplying organized and regular loans to the state. In the tenth century certain rich Jewish families were known as the court financiers, their security of tenure deriving to a large degree from the fact, well known to the caliph and his officials, that the huge loans advanced came not only out of the personal fortune of the Jewish banker, but out of amounts lent him by Jewish merchants of lesser means.

In Muslim Spain, as early as the united *Umayad caliphate, the position achieved by *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut demonstrates the rise of a Jewish official and merchant to political eminence mainly on the basis of his personal abilities and culture. This is even more strikingly exhibited in the 11^{th} century, during the period of the divided Taifa kingdoms, in the

person, culture, and career of *Samuel ha-Nagid (Ibn Nagrela), a commander of Muslim armies, vizier of a Muslim king, a great Hebrew poet, eminent talmudist, master of a fine Arabic style, mathematician, philosopher, and statesman – both as a theoretician and in practice – in an absolute state. Muslim Spain gave rise to many similar personalities and families, wholeheartedly Jewish, blending both Jewish and Greek-Arabic culture, and aristocratic in behavior and feeling. Grouped around them and relying heavily on their munificence, were galaxies of poor poets and scholars devoted to their art and the pursuit of philosophy, often highly creative, like Solomon ibn *Gabirol (known by the Latins as the philosopher Avicebron, the author of the *Fons Vitae*). In Kairouan, Africa, there flourished also under *Fatimid rule a circle of physicians and scholars influential at court and leaders of their communities. In the Mediterranean seaports in the 10th to 12th centuries there was a well organized Jewish trade, relying basically on written communications between merchants as well as on the maintenance of well ordered books of trade and accounts and a well regulated merchant organization that based itself on Jewish law.

The successes of these high dignitaries and influential courtiers naturally ran counter to the basic Islamic attitude toward the Jews, to the legal status it was ready to grant them, and, above all, to popular sentiment. Even the career of the legendary *Paltiel met with intrigue and opposition from Muslim circles. The reality was much harsher. Samuel ha-Nagid was not only bitterly attacked by his political enemies – as he testifies abundantly in his poems – and vilified by scurrilous popular songwriters, but was also sharply assailed by the eminent Muslim philosopher and poet Ibn Ḥazm (Samuel's son *Jehoseph fell victim (1066) to the pent-up hatred of the mob).

The basic Muslim attitude to infidels is set out in the so-called Covenant of *Omar, formally ascribed to the year 637 but almost certainly formulated much later. In regard to the *ahl al-dhimma*, "the people of protection" (see **Dhimma*, *Dhimmi*) – which comprised both Jews and Christians as deserving of the right to exist under Muslim rule as the **ahl al-kitāb*, the "People of the Book" – it provides for security of person and property, and permission to pursue religious worship and codes of behavior according to the law of the faith concerned, on condition of payment of fixed taxes to the caliph's treasury (the *jizya* and the **kharāj*; the *kharāj*, taken automatically from the field area, did much to drive out Jews from agriculture; and see above) and under a set of rules ensuring the constant humiliation and isolation of the infidels by believers. Many of its humiliating conditions are taken from old anti-Jewish laws of Christian origin, but they also contain certain detailed provisions stemming from conceptions and symbols of social prestige found in Muslim society. Sunni rulers usually tended to apply these rules strictly to the majority of the Jews (and Christians). Shiʿite rulers tended to be more capricious and offensive in their attitude. The Fatimid caliph of Egypt, al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allah (996–1021), embarked on a systematic policy of humiliation of the Jews and Christians in the second half of his reign. Among his inventions can be included the principle of the badge of shame, later taken over by the Church, for he compelled Jews to wear only black robes in public and to carry the wooden image of a calf (in memory of the calf which the Jews had worshiped in the desert; see Jewish *badge). The constancy of the Muslim system of humiliation, coupled with freedom to exercise *autonomy and opportunity to engage in most economic activities in the cities, is illustrated by both the relatively few exceptions made in favor of gifted infidels as well as by the relatively few sharp outbreaks of extreme governmental persecution or mob fury.

INTENSIFICATION OF CHRISTIAN ATTITUDES. Christian society continued to develop, under the guidance of the Church, its pernicious hatred of the Jews. Though the upper ranks of the Church hierarchy accepted, both in theory and in practice, the relatively "mild" attitude toward the Jews of Augustine and Gregory I, the lower ranks tended to be more consistent than their superiors and inclined to question in their sermons the compromise implicit in the Jewish denial of Christianity under Christian rule, thus veering toward the attitude suggested by the legislation of Justinian and Reccared I. Various factors – both general and relating in particular to Jews – helped to shape attitudes toward the Jews in different Christian countries in various times and circumstances. The unifying and directing overall Christian influence was the divided attitude displayed by the Church – less hostile at the top, and increasingly hostile as one proceeded downward. Royalty, the nobility, and the townspeople added elements colored by their own interests to the prevailing temper but always merging with one or the other of the two aspects of the Church attitude.

Seventh-century Visigothic Spain waged a continuous struggle against Jewish existence. A series of laws was promulgated throughout the century to punish Jews for adhering to their faith, to ensure supervision of their behavior as good Christians by local Christian priests, and to take away their children from them in order to educate them in true Christian homes as good Christians. Cruel punishments were threatened to those who would not obey; "the Jews" alluded to in these enactments were evidently forced converts to Christianity who persisted in adhering to the faith of their fathers. The enactment of these measures over the course of a century graphically shows the strength of the devotion to Judaism of communities of Jewish merchants who have left no trace in Jewish literature and culture other than the testimony of persecutory laws to their steadfastness in the face of danger. It was a tragic prelude to the tragedy of the **anusim* of Spain in the 15th and 16th centuries. Both in the seventh and the 15th centuries, the Jewish tragedy was the result of a Catholic drive for the unification and uniformization of belief and thought in Spain.

In the Carolingian Empire of the eighth and ninth centuries, trade and mercantile connections were viewed as having a much higher premium than in the declining Visigothic king-

dom; hence the treatment of Jews was much better, though always within the framework of the general attitude set by the Church. Emperor *Louis the Pious and his advisers were in particular favorably disposed to Jewish trade, and under him court society treated the Jews well. This incurred the opposition of Archbishop *Agobard of Lyons who bitterly criticized Jewish influence, Jewish culture at Lyons, and the anti-Christian disputations in which the Jews engaged. In particular Agobard opposed the protection accorded to Jewish *slave trading (see also *slaves). The south Italian 11th-century chronicle of Ahimaaz registers the impression made by persecutions instigated by Emperor *Basil I (see *Ahimaaz b. *Paltiel).

During the 10th and 11th centuries the Christianization of the minds, and in particular the emotions and the imaginations, of the peoples in Western Europe proceeded. The importance of Jews as international merchants, and gradually as local merchants too, continued to be appreciated. Jews were also valued as a colonizing element in the reemerging town life in these countries, as the charter of Bishop Ruediger of *Speyer (1084) offering them attractive concessions clearly shows. In 1190, only six years before the First *Crusade, Emperor Henry IV granted the Jews of Speyer and *Worms charters giving them extensive rights of trade and self-government.

THE FIRST CRUSADE. By this time social and religious ferment in Western Europe was nearing its peak. Jews were expelled from *Mainz in 1012. The investiture conflict between the papacy and the emperor, and the propaganda for a Crusade in the 11th century, resulted from the intensification of Christian political theory and the inflamed emotions to a high pitch, leading many Christians to believe it their sacred duty to take revenge for Jesus' passion and death. With the growth of the influence of the monks, the feelings of the lower clergy found a potent and articulate vehicle of expression. All this combined to bring about widespread massacres of the Jews during the First Crusade (1096), in particular of the communities of the Rhine, as well as the Jewish response to this challenge by the acts and the ideology of **kiddush ha-Shem*.

REDISPOSITION OF JEWISH LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE. The seventh to eleventh centuries were a formative period for a redisposition of Jewish leadership and its social ratification. In the pattern of leadership formed by the institutions of the exilarchate, the *geonim* and their academies, there emerged an aristocratic hereditary hierarchy consisting of many families of scholars, traditionally devoted to study and assuming leadership in a fixed system of precedence and gradation; another more limited circle was constituted of families of *geonim*, entitled to succeed to the autocratic leadership of the academies; finally there was the leadership exercised by the Davidic dynasty of the exilarchic house. Over the course of centuries this system tried to combine the principles and practice of intellectual attainment, sanctity of life, hereditary succession, and hierarchic promotion. Despite the tensions and contradictions inherent in this combination, it worked successfully for a remarkably long time. The system was based on centralization, and by example from above induced throughout Jewish society appreciation of aristocratic descent combined with learning and leadership. This structure and set of social values began to break up, not under the attacks of the tenth-century *Karaites, although these were directed expressly and sharply against it, but through the disintegration of the supporting framework of the caliphate, and the appearance of local Jewish leadership which, while remaining aristocratic in attitude and values, was no longer connected with the center at Baghdad and with the hierarchy of the academies. Individualistic tendencies were also at work in this process (see also below).

This structure, with its extreme claims to authority, sanctity, and aristocracy, has remained an isolated chapter in the pattern of Jewish institutions of scholarship and leadership. In the 8th to 11th centuries, and in decline up to the 13th century, it represented for Jewish history a singular experiment of centralistic leadership based on aristocratic stratification and individualist intellectual values. The concept "yeshivah" still remains, but, beyond the borders of the caliphate and after the 13th century, there was no attempt to organize it on the lines of family units and as an hierarchic ladder. The term *Gaon* became understood in Europe to designate "genius," and its original hierarchical meaning was lost, to be rediscovered by modern research. The system was gradually replaced by local leadership, such as that of the **nagid*. Alongside there began to emerge, even in Muslim countries, the local community unit, based on cohesion of its members and the needs specific to Jews living together and feeling a common responsibility in a certain locality.

North of the Pyrenees, Jewish community leadership around the beginning of the 11th century shows the influence of the individual predominating, based on personal charisma and learning alone. It is exemplified in the figure of *Gershom b. Judah, "the Light of the Exile," and in the ideals set out by *Simeon b. Isaac of Mainz, reaching its consummation in the personality and leadership of *Rashi and the figures who by their personal qualities and example led their communities to sacrifice themselves in the spirit of *kiddush ha-Shem* during the persecutions of the First Crusade. The regular organs of local community leadership and the *synods of local community leaders, which convened at fairs and in central commercial towns like Cologne, served in this milieu to support leadership by the individual or by the isolated community or as an alternative to it.

The Jewish leadership used various methods of influence and systems of instruction to exercise authority. The Babylonian *geonim* and their academies have assumed a somewhat distorted image in the view of later generations because the main source of information on them and their activities derives from the *responsa they sent, on the authority of the academy, to legal questions submitted to them by communities or individuals. In reality, they achieved their goal of establishing the Talmud as the criterion for normative Jewish way of life and thought, not only, and not even mainly, through this legal and exegetical correspondence. Although the responsa

literature of the *geonim* is highly diversified, and has been regarded with high esteem down through the generations, it was only part, and in their estimation only a substitute, for direct methods of exercising centralistic moral and social control of Jewish society, both orally and in writing. Wherever and whenever possible, they preferred direct instruction given to assemblies of scholars either by the *gaon* and the collegium of his academy (which served both as a supreme judicial court as well as a high academy of learning) in the **kallah* months or by sending out an emissary or a representative of the *gaon* to the communities. The *geonim* also sent out letters of moral instruction to the Jewish people when assuming office, called by *Saadiah Gaon the "letter on assuming lordship" (*Iggeret Tesurah*). Several letters of such purport of the 10th and 11th centuries (of Saadiah Gaon in: *Dvir*, 1 (1923), 183–8; and in: *Ginzei Kedem*, 2 (1923), 34–35; of Nehemiah Gaon, in: Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 78–83; of Israel, son of Samuel b. Ḥophni, *ibid.*, 167–77; of Sherira Gaon, *ibid.*, 95–105; of Hai Gaon, in: *Ginzei Kedem*, 4 (1930), 51–56) evidence an aim to impart instruction to the people in simple and rational language, appealing to their emotions and needs. In his letter Saadiah Gaon repeatedly stresses that it is the duty of his office to teach Jews and to lead and admonish them. He invites questions and appeals. This high conception of geonic office justifies the assumption that many more such pastoral letters were sent out but have been lost in later centuries and places where geonic institutional and moral authority was no longer binding. The *geonim* extended their influence also by instilling in the people a deeply mystical conception of the sacredness of the academies and their heads. They especially emphasized the value of their blessing and the danger of incurring their **ḥerem*.

CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL LIFE. The productive Jewish cultural and religious life which continued in these centuries was frequently stormy. Almost at the outset of the geonic campaign to establish the Talmud as the book of life for the Jewish people it encountered the revolt of *Anan b. David, and the early *Karaites. These represent in the eighth to ninth centuries an archaistic and rigoristic trend, turning away from talmudic and geonic "modernization" toward a biblical primitive conception of the Jewish way of life, ideals, and duties. The concept of all-pervading holiness, a demand for the reinstatement of harsh old prescriptions, an insistence on adherence to detailed local custom, and a program of self-isolation for the camp of true believers made this movement a throwback to various ancient sectarian tendencies of the Second Temple period. Even in this opposition the strength of talmudic modes of thought is evident, for Anan employs talmudic dialectics frequently and with skill in his writings; what he opposed was reliance on law based on talmudic collective discussion and the alleviations it introduced.

The change in cultural temper and religious mood among the Jews in Muslim countries in these centuries – to a large degree due to the influence of Islamic society and culture, and to the penetration of Greek philosophical ideas to both Muslims and Jews – is evident in the development of Karaism as well as in the fight against it. Whereas Anan was authoritarian to the core and the *geonim* who opposed him at first rejected his views in the name of the sanctity of tradition and on the basis of the authority of their academies, both Karaite and *Rabbanite conceptions and argumentations had changed very much in the same direction by the tenth century. Both sides were now mainly contending within the framework of religious rationalism, which worked a transformation in the conception of their own stand and that of their opponents. The Karaites of the tenth century (see *Avelei Zion; *Daniel b. Moses al-Qūmisī; *Levi b. Japheth; *Sahl b. Maẓli'aḥ ha-Kohen; *Salmon b. Jeruham; Jacob al-*Kirkisānī) based their strict adherence to the Bible on their conception of individual responsibility, which should not rely on any external authority but only on the individual's reasoning powers. This they considered the sole legitimate means by which to understand properly – i.e., individually – the sacred Scriptures, the Jewish way of life, and the world order.

The writings of the *geonim* of the 10th and early 11th centuries show a similar application of rationalism. Saadiah Gaon wrote his "Book of Beliefs and Opinions" in the early tenth century to explain Jewish Rabbanite theory and practice on systematic rationalistic philosophical grounds and to defend it against opponents through rationalist argumentation. He opposed the Karaites in the name of religious rationalism, which demands that men should rely on accumulated tradition and binds them to obey the guidance of national collective leadership. Rationalism afforded Saadiah – and, in an even more extreme approach, the *Gaon* *Samuel b. Hophni – the incentive and the means to combat anthropomorphic interpretations and uphold radical rationalist exegesis of the Bible. On the other hand, to Karaites it furnished weapons for destructive criticism of the Talmud. Although the theoretical and practical consequences were to be widely divergent, they stemmed from a common point of departure based on a rationalist approach.

The divergences and conflicts often divided the Rabbanite and Karaite camps more deeply among themselves than the controversy between the two sides. By its nature Karaite individualist rationalism gave rise to innumerable divisions. The much larger Rabbanite section, united formally, became increasingly diversified with the development of local custom and local culture, which became more important as the centralizing framework of the caliphate and the authority of the exilarchate and Babylonian academies began to decline. Even more decisive was the difference between communities within the Muslim environment and influence and those in the Christian sphere.

The difference is thrown into sharp relief when the world of thought and religion of the Babylonian academies is confronted with that of the Jews of southern Italy. This Jewry was important in its time and for later generations from many aspects. The Jewry of *Ashkenaz was conscious of its cultural roots in southern Italy. The Ashkenazi rite of prayer origi-

nated there. In the 12th century Jacob b. Meir *Tam formulated the cultural debt of Ashkenaz to southern Italy by his paraphrase of Isaiah 11:13; "For out of Bari shall go forth the Law and the word of the Lord from Otranto." Mystic circles of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz traced nebulous origins of their traditions to semilegendary figures active in southern Italy. The wealth of Jewish traditions and culture there is revealed in the *Josippon chronicle, completed in 953. The *piyyutim* composed by Jews of this region during the period are the products of a considerable Hebrew liturgic and poetic activity. In the Ahimaaz chronicle, completed in 1054, the traditions, the venerated figures, and the ideals of the upper circles of this important Jewry emerge in striking contrast to the rationalist world of Babylonian Jewry. The chronicle abounds with miraculous elements. Use of the Divine Name frequently appears, as a formula for keeping the dead alive, for supplying miraculous defense, and as a device for speedy transportation. Vampire-like women are reported to snatch, in the dark of night, children who in turn are snatched away and kept alive by holy sages. In religious outlook this world reveals all the elements that *Hai Gaon despised and warns against in the 11th century (see: *Oẓar ha-Geonim* ed. by B.M. Levin, 4 (1931), 6, 10–12, 13–27, nos. 7, 16, 20–21 (responsa to Ḥagigah).

In Muslim Spain, at the courts of Jewish grandees, a different cultural trend developed in the 10th and 11th centuries. The clash that occurred between Ḥisdai Ibn Shaprut and his court poet and grammarian, *Menahem b. Jacob ibn Saruq, demonstrates on the one hand the lordly attitude of the maecenas and on the other the proud individuality of the poor intellectual. In the 11th century Samuel ha-Nagid and his son Jehoseph lived in ostentatious luxury and prided themselves on it. According to many opinions, they were among the main builders of the Alhambra palace in Granada. The writings of Samuel ha-Nagid display a rational, highly individualistic and somewhat sensual temper. The responsa of Isaac b. Jacob *Alfasi provide evidence of the trends in Torah learning and communal culture characterizing the middle strata in Jewish society in Muslim Spain.

Archbishop Agobard describes the culture of the Jewish community at Lyons and the literature it possessed as both mystic and talmudic in its conceptions. The Jews in the lands of the Franks in the 10th to 11th centuries are also known from their own works and expressions of opinion. The Jews of Provence described themselves to Ḥisdai Ibn Shaprut in the tenth century as "Your servants, the communities of France." They were in close contact with the Muslim Spanish Jewish courtier and tried to persuade him to influence the authorities at Toulouse to stop the practice of a local custom harming and insulting to the Jews. Their letter is written in flowery Hebrew (Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 27–30). The community of *Arles had specific ordinances for trade regulation about this time. The *Anjou community recorded, in rich Hebrew, an event that proves Jewish contact with and influence in the Christian environment in the south. It relates to a woman proselyte who "has left her father's house, great riches, in a far land, and has come for the sake of the name of our God to nestle under the wings of the *Shekhinah*. She has left her brethren and the grandees of her family; she settled in Narbonne. The late rabbi David married her … as he heard that they were looking for her he fled with her to our place." A new place of refuge was now being sought for the noble proselyte widow and her baby child (*ibid.*, 32–33). This type of Jewish culture flourishing in close contact with its environment was to continue in Provence and bear many fruits (see below).

A distinct and productive Jewish culture developed in the 10th and 11th centuries in northern France and on the eastern bank of the Rhine. The mystic traditions of southern Italy were not forgotten here but toned down. This culture flourished in a patrician merchant society regulated according to *halakhah*, and was based on Torah study and on the conception of the whole of the Jewish heritage as a living integrated force. In the *piyyutim* of Simeon b. Isaac ideals are set forth and behavior described which were to be typical of the early Jewry of Ashkenaz for many generations. This culture produced the first almost complete commentary on the Bible and the Babylonian Talmud, the work of Rashi, which has remained the basis of traditional Jewish Bible and Talmud study. Through this it also influenced to a considerable extent Christian understanding of the Bible, in particular through the impact on *Nicholas of Lyre.

It was in this northern, Christian environment that Jewish *family structure underwent a revolutionary reformulation. *Monogamy became the pattern of the *Ashkenazi Jewish family by force of the so-called "*Takkanot* of Rabbenu Gershom b. Judah, the Light of the Exile." This change was reinforced by a complementary one: a *ḥerem* ascribed to the same authority invalidated a bill of divorce of a woman without her prior consent.

THE KHAZAR KINGDOM. These formative centuries also saw the conversion of a Mongol society to Judaism. The *Khazars – the royal family and court, and their warrior class in particular – accepted Judaism in the eighth century. This created a state ruled by a Jewish aristocracy in the strategically important region between the Volga and the Caspian Sea in the eighth to tenth centuries. The report of this conversion had great influence on contemporary Jews (see *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut) and on Jewish thought in later generations (see *Judah Halevi). In modern times its memory was to play a certain role in discussions about the origins of the Jews in Poland–Lithuania and Russia. The Khazar state practiced full tolerance toward merchants of various denominations, both those living in it as well as those passing through. It controlled important trade routes and fulfilled a critical function in the history of Christianity in Eastern Europe as it served as a buffer state between a dynamic Islam and the Slav peoples in what is now Russia – by which the Khazar state was later destroyed.

DIVERSIFICATION IN LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE AND CULTURAL TRENDS. On the threshold of the 12th century Jewish

history stood at the end of the successful period of the experiment to combine a hierarchical and hereditary social structure with individualist criteria of learning and intellectual attainment; the former experience in leadership and economic development had shown both the importance and dangers in the existence of a gigantic political framework like the caliphate and its breakup; the Jewish sphere was characterized by cultural diversification and the emergence of various systems of leadership. Rationalism was the dominating influence – at least among the upper circles and intellectuals – in the Jewish communities of the Muslim countries. Mystical and even magical leanings were found among the Jews in Christian countries. Great individual leaders were emerging; individualism and local particularism began to assert themselves in the leadership. In regions of cultural and social contacts and transit, like North Africa, southern Italy and Provence, Jewish cultural creativity was due in no small part to these circumstances. The latecomer to the Jewish scene, the budding culture of Ashkenaz, produced great achievements almost at the start and a capacity for expressing revolutionary halakhic and social changes. The upper circles of Jewish society had a fluent command of Hebrew though in everyday life they used the languages of the countries they lived in; in Muslim countries Arabic was used for literary expression, in particular for legal decisions and philosophic deliberations. Rashi found it necessary to intersperse his commentaries with many Old-French terms in order to be understood by his readers. Jews continued along the path that was to lead them from the use of Greek and Latin, as a cultural medium, through adaptation of alien languages to the development of *Yiddish and, later, *Ladino. Hence a trend apparently leading to assimilation became a valuable means of attaining an individual culture and cohesion. Judaism was still attracting individuals in the west of Europe, like the deacon *Bodo, while in the east of Europe it attracted the leading sector of a Mongol nation, ruling its state for over two centuries. The hatred and massacres engendered by the Crusades produced in response the spirit of *kiddush ha-Shem*, which was described and taught in the early 12th century as representing the Jewish holy war against the enemies of the Lord.

The Crystallization of Jewish Medieval Culture (12th–15th Centuries)

EFFECTS OF THE CRUSADES. The 12th century continued the series of shocks for Jewish society in Europe and for the Jewish spirit everywhere initiated by the movement and spirit of the Crusades. The Second Crusade (1146–47) and the Third (1189–90) brought massacre, plunder, and terror in their wake to Jews in Western Europe. *Bernard of Clairvaux gave strong popular expression to the old-established conception of the higher Church echelons of combining a policy toward the Jews of humiliation and isolation with defense of their life and property. In his letter to "the English People" sent also to "the Archbishops, Bishops, and all the clergy of eastern France and Bavaria," he states:

> The Jews are not to be persecuted, killed, or even put to flight … The Jews are for us the living words of Scripture, for they remind us always of what our Lord suffered. They are dispersed all over the world so that by expiating their crime they may be everywhere the living witness of our redemption … Under Christian princes they endure a hard captivity, but "they only wait for the time of their deliverance"… I will not mention those Christian money-lenders, if they can be called Christian, who, where there are no Jews, act, I grieve to say, in a manner worse than any Jew ….

That his missionary hopes and expectations serve as a main argument in his defense of the Jews is even more evident in another letter to the archbishop of Mainz opposing the incitement to massacre preached by the monk, Raoul. Bernard argues:

> Is it not a far better triumph for the Church to convince and convert the Jews than to put them all to the sword? Has that prayer which the Church offers for the Jews, from the rising up of the sun to the going down thereof, that the veil may be taken from their hearts so that they may be led from the darkness of error into the light of truth, been instituted in vain?… (The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, transl. by Bruno Scott James (1953), nos. 391, 393).

This was the most that a great Christian mystic and ascetic could say against shedding the blood of Jews to the Western European populace in 1146. These letters were reprinted by anti-Nazi Church circles in Germany immediately after the Holocaust!

Left to their own resources the Jews protected themselves by leaving the towns and moving to castles of the nobility – paying money for the Christians to leave the castle so as to defend it themselves. This policy, successful in most cases, had tragic consequences for the community of *York, England (1190). True to the ideal of *kiddush ha-Shem*, when the Jews were surrounded in the tower they killed themselves.

Jewish steadfastness to the faith in itself served to forestall some attacks. Those who adopted Christianity when threatened with death in 1096 were permitted by Emperor Henry IV to return to Judaism despite a sharp protest by the pope. Though the religious-fanatical motive for Jew-killing remained among Christians throughout the Middle Ages, it was now becoming interwoven with economic, social, and emotional elements. Bernard of Clairvaux had hinted at hatred for the Jewish usurer as a motive for attacking Jews. The *blood libel from the 12th century onward and the libel of desecration of the *Host from the 13th century created a vicious circle around the Jew. Each accusation presupposed the Jew as treacherous, blood-lusting, sadistic, God-hating, and devil-worshiping. Each libel added darker shades to this conception of the Jew. Dramas on the passion of Christ combined with imagery in Romanesque and Gothic church sculpture, stained glass, and paintings to imbue deep in the thought and imagination of the Christian populace, through the greatest expression of Christian art, the image of the Jew as a horrible and horrifying fiend.

As Christianity encompassed the mental horizon of all Western Europeans in this era, the Jew remained the main – often the only – representative of nonconformity in a conforming society. As in the fourth century, so in the 12th and early 13th century, as well as in the early 15th, an upsurge of heretical movements and social tensions within Christianity (e.g., the *Hussites) intensified the fear of the Jew and hatred of him. In the struggle between papacy and empire, the leaders of the Church became used to demagogic formulas and the deployment of popular forces and violence to serve their own purposes. The attitude and legislation of Pope *Innocent III express clearly this interpenetration of policy and vulgar enmity of the Church's attitude toward the Jews, even in papal formulations. Mercilessness in enforcing servitude of the Jews, extreme hostility, and debased rhetoric and menaces appear there in a potent and vicious combination. The Augustinian-Gregorian conception of sufferance of the Jews amid Christian society – restated in a missionary vein by Bernard of Clairvaux in the middle of the 12th century – assumes, with Innocent III in a letter to the king of France of Jan. 16, 1205, the following shape:

> Though it does not displease God, but is even acceptable to Him that the Jewish Dispersion should live and serve under Catholic Kings and Christian princes until such time as their remnant shall be saved … nevertheless such [princes] are exceedingly offensive to the sight of the Divine Majesty who prefer the sons of the crucifiers, against whom to this day the blood cries to the Father's ears, to the heirs of the Crucified Christ, and who prefer the Jewish slavery to the freedom of those whom the Son freed, as though the son of a servant could and ought to be an heir along with the son of the free woman … (S. Grayzel, *Church and the Jews in the 13th Century* (1933), 104–106, no. 14).

This great lawyer relies on and quotes the information that "it has recently been reported that a certain poor scholar had been found murdered in their [the Jews'] latrine" (*ibid.*, 110). He does not hesitate to quote at the beginning of a detailed anti-Jewish letter that the Jews are to be considered "in accordance with the common proverb: 'like the mouse in a pocket, like the snake around one's loins, like the fire in one's bosom'" (*ibid.*, 115, no. 18).

Innocent III tried to deflect to the Jews his anti-imperialist policy of exploiting popular force and sentiment. In 1198, at the very beginning of his pontificate, he wrote:

> To the Archbishop of Narbonne and to his suffragans, and also to the Abbots, Priors, and other prelates of the Church, as well as to the Counts and Barons, and all the people of the Province of Narbonne … We order that the Jews shall be forced by you, my sons the princes, and by the secular powers, to remit the usury to them; and until they remit it, we order that all intercourse with faithful Christians, whether through commerce or other ways, shall be denied the Jews by means of a sentence of excommunication … (*ibid.,* 87, no. 1).

Consistent in his attitude, he carried through this policy as the program of the Church in the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 (see *Church Councils). There the representatives of the Catholic Church ordered

> by a decree of this Synod, that when in the future a Jew, under any pretext, extorts heavy and immoderate usury from a Christian, all relationship with Christians shall therefore be denied him until he shall have made sufficient amends for his exorbitant exactions. The Christians, moreover, if need be, shall be compelled by ecclesiastical punishment without appeal, to abstain from such commerce. We also impose this upon the princes, not to be aroused against the Christians because of this, but rather to try to keep the Jews from this practice (ibid., 307).

These measures failed, mainly thanks to the opposition of the secular rulers, yet they encouraged anti-Jewish propaganda by the mendicant orders against Jewish usury, in particular by the *Franciscans, especially in Italy of the 15th century (and see *Monte di Pietà).

IN CHRISTIAN SPAIN. The Jews in Muslim Spain were profoundly shaken in the 12th century by the successful Christian *Reconquista* from the north and by the Muslim response in the waves of the *Almohads erupting from North Africa to infuse a new fighting spirit into the Muslim ranks. Many communities were dispersed; many Jews fled, like the family of *Maimonides, to the south, to other Muslim countries. Many Jews, both in North Africa and in the territories in Spain under Muslim rule, were forced to adopt Islam. Others fled northward to the Christian principalities of Spain. At first the Jews experienced a general feeling of crisis and loss, forcefully expressed by the chronicler Abraham *Ibn Daud. Gradually – and relatively soon, in time to be noticed by the same late 12th-century chronicler – Jewish refugees in the Christian principalities found new functions and a new importance within the general society, in the colonizing and economic spheres as well as in the cultural and scientific ones. The Jewish element was entrusted with the colonization of fortified parts of the towns taken by the Christians; they were given many administrative posts especially in the financial field.

Papal protests against the honors and powers conferred on Jews did not prevail in Spain during the 12th to 14th centuries against the needs of the state for the expertise and initiative of the Jews. Jews also became the transmitters of Muslim-Greek philosophy and science to Christians – a role entrusted to them, and to apostates from Judaism, in many other Christian courts and Church circles of the 12th and 13th centuries, as translators of Arabic and Greek texts into Latin (see Jacob *Anatoli; Ibn *Tibbon). Many Jews served as mathematicians, astrologers, field surveyors, and, above all, physicians at the Christian courts. They thus created the courtier circles of Jewish society in the kingdoms of Christian Spain. This paradox of crusading Christian states granting to Jews a major role in colonization, administration, the economy, and science was the basis of the normal Jewish town economy and society there, Jews being found in almost every walk of urban social life and economic activity. This situation continued up to the

expulsion from Spain at the end of the 15th century, though it deteriorated from 1391 onward.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PATTERNS NORTH OF THE PYRENEES. In countries north of the Pyrenees, there developed gradually, after the massacres of the First Crusade, a specific Jewish economic and social pattern, more and more Jews being forced by circumstances to engage in one occupation only, mainly *usury. This trend never penetrated Jewish life in Christian Spain or Muslim countries where moneylending was one of many Jewish livelihoods. It was also not continued as the main Jewish occupation in Poland-Lithuania from the 16th century onward. With the 15th century, Jews began to turn increasingly to other occupations in the countries where moneylending had been formerly predominant in Jewish life. In the Middle Ages this function of the Jews was mainly the supply of consumption loans (for commercial loans were supplied by Christian moneylenders despite Church prohibition). It was necessary for the needs of the town population and nobility (a necessity proved by the fact that when Jews were expelled from German towns, as happened in the 14th and 15th centuries, they were returned quickly because the need for loans was felt). However, the high rate of interest stemming from the scarcity of ready money and precious metals in the Middle Ages and the method of taking pawns to ensure repayment – as well as the fact that taking interest was considered immoral and unreasonable in medieval Christian moral and economic theory – added Jewish usury to the score of other evil Jewish practices and trades. The image of the cruel Jewish extortionist and crafty financial trickster was merged with that of the Christ killer and child murderer. Shakespeare created the figure of Shylock, on the basis of Italian influences, more than 300 years after the last Jew had been expelled from England. To the present day, antisemites and apologetic Jews are obsessed by the notion that the "usurious spirit" of the Jews is a trait to be reprehended or explained.

The attitude of Jews toward moneylending on interest in the Middle Ages was governed by the rationale of merchants and townspeople who were out of tune with the agrarian spirit of biblical, mishnaic, talmudic, and Church prohibitions. There do not appear in the writings of Jewish commentators on the Bible and decisors of the Middle Ages the philosophic argumentation as to the barrenness of money and the insensibility to the concept of economic enjoyment from the passage of time which constantly recurs among Christian writers. Except for the few influenced by Christian attitudes, Jewish lawyers and moralists consider the biblical prohibition on lending on interest as "a decree of divine majesty" to be carried out according to the letter, even if not understood in spirit. The Bible forbade lending to "your brother," and the Jews in the medieval cities, who certainly could not perceive any demonstration of a brotherly attitude toward them by their Christian neighbors, interpreted the prohibition at this minimum and saw no reason, either logical or moral, to extend this unreasonable decree toward non-Jews. In fact, Jewish legal authorities tried to find legal formulas allowing the taking of interest by a Jew from a Jew – as Christians did also, despite their theoretical moralistic objections, with regard to the taking of interest by a Christian from a Christian. Among Jews this was formally achieved in 1607 by the *Councils of the Lands of Poland-Lithuania. In 1500 Abraham *Farissol expressed the attitude toward the taking of interest through a theory which assumed the existence of a different social and conceptual order in biblical times and which was in accord with the Greek philosophers who justified the prohibition on the taking of interest. However, as of now, human society was structured on other principles:

> A new nature, different obligation, and another order pertains, inherently different from the first. This is: to help your fellow for payment coming from the one who is in need of something. Nothing should be given to another free of charge if he is not a charity case deserving pity.

He lists payment for work, rent for accommodation, and hire of work-animals as cases to prove this point. He considers it a logical consequence to pay for the use of the capital of another man,

> for a money loan is sometimes much more important than the loaning of an animal or a house, hence it is natural, logical and legal to give some payment to the owner of the money who gives a loan in the same way as people pay rent for houses and cattle, which come to one through money … the first natural order has been abolished and no one helps another person for nothing, but everything is done for payment (from his Magen Avraham, in: *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael*, 12 (1928), 292–3).

This foreshadowing of modern theorists about capital and gain is the end result of the Jewish attitude toward money and interest throughout the Middle Ages.

EXPULSIONS AND THE BLACK DEATH. The catastrophe of the *Black Death persecutions and massacres of 1348–49 was both the culmination of the suspicion and distrust of the Jew which made it conceivable to see him as the natural perpetrator of the crime of well-poisoning, and, in Germany, the culmination of over 50 years of almost uninterrupted anti-Jewish attacks, libels, and massacres. Yet Jewish society showed its great resilience in reconstructing its communities and rebuilding its economic activity and ties only a few after these persecutions in the very places where they had been killed as dangerous beasts. Even in Christian Spain and Poland-Lithuania this catastrophe had its impact, though it was not to be so destructive as in Central Europe.

The Jews were expelled from *England in 1290 – 16,000 persons approximately – to return there only in the 17th century. They were expelled almost totally from most of France in 1306. After these expulsions, in 1348, there remained the shocked and reorganized cluster of Jewish communities in the German lands; the Jewish center in Christian Spain was still intact, though signs of danger were not lacking. In Muslim lands, the Mongolian incursions brought the devastation

of population and cultural difficulties for Muslims and Jews alike, but the status, *economy, and *demography of the Jews remained relatively the same as before, for better or worse. The new Jewish center in Poland recovered speedily after 1348, and continued to develop economically, moving out of moneylending activity toward trade and crafts; demographically and socially, there were already signs of the future dynamism and expansion of this Jewish center.

SERFS OF THE CHAMBER. The legal status of the Jews and their security remained unstable as the result of the First Crusade. The old system of granting charters and imperial episcopal protection and defense was found totally wanting in the face of popular incitement and attack. The state, as well as the Jews, was searching for a new formula and new guarantees for safety. This search went on in a situation in which even the would-be protectors were liable to be the deadly enemies of the Jews, as for example, *Louis IX of France, who considered that the right way to speak to a Jew was with a sword in his belly. The Holy Roman Empire tried at first to include Jews in the *Landfrieden* protection (1103) along with other defenseless Christian people. This did not work out well because of the very nature of the concept *Treuga Dei* ("Truce of God"), which was intended as a Christian measure for the protection of Christian folk. Gradually, there began to crystallize, during the 12th and 13th centuries, a new conception of the status of the Jew. The complex of ideas underlying this new attitude toward the Jew in the Christian body politic came from two different, though parallel, sources – from imperial legalistic conceptions of the rights of ownership of the sovereign over certain elements of the population and his obligations toward such chattels on the one hand, and, on the other, out of papal and ecclesiastical conceptions of the sovereignty of the vicar of Christ over those who crucified him and the right and duty of the pontiff to instruct Christian rulers how to behave in a Christian way. Legendary influences, legal notions, and fiscal hopes of the chance to exact maximum extortion in taxes and contributions from Jews merged with old imperial conceptions of the duty to protect and safeguard all the inhabitants of the realm. From early formulations that the Jews "belong to our chamber" (*attineant ad cameram nostram*, Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, in 1182), through the final legal conception of Emperor Frederick II expressed in 1237, that "imperial authority has from ancient times condemned the Jews to eternal servitude for their sins" (*cum imperialis auctoritas a priscis temporibus ad perpetrati iudaici sceleris ultionem eisdem Iudeis indixerit perpetuam servitutem*) in his charter granted to the city of *Vienna, emerged the term given currency by the same emperor that the Jews were "**servi camerae nostrae, sub imperiali protectione*" – "serfs of our chamber, under imperial protection." King Henry III of England formulated with Christian candor in 1253, "that no Jew remain in England unless he do the King service, and that from the hour of birth every Jew, whether male or female, serve Us in some way" (in his *Mandatum Regis; Select Pleas, Starrs … of the Exchequer of the Jews*, edited by J.M. Rigg (1902), xlviii). This legal conception served in many cases as a license for the capricious extortion of money from Jews. Duke Albert Achill of Brandenburg declared in 1463 that each new Holy Roman emperor had the right to burn the Jews on his accession, to expel them, or to take a third of their property; the last he was actually going to do as the emissary of the emperor.

"The servitude of the Jews" did not always work to their detriment. Considered as royal chattel, they usually enjoyed royal protection. Neither the emperor nor other rulers drew from this concept of Jewish servitude the consequence of taking away from Jews their right of free movement, nor were they barred from inheriting the property of their fathers. Jews expressly appreciated the implications of these positive and negative aspects to their servitude. On the basis of this concept of servitude, very different legal structures and practices could be and were sanctioned. Up to 1391 Christian Spain drew very few consequences that operated to the detriment of the Jews. But, on the pattern of an Austrian charter issued in 1244 (see *Frederick II of Babenberg, duke of Austria), a system that gave rise to many such consequences was constructed in Central and Eastern Europe.

Jews in the Middle Ages often expressed their attitude to the legal and political framework in which they were living in their discussions of the conception that "the law of the government is law" (**dina de-malkhuta dina*), as applying to Jews. Their deliberations on these themes show their estimate of and preference for differing political systems and legal structures. On the whole they were pro-royalist and against disruptive forces. They were for "the old," "the customary and hallowed law," and against arbitrary innovation.

THE DETERIORATION IN CHRISTIAN SPAIN. At the end of the 14th century, as the *Reconquista* was almost accomplished, when Christian society in Spain no longer felt the need for Jewish tutelage in colonization, administration, or culture, the paradox of a favorable Jewish existence within a fanatical Christian society began to disintegrate. Preceded by inimical propaganda, in 1391, many communities there were attacked. Thousands of Jews accepted Christianity under compulsion, thus creating in Christian Spain, as well as in Jewish society, the phenomenon and problem of the *Marranos, the *anusim*, and later on, the creation of the Spanish *Inquisition (1480). A century of pressure exercised by forcing the Jews to listen to missionary *sermons, the holding of religious *disputations (and see disputation of *Tortosa), and constant social and mental stress followed. In the end, the Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492. They were again cruelly forced into *apostasy, their children being taken away from them, in *Portugal in 1497. As the Jews in large tracts of southern Italy were forced into apostasy or expelled by 1292, and were expelled from *Sicily in 1492–93, there were almost no Jews left in Western Europe by 1500, from the north of the British Isles to the tip of Sicily, except for isolated communities in France and for the remnant of the Jews in central and northern Italy.

At the time that *Columbus discovered a new continent and made the Atlantic a highway for transport and trade, the Jews were not permitted to cross the Atlantic, though not for long. Many of those expelled from Spain went directly to the Muslim countries of northern Africa or to the territories of the *Ottoman Empire, which received them favorably; others arrived in these lands via Portugal and Italy, and many remained in Italy. There also began a movement away from Spain into the Spanish *Netherlands, which formed the nucleus of the later Jewish return to the shores of the Atlantic.

DISAPPEARANCE OF GEONIC HIERARCHY. The leadership of Jewish autonomy and communal life had been developing during these centuries toward the complete disappearance of the old geonic hierarchy, which vanished by the end of the 13th century. Maimonides and *Samuel b. Ali Gaon clashed sharply about this in the late 12th century. Samuel was sure that the *Gaon* and his academy were the only feasible leaders for the Jewish people and the custodians of Orthodoxy. Maimonides considered that the system of a publicly supported hierarchic structure of scholars was wrongful and sinful; he asserted that the hereditary office of the *gaon* was corrupting by its very nature. This was a confrontation between the claim to leadership by the nascent individualist charisma and old-established hierarchy and institution. Maimonides did not oppose the exilarchate; his descendants, and possibly he himself, carried the title and office of *nagid* in Egypt. His "Letter to Yemen" as well as many of his responsa are in the great tradition of the epistles of instruction and legal leadership of the *geonim*. There were signs of a resurgence of local communal leadership among Jews throughout the Muslim lands during these centuries.

COMMUNAL LIFE IN CHRISTIAN SPAIN. In the kingdoms of Christian Spain, communal life was much more involved, tense, and diverse than in the countries to the north and south. Tension between the various social classes to which the variegated economic structure and relatively large numbers in these communities gave rise was aggravated by disputes over the mode of election to, and composition of, the community institutions as well as by acute differences of opinion over the mode of tax assessment, the composition of the assessory bodies of the community, and actual justice or injustice in distribution of the tax burden. These causes of social friction operated with particular intensity in the 13th and 14th centuries, as in the community of *Barcelona. They sometimes gave rise to "political parties" along the lines of division between the rich and poor members of the Jewish community, like those in *Saragossa about 1264. Such divisions and parties became intertwined with, and often focused on, ideological and social controversies; the latter mainly reflected the disparities between the leanings of the well-to-do and courtiers in Jewish society toward rationalism – and, as their enemies accused them, often also toward hedonism – and the inclinations of the lower middle classes, the poor, and a minority of the upper classes toward *Kabbalah mysticism, and moral reform of an ascetic type. These elements were central in particular during the great storms aroused in Jewry by the *Maimonidean controversy (in the 1230s and around the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century). These theoretical and practical conflicts also related to questions of the study of general culture and of the correct attitude toward mixing in gentile society. The vortices of social, economic, political, and religious problems complicated as well as enriched the social and communal life and thought of the Jewry of Christian Spain. The phenomenon of the *anusim* further aggravated as well as deepened the problems of division and unity among Jews and influenced their fate and nation.

The actual leadership of Jewish society and the communities was generally in the hands of the great courtier aristocratic families which claimed it as their birthright – like the families of *Benveniste; Perfet; *Alconstantini; *Ibn Ezra; *Ibn Waqar; and *Ibn Shoshan. From the end of the 12th century their claims were challenged frequently and vigorously, and often with success, by the supporters and leaders of anti-aristocratic and anti-rationalist trends. These leaders often came from the great families and were a product of their type of culture, such as Naḥmanides, Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, Joseph Abu Omar *Ibn Shoshan, *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet, and Ḥasdai *Crecas. The Jewish leadership in Christian Spain defended the communities they represented and the legal and social status of the Jews not only through their contacts and influence at court, but also through their intimate acquaintance with the cultural and legal complex of Christian social and judicial attitudes toward the Jews – both of the Church as well as of the state rulers – as the ideas expressed by the general council of the Aragon communities held in Barcelona in 1354 show (Baer, Urkunden, 1 (1929), 348–58, no. 253). Despite its political sagacity, this council failed in its attempt to create a central body for the Jewry of Aragon where local particularism was strong. Castile Jewry, on the other hand, had a centralizing institution in the office of the **rab de la corte*, which helped to promote cohesion among the Jewish communities in the kingdom. This enabled the Castile communities to hold the great synod of *Valladolid in 1432 with its comprehensive program of reform and restoration (*ibid.*, 2 (1936), 280–97, no. 217).

LEADERSHIP NORTH OF THE PYRENEES. The personal charisma of the individual scholar, in conjunction with local particularized community organization, continued to dominate Jewish leadership north of the Pyrenees, and, with the emigration of Jews to western Slavic countries, was transplanted to Poland-Lithuania. Attempts to achieve a centralized leadership by synods in the first part of this period (up to 1348) in the West were essentially linked either with the great figures of revered scholars, like Jacob b. Meir Tam for the area of present-day France, in the 12th century, or with the authority of old and important communities like Rome in Italy or *Troyes in Champagne. These councils exerted authority

through a system whereby their original decisions were sent for approval and support to the main communities and important scholars and leaders who did not attend the synod. The center of gravity of Jewish leadership would thus tend to move from place to place or from scholar to scholar, though for most of the time Rome held a central position, in a curious parallel to its position in the Catholic world. Individual leaders and single communities, as well as the synods and their written missives, dealt with variegated problems arising out of Jewish religious, economic, and social life, and the opposition by the outside world. An extreme example of the devotion of the leader to his people attained in those tense centuries is that of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg in Germany at the end of the 13th century who refused to permit the Jewish communities to ransom him from the dungeon to which he had been arbitrarily confined, in case this set a precedent for exacting similar extortion through the persons of other leaders. The trend to elevate the position of the woman in Jewish society, expressed in these regions by the imposition of monogamy, continued. *Pereẓ b. Elijah of Corbeil at the end of the 13th century writes:

> Who has given a husband the authority to beat his wife? Is he not rather forbidden to strike any person in Israel? Moreover R. I[saac] has written in a responsum that he has it on the authority of three great sages, namely, R. Samuel, R. Jacob Tam, and R. I[saac], the sons of R. Meir, that one who beats his wife is in the same category as one who beats a stranger … We have therefore decreed that any Jew may be compelled, on application of his wife or one of her near relatives, by a ḥerem to undertake not to beat his wife in anger or cruelty or so as to disgrace her … If they, our masters, the great sages of the land agree to this ordinance it shall be established (Finkelstein, Middle Ages, 216–7; and G.G. Coulton, *Medieval Panorama* (1955), 614–5).

This is also an example of how an individual scholar would turn his personal decision into synodal *takkanah*.

From a legal demand for unanimity in communal decisions voiced in France in the 12th century, Jewish leadership in these countries came to accept the binding force of the vote of the majority against the minority, as formulated in the 13th century in Germany. This marks a changeover from Germanic and primitive notions of decision-making to Roman and more developed systems, again parallel to developments in gentile society. Thus, for the first time elements of democratic decision-making entered Jewish social leadership. In its **takkanot* and institutions, such as **ḥerem bet din* or **ḥerem ha-yishuv* (*ḥezkat ha-yishuv*), Jewish society expressed its share in the general trend prevailing in the cities where they were living to regard the city within its walls as an independent separate entity taking everything it could under its own authority; on the other hand, dissatisfaction caused by these innovations, and the opposition of many prominent rabbis to this self-sufficiency of the town community expressed an opposing trend of regarding the Jewish community as a cell in a living and united, though dispersed, body politic and nation. These aspects of Jewish social policy found their clear-cut expression in the community of Ashkenaz owing to the absence of the other diversifying problems and causes of tension encountered in the communities of Christian Spain.

After the catastrophe of the Black Death persecutions, the need for a single guiding and comforting hand made the position of the influential scholar in the Ashkenaz community much more formalized and institutionalized than previously or as it continued in the communities of Spain. Concomitantly with the local community organs and the sporadic councils and synods, there is evidence in the regions of Ashkenaz, in particular in the southeast, of the emergence of a salaried and officially accepted single rabbi of the community. In *Austria there is first clear mention of the conception of **semikhah* as a rabbinical diploma. Such accepted rabbis constantly used the title *manhig* ("leader") which fell in disuse in the 16th century. Demands were made, and are still being put forward to the present day, claiming the exclusive right of the "*mara de-atra*" ("the lord of the locality") to the jurisdiction and control of religious functions in his locality. Both the growing authority of the institutionalized rabbi and the wish of the secular powers to exploit this authority for fiscal purposes led to the appointment (from the 13th century) of a *Hochmeister* or *Judenmeister* for the whole of the German empire, or for large parts of it. This practice was transposed at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century to Poland-Lithuania, in the appointment of *seniores* and chief rabbis to lead the Jews and help in the collection of taxes.

CULTURAL CREATIVITY. The 12th century was a very creative period in the history of Jewish culture. A series of great personalities and literary works expressed and countered the trauma of the Crusades and Almohad disturbances. They responded to this challenge of suffering and deterioration by adding new spiritual layers, by shaping new patterns of culture, by forming new theories about the nature of the Jewish people, the meaning of its history and fate, and its place in the divine purpose and general history, and by framing different legal and moral formulations to meet the social and religious needs of the suffering people. The chronicles of the First Crusade and instances of *kiddush ha-Shem* (A.M. Habermann (ed.), *Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ẓarefat* (1946), 19–104), as well as the general chronicles of Abraham ibn Daud in Spain of the 12th century, affirm – though expressed in different ways and on different subjects – a basic conviction envisaging the Jewish people as God's militia on earth that has to carry His banner proudly, courageously, and defiantly, whether in open knightly encounter, or in the bitter choice of suicide rather than surrender of its principles. This merges with the Maimonidean depiction of the history of the Jewish people as that of the beleaguered camp of truth, which withstands all the attacks and stratagems of its enemies (see his *Iggeret Teiman*). This was the opinion of the majority of Jewish thinkers at the time. Judah Halevi gave expression to the different view that humiliation and suffering are the direct road to fulfilling the Divine Will; that all that was lacking in Jewish humiliation and suf-

fering was the full and willing acceptance of this position by Jews, though they have accepted it "midway between compulsion and willing submission," for they could join Christianity or Islam by making a verbal declaration of faith. Opinions also differed in the nature of the election of the Jewish people. Judah Halevi considered this an election of the natural Israel continuing lineally through the generations. Blood will tell; even if a Jew is bad in one generation, the good is still latent in him and will come out in his descendants: "Israel amongst the nations is like the heart amongst the members of the body." As the central life-giving force, it therefore suffers from and is contaminated by everything that is found in the subsidiary members. Gentiles may join the Jewish faith but proselytes will never attain to the prophecy reserved for deserving pure-blooded Jews (see, e.g., *Kuzari* 1:95). Maimonides represents a diametrically opposed school on these matters. For him the criterion for Jewish election rests on joining the Jewish faith and on acceptance of Jewish cohesion out of conviction. In a letter to a Norman proselyte he summed up his view, which is inherent in many of his other writings. To the proselyte's question if he might pray in the first person plural when speaking about the fate of the Jewish people and the miracles performed for it, Maimonides gave a categorical "yes":

> The core of this matter is that it was our father Abraham who taught the whole people, educated them, and let them know true faith and divine unity. He rebelled against idolatry and made away with its worship; he brought in many under the wings of the Shekhinah; he taught and instructed them and he commanded his children and his family after him to follow the Divine path … therefore, everyone who becomes a proselyte to the end of all generations and everyone who worships the name of God only according to what is written in the Torah is a pupil of Abraham, they all are members of his family … hence Abraham is the father of the righteous ones of his descendants who follow his ways and a father to his pupils and to each and every one of the proselytes … There is no difference at all between you and us in any aspect …. Know, that the majority of our fathers who left Egypt were idolators in Egypt, they mixed with the gentiles and were influenced by their deeds, until God sent Moses … separated us from the gentiles and brought us under the wings of the Shekhinah – for us and for all proselytes – and gave us all one law. Do not make light of your descent. If we relate ourselves to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, you are related to the Creator of the world … Abraham is your father and ours and of all the righteous who follow his ways (Responsa, ed. J. Blau (1960), 548–50, no. 293).

Maimonides thus considers that all Israel are elected twice as "a nation of proselytes," once through Abraham, and secondly, through Moses. This is in tune with his theory that Christianity and Islam are devices to educate the gentiles toward eventually accepting Jewish law. They now occupy themselves with the law – as either a figurative pattern, according to Christianity, or an earlier dispensation only, according to Islam – and will be acquainted with it and ready to accept it fully when the truth dawns on them with the coming of the Messiah (*Yad ha-Ḥazakah, Hilkhot Melakhim*, Constantinople version, chapter 11).

The 12th century also produced a flowering of biblical exegesis both in France (see Joseph *Kara; *Menahem b. Ḥelbo; *Eliezer of Beaugency; *Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam); this school influenced the Christian St. Victorine school of Bible exegesis in France), and in Christian Spain (see Abraham *Ibn Ezra; Joseph *Kimḥi). The 12th century also inaugurated the school of the *tosafists in France, which continued its activity well into the 14th century and whose influence spread first to Germany and later to Jewish scholarship everywhere. Their system of incisive analysis and subtle dialectics make the work of this long line of scholars in reality a new "Talmud of France."

Maimonides attempted in the 12th century to codify talmudic law and views in a systematic presentation according to Greek principles of structure and division, leaving out all talmudic dialectics and discussion (in his *Yad ha-Ḥazakah*). He also attempted the synthesis of Jewish revealed faith and creed with Aristotelian Arabic philosophy (in his *Guide of the Perplexed*). These attempts, as well as his opposition to institutionalized leadership, were at the heart of the Maimonidean controversy which raged at varying pitch throughout this period.

The Jewry of Christian Spain continued both the tradition of biblical exegesis (for example, David *Kimḥi), of philosophic thought (for example, Shem-Tov *Falaquera; Abraham *Bibago), and of talmudic learning, expressed in novellae, in responsa, and in codification (for example, Solomon b. Abraham Adret; Naḥmanides; *Asher b. Jehiel (originally from Germany); Jacob b. Asher; Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet). Valuable poetry based on Arabic models was written in most of these centuries there (see Abraham *Ibn Ezra; Moses *Ibn Ezra; *Judah Halevi; Meshullam *Da Piera).

Provence formed a separate Jewish cultural province up to the expulsions of 1306. Its great communities were most active in the Maimonidean controversy. The writings of the Ibn *Tibbon family, of Jacob *Anatoli, of Menahem *Meiri, and of Abraham of Béziers, show throughout the high level of Jewish culture, much creativity in many fields, as well as a high level of general culture. Provence was to a certain degree a meeting place, and therefore also a battleground, for the influences of Jewish culture in Spain from the south and of Ashkenazi culture in France from the north, though many specific ingredients gave it an additional individual tinge of its own.

It was in Provence and Christian Spain that the influential circles of the *Kabbalah and its variegated literature gave a new lease of life to mysticism and had a growing influence in this direction among Jews and on Judaism. The 13th-century *Zohar literature, as well as the 14th-century Sefer ha-Kanah (first printed 1784; see *Kanah, Book of), express much social criticism and opposition to rationalism and the aristocratic circles. In particular the "*Ra'aya Meheimna*" part of the Zohar literature contains many images and ideas related in symbolism, tendency, and character to those of the Franciscan Fraticelli. The 14th-century works contain skillful satirical

sketches of situations, modes of behavior, and types of leaders and leadership, which had incurred the odium of the extreme mystic opposition.

In Germany – around Regensburg and Worms – there arose the élite *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz movement of the 12th and 13th centuries. It demanded total sincerity and moral behavior beyond and above the "Torah law" given to ordinary men according to their conventions, and compliance with "the law of Heaven" (*Din Shamayim*) which binds people who have willingly taken this law upon themselves. This ideal made its adherents and their literature both vehicles of Jewish solidarity and Orthodox devotion as well as the carriers of extreme social and moral criticism and the cause of much tension in the communities. Some of the later tosafists joined their circles; some opposed their extreme ideas. From the end of the 13th century they were highly esteemed and looked at as an example but had ceased to be a living force.

IN POLAND-LITHUANIA. In Poland-Lithuania there are many indications that the 15th and early 16th century saw not only the transposition of the characteristic Ashkenazi culture there but also the expression of considerable rationalist elements that were in the main suppressed by the end of the 16th century. There also appeared popular elements reflecting the life of the masses and expressing a more vulgar trend with less respect for learning. This reached quite extreme proportions, in particular in the southeastern districts of this realm, and developed and spread among later generations.

IDEALS IN EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP. The level of general *education was relatively high in all the communities of this period. It was typical of Jewish life in 12th-century Egypt that a woman on her deathbed should write to her sister:

> My lady, if God, exalted be He, ordains my death, my greatest last wish to you is that you should take care of my little daughter and make an effort that she should learn. I am very well aware that I am putting a heavy burden on you, for we have not even what is necessary for her upkeep, let alone for the expenses of teaching, but we have before us the example of our mother, the servant of God (S.D. Goitein, *Sidrei Ḥinnukh* … (1962), 66).

Blind teachers were at a premium in those regions, for girls could sit before them without problems. A responsum of Maimonides (ed. J. Blau (1960), 71–73, no. 45) mentions a female teacher of boys in 12th-century Egypt, who made her living from this profession. Various references show the widespread extent of learning and knowledge among almost all Jewish men and many Jewish women in Europe. A late-12th-century monk contrasts the education usual among the Jews with the ignorance among the Christians of his own acquaintance:

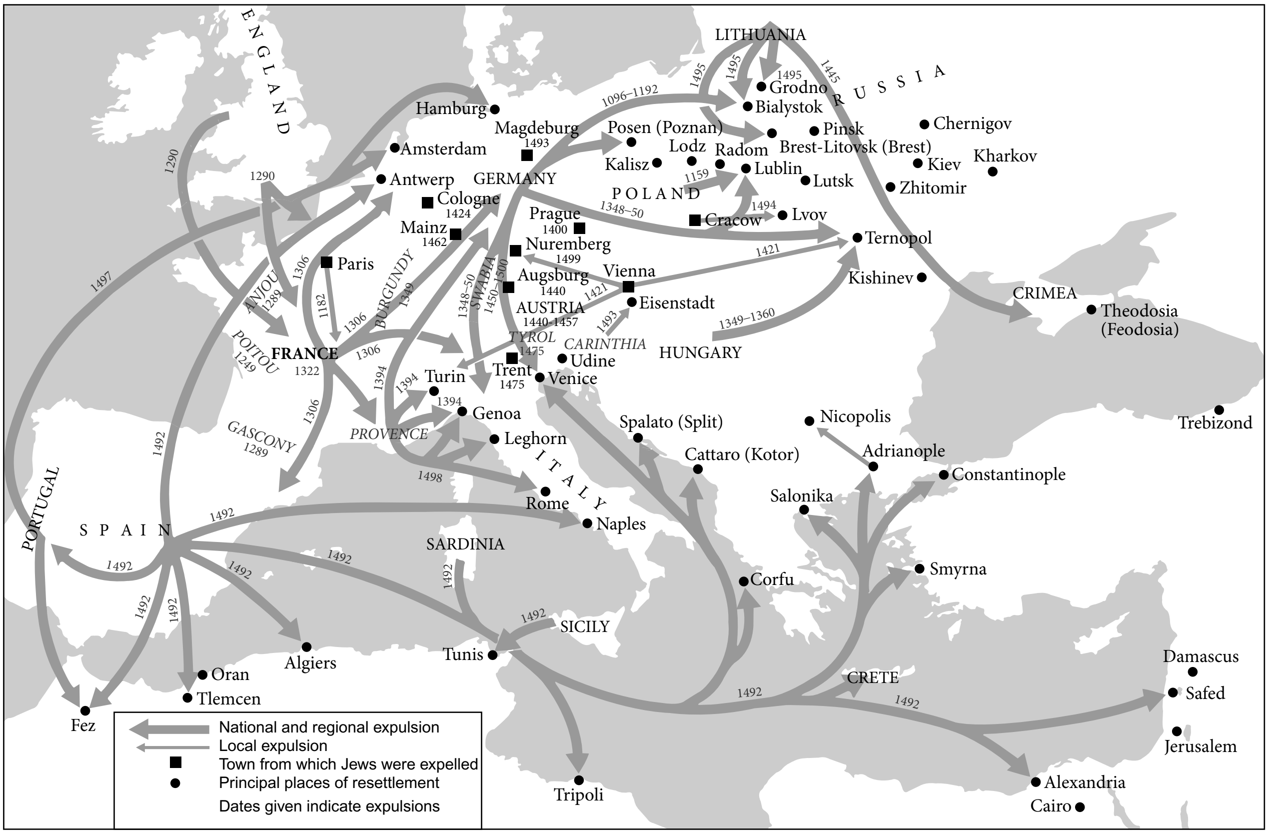
> But the Jews, out of zeal for God and love of the law, put as many sons as they have to letters, that each may understand God's law … A Jew, however poor, if he had ten sons would put them all to letters, not for gain, as the Christians do, but for the understanding of God's law, and not only his sons, but his daughters (in B. Smalley, *Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (1952), 78).

Certainly, times of trouble, expulsions, and the difficulties of colonialization in distant regions and places must have led to some diminution of knowledge and education among Jews, but in the main, this testimony is a reliable indicator of the general level of Jewish culture everywhere in this period.

Throughout the Jewish Diaspora of this time the scholar and student was the ideal of individual perfection, and learning the greatest social asset among Jews. Freed from the fetters of the hereditary family structure of the gaonate, while based on the same conception of the supreme sacredness and values attached to it, the position and image of the student and sage again attained the stature they had in late Second Temple days and talmudic times. In Spain as in Germany, in Persia as in Poland, the more learned a Jew, the higher the esteem in which he was held. This attitude emerges sharply in the critical disquisition of the leader of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, *Eleazar b. Judah of Worms, on the subject of learning and merits:

> For in life there may exist one who is not God-fearing but is more proficient in dialectics, more keen-witted and more skillful to explain problems than one who is God-fearing. For in this world it is customary to honor one man above his fellow; like one who is rich and has everything that he wants, but he does not do the will of God in accordance with his riches, for it has been decreed that he should enjoy this world through the honor of his riches so that the grandchildren of the great scholars shall intermarry with him. So is it the same with Torah study – one who does not deserve it is honored with it because they so desire in heaven. And as riches were given to the one who does not deserve it, in order to cast him into hell, so the same applies to a scholar who is not deserving, who causes others to sin, who judges falsely, despising the good ones, enjoying and hating them; and he has superiority over them – for the righteous one falls before the evil-doer; and he is successful, for his pronouncements are obeyed, and he has pupils who help him; time is favorable to him and he is victorious over his enemies who are superior to him. But in the world of the souls, the righteous one shall be given abundant wisdom. As he [the righteous one] is profound and God-fearing, in the same measure in that world of the souls, they will give the righteous one abundant wisdom to be victorious, and also ability in dialectics to ask and answer, and his pronouncements shall give law to this world (*Ḥokhmat ha-Nefesh*, 1876, folio 20a, repr. 1968).

Both social tension and a cultural tradition are expressed here through appreciation of intellectual achievement as the supreme ideal of human attainment, while, at the same time, perceiving its mundane aspects as an economic and social asset given by God to undeserving men to serve as a temporary reward and a pitfall. The elements in Jewish society of social preferment of the rich as well as of the learned, the custom of intermarrying, and the social authority they enjoyed are stressed. In bitter opposition, R. Eleazar envisages an otherworldly, spiritualized, image of the sage and Torah study. Dialectics in argument and victorious achievement are part of his spiritual attributes too. The sage is the ideal for all, for the established leadership as well as for its determined critics, whether accepted as he is in life or viewed as an embodiment of supreme virtues.



Map 3. Some of the expulsions of Jews between 1000 and 1500 C.E.

CHRISTIAN ATTACKS ON THE TALMUD. The Church, during the 13th century, made a sustained effort to belittle and, ultimately, to eliminate, the main Jewish intellectual preoccupation of that time, the Talmud. Pope Gregory IX was suddenly amazed, at the quite late date in Jewish-Christian relations of June 9, 1239, at what had come to his attention. He wrote:

> to the archbishops throughout the Kingdom of France, whom these letters may reach: … If what is said about the Jews of France and of the other lands is true, no punishment would be sufficiently great or sufficiently worthy of their crime. For they, so we have heard, are not content with the old Law which God gave to Moses in writing: they even ignore it completely, and affirm that God gave another law which is called 'Talmud' … (in S. Grayzel, *Church and the Jews in the 13th Century* (1933), 241, no. 96).

He therefore initiated the confiscation and burning of the Talmud. This policy was continued at first – though successful initially only in some of the Christian countries – by Pope Innocent IV, who discovered on May 9, 1244, that Jews "rear and nurture their children" on the Talmud, which "is a big book among them, exceeding in size the texts of the Bible. In it are found blasphemies against God and His Christ, and obviously entangled fables about the Blessed Virgin, and abusive errors, and unheard of follies …" (*ibid.*, 251, no. 104). All these endeavors had no effect. Jewish learning continued to flourish. The Talmud remained its basic book. Pope Innocent IV himself was convinced in the end that the Jews would not live as Jews without the Talmud. Thus this attempt to change for Jews the content of their own culture failed in the 13th century as it had failed in the sixth. In Christian Spain, where the meeting of culture and minds was much closer, the main attempt against the Talmud aimed on the one hand to discredit it, and on the other to use its aggadic elements for christological purposes. This trend is expressed in the *Pugio Fidei Adversus Mauros Et Judaeos*, completed c. 1280 by the Dominican Raymond *Martini, as well as by the efforts of the apostate Pablo *Christiani in his disputation with Naḥmanides in 1263 at Barcelona, where he tried to prove from the *aggadah* that Jesus was the Messiah (see *Barcelona, Disputation of). These, as well as subsequent polemical works and disputations, did not eliminate the Talmud from Jewish education, and influenced only certain Jews in Christian Spain in the late 14th and 15th century who were already driven toward Christianity by the combined pressures of terror and the sight of Christian successes in life.

WAVE OF EXPULSIONS. The end of the 15th century appeared a time of final liquidation of Jewry not only in Christian Spain and Portugal but also throughout Europe. The blood libel of *Trent, Italy, in 1475; subsequent libels, litigations, and expulsions in and from German cities and principalities that began then and continued well into the 16th century; and the expulsion of Jews from *Cracow in 1495, as well as from Lithuania,

seemed to presage that sooner or later all Christian principalities would follow in the steps of Spain. Yet the expulsions in Germany remained piecemeal because of the fragmentation of the empire. In many cases Jews attained through the expulsions a wider dispersion around or near the cities from which they had been expelled, and new and better means of livelihood. In Poland-Lithuania the trend to expulsion was reversed.

RECIPROCAL SEPHARDI AND ASHKENAZI INFLUENCES. By the time of the great expulsions the Ashkenazi culture of the communities of France, Germany, Bohemia-Moravia, and Poland-Lithuania on the one hand, and the *Sephardi culture of those of Spain – to be developed and diversified in the new places of settlement – on the other had already crystallized in an individual form of prayer rite, in customs, in content of education and culture, in social composition, and in differing modes of contact with, and attitudes to, the gentile environment. There were meetings of minds and persons, and cross-currents of cultural influence and exchange between the Jews of Ashkenaz and Sefarad before the expulsions. Naḥmanides esteemed Ashkenazi Jewish culture and prayed that it would strike roots in Spain. Asher b. Jehiel and his sons brought this influence with them there. The works of Rashi and the tosafists were diligently studied in Spain. *Moses b. Jacob of Coucy in France went to preach in Spain and according to his own testimony was influential there. On the other hand, the influence of Maimonides, of the rationalist biblical exegesis typical of Abraham ibn Ezra's work, and the influence of Kabbalah were strongly felt in Ashkenaz. Yet, in sum, these remained random encounters and influences at book level only. When the link with Provence was broken in 1306, contacts between Ashkenaz and Sefarad became even fewer. The exodus of about 300,000 Spanish Jews to the Mediterranean lands in North Africa and Asia, but also to Italy, to the Balkans, and gradually to the Netherlands (still under Spanish rule), and from thence to northwestern Germany, brought the gradual, and, in some cases even swift, breakdown of the old partitions. Ashkenazim and Sephardim met in the context of actual social and cultural life. They did not always like what they saw. But the result strengthened mutual acquaintance and influence, while creating much more clearly defined and specific contours in Ashkenazi and Sephardi culture. The Sephardi Jews considered that they had been uprooted by expulsion from their beloved fatherland in Spain and from a culture which they considered superior to all other gentile cultures. They were also wholeheartedly devoted to their specific form of Jewish culture. This was the reason for the remarkable cultural takeover by the Sephardi refugees of many of the communities they came to.

Transition to Modern Times (16th–17th Centuries)

Five main processes may be considered as causing the breakup of medieval configurations and bringing about the changeover to modern ones.

The expulsion from Spain ultimately created a much larger and better equipped, economically and culturally, Jewish society in the cities of the Ottoman Empire. It renovated and invigorated the Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel and Jewish messianic hopes. By making possible the emergence of a community of openly professing Jews in the Protestant Netherlands, as well as generating movement to northwestern Germany and to England, it gave rise to a whole network of Jewish "capitalist" occupations and activities, in close and fruitful contact with the new Christian churches and sects, and with the colonial activity of the Dutch and the English. It sent Jews across the oceans: the first Jewish settlements in the New World came under Dutch rule as did the first settlement in present-day *New York (then New Amsterdam) in 1654.

The second main process took place in Poland-Lithuania. The colonizing and economic activities of Jews there until the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648 created a Jewry that formed, to all intents and purposes, the predominating element of "the third estate" in this kingdom. Demographically and ecologically this community underwent a great expansion that created the nucleus of the mass Ashkenazi Jewish population of modern times. Close touch with village life and economy improved the conditions of Jewish life and changed habits. In the cities owned by the Polish nobles the predominantly Jewish townships of Eastern Europe grew up which later produced the *shtetl of the *Pale of Settlement in czarist Russia and of *Galicia in Austria. As a result of these population movements, by the end of the 17th century, out of approximately a million Jews in the world, about half were Sephardi and half Ashkenazi, mainly concentrated in the Ottoman Empire and Poland-Lithuania, respectively.

The *Reformation in Christianity from 1517 broke up the unitary and constricted frame of Catholic uniformity surrounding the Jew in most of Europe. He was now no longer the only nonconformist in a culture of total agreement. The failure of both the Reformation camp and the Catholic Church to achieve decisive victory in their common bid to reestablish Christian uniformity created the first hesitant appearance of tolerance. Jews were as yet not thought of in this connection, but the very notion was to create, later on, modern conditions for their existence. On the other hand, the Reformation – in particular, in the style set by the German Martin *Luther – unleashed popular furies and made mass passion and violence the main instrument of religious innovation. This raised the problem of the status of the Jews, not only for change toward betterment of their lot, as Luther intended in his missionary zeal and hopes in 1523; it also opened roads toward exacerbating the lot of Jews and radical vulgar propaganda to extirpate their existence, as the disappointed rancorous ex-monk proposed in 1543:

> What then shall we Christians do with this damned, rejected race of Jews? Since they live among us and we know about their lying and blasphemy and cursing, we cannot tolerate them if we do not wish to share in their lies, curses, and blasphemy …

> We must prayerfully and reverentially practice a merciful severity … Let me give you my honest advice …

There follows a detailed seven-point program of arson, expropriation, abject humiliation of, and hard physical labor for, the Jews.

> If, however, we are afraid that they might harm us personally … then let us apply … [expulsion] … and settle with them for that which they have extorted usurously from us, and after having divided it up fairly, let us drive them out of the country for all time (from his *Von den Juden und Iren Luegen*, 1543).

Short of the Auschwitz oven and extermination, the whole Nazi Holocaust is pre-outlined here. The Reformation had unleashed situations and attitudes with regard to the Jews as well as many other matters, open in all directions and for all comers, toward human relations with and better treatment of the Jews, as well as toward increased enmity and destruction. This openness and this struggle between extremes were to become later one of the hallmarks of the "Jewish question" in modern history.

In Jewry, the great messianic movement of 1665–66, like the Reformation, was medieval in aspect while pointing toward ultra-modernism at the same time. *Shabbetai Ẓevi and his enthusiastic followers put to test the belief in a miraculous redeemer, although arriving in the end at apostasy to Islam. They felt during this great upsurge of faith and ecstasy inwardly liberated and on the threshold of political glory. Within the space of three years, all of them lost any hope of soon reaching the splendor and most of them lost the last shreds of any sense of liberation. The movement reflected the unconscious crisis of medievalism, which burned out in the flame of miraculously borne messianism. Its prophet, *Nathan of Gaza, deemed that God was now free from exile but His people was not. From this it was but a step – even if a gigantic and revolutionary one – toward a program of secularization: the people must seek its freedom and redemption through its own, human, powers, employing the ways and means of the world.

The last, but not least, of these processes occurred in the great community of *anusim* origin at *Amsterdam. People who had been brought up in the traditions of the Jewish underground in Spain found that the Jewish community with which they now came in contact, its strict regulations and exacting authorities, were not at all the antithesis of the Church and its dogmatics that they had been formerly taught to see in Judaism. The atmosphere of sectarianism and religious discussion in the Netherlands, of comfortable burgher life and its easy theology, of friendly contact between cultured gentiles and individual Jews added to the disappointment which the *anusim* experienced with actual Jewish society and led to revolt and revulsion against it. From this aspect, Baruch *Spinoza is both the end result of a line of development of Maimonidean trends in Sephardi Jewry as well as the first representative of a type of modern non-Orthodox Jew. The life and tragedy of Uriel da *Costa expressed this in a different way. The activities of Hamburg Sephardi Jews, who helped to engineer a revolt in Portugal in the 17th century, and served as consuls and financial representatives of the country in which they were not allowed to set foot on pain of death, represented yet another component in the same mosaic of modernization. Figures like Leone *Modena and Simone *Luzzatto in Italy, each in his own way, were an articulate expression of the unformulated change toward modernization and alleviation of the Orthodox way of life. The historiography and historiosophy of Azariah dei *Rossi express, in a less extreme but more thorough way, the readiness for questioning and change that began to appear at this time.

Most of the results of the last three processes described above still lay in the near or distant future by the end of the 17th century, while the first two were at work and wielding an influence throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.

REORGANIZATION OF SEPHARDI JEWRY. The refugees from Spain organized themselves almost everywhere they arrived, and as soon as they could, into separate "synagogue-communities," mainly formed by groups coming from the same community, district, or domain. In this way they broke up the framework of the existing local community, rejecting the cohesion it represented through settlement in the same place. Such a situation was a reversion to a time in the 10th to 12th centuries when many places in the Near East had both a synagogue "of Ereẓ Israelites" and one "of the Babylonians." They set a pattern for similar organizational behavior in other Jewish immigrant groups, sentimentally attached to each other and to the memory of their place of origin, and as yet without ties to their new place of settlement. It was to emerge in modern times in the behavior and organization of the *Landsmannschaften and of synagogues named after places of origin in the United States and other countries.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES. Within a relatively short time the Spanish refugees achieved the feat of becoming the tone-setters and social leaders of the native Jews in territories embracing the Balkans and large parts of the Ottoman Empire and North Africa. Economically, too, the refugees achieved great progress. In the Ottoman Empire some of them became courtiers of the sultan, physicians (Joseph and Moses *Hamon, his son; Baroda, Abraham ibn Megas), bankers, and diplomats (Don Joseph *Nasi; Solomon *Abenaes). In these surroundings, where the harem played an influental role, Jewish women also became prominent (like Dona Gracia *Nasi). Sometimes there arose a combination of Jewish physician and diplomat (Solomon *Ashkenazi). All these Jews were active in the customary Spanish manner in their new and strange settings. The mass of the refugees turned to commerce and crafts with considerable success. The economy of *Safed in the 16th century was based on a broad and stable occupational structure of clothweaving, shopkeeping, and peddling. Many engaged in international trade. Some used the land routes, through the southeastern parts of Poland-Lithuania to the center and

west of Europe; some traded by sea routes, in the Mediterranean and on the European shores of the Atlantic, linking up in this way with the northeastern wing of the Sephardi dispersion in the Netherlands and northwest Germany, and toward the end of the period, with Jews in England too. In this manner, economic activity brought association and cooperation to the three great dynamic centers of Jewish social and economic life – the Ottoman Empire, Poland-Lithuania, and the northwest of Europe. The Jews of Poland-Lithuania, for their part, carried on a large-scale export and import trade both with Central and northwestern Europe, and with the Ottoman Empire, in particular, its Black Sea shore and Balkan districts. Jews in the *Netherlands and northwestern Germany dealt on a considerable scale, frequently in colonial goods and diamonds, with Central European Jews (who bought these luxury goods mainly for the local upper nobility or for export to the east). They similarly traded with the Jews of Poland-Lithuania, buying colonial produce on a large scale and selling them luxury goods, cloths, and printed books. Thus this vast configuration of Jewish economic activity created a multiple network of commercial traffic on the threshold of modern times.

The Jews of Central Europe were the weakest link, demographically and economically, in this chain of Jewish activity. Yet they were to profit greatly from it. The combination of connections and supplies created by the export trade of luxury goods and diamonds from northwest Europe and the Ottoman east, and the import of vast quantities of agricultural produce, cattle fodder, cattle, and horses from Poland-Lithuania, enabled the Jews of the German Empire, few and weak at this time and therefore pliable and reliable tools of the princes, to become, at the end of the 17th century in increasing numbers, the agents (*Hoffaktoren*) and *Hofjuden* to royal courts and royal armies (see also *Court Jews).

COMMUNAL ORGANIZATIONS IN EUROPE. Apart from the fragmentation of local cohesion through synagogue membership, the whole trend of communal organization outside the Ottoman Empire lay toward centralization and strong leadership. This was the time when the Councils of the Lands of Poland-Lithuania and of *Bohemia-*Moravia showed their greatest achievements. An attempt was made, unsuccessfully, to set up a similar organization in fragmented Germany at *Frankfurt on the Main in 1603. Numerous similar attempts were made among the Italian Jewish communities. The *Mahamad of northwestern Sephardi Jewry aroused opposition by its strict Orthodoxy and authoritarianism. An attempt in 1538 to reinstitute the ancient sacred authority of *semikhah* as a preparation and precondition for the creation of a Sanhedrin was another expression of the tendency toward overall leadership and centralization. The great and successful codification activity of Joseph *Caro in Safed, and Mordecai *Jaffe, Solomon *Luria, and above all Moses *Isserles in Poland, again expresses – by literary extension of the possibilities inherent in *semikhah* – the trend toward central and authoritative instruction and leadership.

SAFED MYSTICISM. Jewish cultural and religious life showed considerable activity in these centuries. Safed became a short-lived but very important center of Jewish mysticism and learning in the 16th and early 17th centuries. It became a dynamic community of great mystics (Isaac *Luria; Moses *Cordovero; Ḥayyim *Vital; and a galaxy of others), of talmudic scholars (Jacob *Berab; Joseph Caro), and of lesser visionaries (such as *Abraham b. Eliezer ha-Levi Berukhim). Their societies and groups developed customs that later were to be widely accepted in Jewish communities. Kabbalah spread from Safed throughout the Jewish world; the moral teachings of the Safed school were formulated and propagated in the writings of Elijah de *Vidas; the poetry of Solomon *Alkabeẓ and the sermons and visions of Solomon *Molcho express and teach the trend it represented. This was not only mystic and esthetic in mood, but also bore the stamp of highly developed, proud, and self-conscious individal personalities. The movement of Shabbetai Ẓevi expresses both the power and the fragility of this mood and of such individuals. Safed also witnessed the birth, in the 16th century, of the *Shulḥan Arukh code, and of halakhic activity of many other types.

APPROACHES TO EDUCATION. In this period there emerged also the first sharp and systematic criticism of Ashkenazi Jewish education. *Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague, and the circle around him, which had adherents not only in Bohemia-Moravia, but in Germany and Poland-Lithuania as well, strongly criticized the lack of didactic methods, the exaggeration in the teaching and use of dialectics, in particular with young students, and the unsystematic and unequal teaching of various components of Jewish traditional culture. They demanded a return to plain logic, to the Mishnah as the core for talmudic study, to proper attention to Torah, and to didactic progression from the easy to the difficult portions and subjects. With some of them, like Jacob *Horowitz, this criticism demanded a return to the Bible. The criticism was heard but failed to achieve its aim. Jewish society in Central and Eastern Europe was unwilling to take up either the new curriculum or the new methods. These pedagogues and critics had to wait for modern times to achieve a positive appreciation.

Traditional Torah study and the central position of the student in Jewish society continued throughout this period. Although encountering tensions and dangers in the materially successful societies of the Ottoman Empire, Poland-Lithuania, and northwestern Europe, the importance of learning remained undiminished in Jewish life. Jewish communities everywhere had numerous yeshivot and scholars, naturally of unequal stature. The *takkanot* issued by communities and synods provide instruction and advice on the spread of learning. Even if much of this reflects more of the ideal than the reality, it still expresses the scale of values of Jewish society of the 16th and 17th centuries.

POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL THOUGHT. Political and ideological thought was alive in particular in the 16th century.

Chronicle writing (see also *Historiography) received a new impetus under the impact of the expulsion from Spain and the needs for reappraisal in the constantly changing situation (resettlement in the Ottoman Empire and other countries) and developed in light of the changes in Jewish outlook brought about by the Reformation. Solomon *Ibn Verga in his *Shevet Yehudah* refers to the problems of relations between Jews and gentiles, and of the Jewish fate, out of a feeling of danger and weakness. In his chronicle the Christian view of the problem, as Ibn Verga understood it, is given prominence alongside the Jewish view. The weakness of the Jews in history is explained by the Christian "Thomas" to the Spanish king as:

> That originally while the Jews found favor in the eyes of God, he would fight their wars, as it is known to all …. Therefore they did not learn the ways of war for they did not need them … and when they sinned God turned away his face from them and they thus remained losers on all counts – they were ignorant of weapons of war and its invention, and the will of God was not with them; they remained naked and fell like sheep without a shepherd (*Shevet Yehudah*, ed. by A. Schochet (1947), 44).

Samuel *Usque in his *Consolaçam* … ((1952); Eng.: *Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel* (1965)) regards the tribulations and hopes of the exiles within a broad view of world history and divine providence. *Joseph ha-Kohen not only describes Jewish history and fate in his various volumes but also gives separately the history of the Ottoman Empire and of the French. His stand is consistently pro-Reformation, vehemently anti-papal, and throughout imbued with the spirit of the late Renaissance world-view and appreciation of history. He hopes that the wars of religion will result in the birth of toleration for all. David *Gans provides in his *Ẓemaḥ David* (1592) a separate treatment of Jewish and general history, quoting *in extenso* from German chronicles and citing the name of author and page, thus revealing an assumption that his Jewish readers might refer back to his sources. Throughout he is revealed as a patriot of Bohemia, an admirer of Prague and of Bohemian achievements in the past. This is the first systematic expression of attachment by Ashkenazi Jews to the land in which they are living and to the past of their environment. Many lesser chroniclers, mainly in Italy, relate themselves to Jewish troubles in the 16th century generally, taking into account the views of the host society. Elijah *Capsali in his extensive chronicles (the greater part at present in Ms.) shows an absorption with the ways of governments and the ideas of the reigning circles both in the Ottoman Empire and in Venice. His description of the fate of the exiles from Spain and their welcome in the Ottoman Empire has additional value as an expression of the attitude of the native Jewish communities where the exiles were received and as evidence of the spell that Sephardi culture rapidly cast over them.

Political and historiosophic thought finds deep if sometimes involved expression in the ideas of Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague. In his *Be'er ha-Golah*, in the part entitled the "seventh well," he antedates by 50 years at least the protest of John Milton against the censorship of printed books. Most of the arguments of these two thinkers run in parallel, of course each expressing the writer's own mood. The rabbi of Prague, unlike the poet of England, also stresses the knightly concept that one has to regard discussion in printed books as a kind of duel where an honorable opponent must ensure that his adversary is armed in the best way possible, so that victory will be an act of valor and not an overwhelming triumph achieved by brute force. Throughout his many works, didactics and the methodology of preaching and learning are a main concern of Judah Loew. He devoted much thought to the problems of the organismic character of national cohesion, seeing a divine guarantee, through the nature of nationality, that Jewish exile and humiliation cannot be eternal:

> From blackness one can know whiteness which is the opposite, … exile in itself is clear evidence and proof of redemption for there can be no doubt that exile is a change and a break in the order whereby God set every nation in the place fitting for it, and he settled Israel in the place fitting for it, which is Ereẓ Israel …. Now everything that leaves its natural place and is outside of it cannot establish a hold in a place unnatural to it. They return to their natural place. For if they had remained in the place which is unnatural to them, then the unnatural would become natural, and this is impossible …. The place fitting for them [the Jews] according to the order of reality is to be in Ereẓ Israel, to be under their own rule, not under the rule of others, for every thing of the natural entities, each one of them, has a place for itself … as everything returns to its place, so do the separated and dispersed parts return to become one generality …. Therefore every dispersion tends to join up again. Hence the dispersion of Israel among the nations is unnatural, for as they are one nation it is fitting that they should be together and be a unity, as you will find that all natural entities are not divided into two … What is more, according to the law of reality it is not fitting that one nation shall rule over another nation, to subdue it, for God has created each nation unto itself …. If this state should remain for ever? … this would not be according to the order of reality and would be a permanent change in the world order. This is impossible. Therefore, we can know of redemption through exile (*Neẓaḥ Yisrael* (Prague, 1599), 2a).

SOCIAL CONFRONTATIONS. His writings, like the writings of many other scholars of Poland-Lithuania, Bohemia-Moravia, and Germany in this period, contain many allusions to and proposed solutions for social problems. The tension that existed between the lay leaders of the communities and the rabbis arose largely because both came from the same families, were usually related by marriage, and, above all, received the same education in yeshivot. Hence, there was an inclination among community leaders to assume rabbinical authority and functions and among rabbis to see themselves as leaders. The claims were not mutually exclusive. In most communities and periods an unstable harmony was worked out, but the tension was part of the arrangement.

In prospering Poland-Lithuania much thought was also given to the economic effort, to the correct attitude of rich to poor, and to the proper structure for Jewish society. At one ex-

treme the great decisor Moses *Isserles asserted that riches and material success are generally the just reward given by God to the deserving Jew. Poverty proves either that the poor man is undeserving, or, if his merits are evident, that there is some hidden blemish in his character which would have been revealed with riches: he is not given riches so that he may remain unblemished. At the other extreme stood the great preacher *Ephraim Solomon b. Aaron of Luntschitz (Łęczyce). In his ideology riches are usually evil. Drawing a kind of dual comparison he tells rich Jews that they cannot prove their merits from their worldly state for then they would also have to admit the righteousness of the gentiles from their success. Similarly, he considers that the gentiles cannot bring arguments against the Jews from their worldly success, for they would also then have to admit the righteousness of patently evil persons among Christians who have been materially successful. Riches in his metaphor are spoiled meat desired unwisely by the foolish child but thrown by a prudent father to the dogs. This preacher was also much concerned about religious and moral sincerity in a society which admired devotion, study, and charity and thus made these moral values also preeminently social assets. In his opinion social reward for and recognition of good deeds endangered the foundations of spiritual worship and Torah study in what seemed to him a society that tended to materialism, in particular among the upper strata.

In the emerging great centers of Jewish life, considerable tension resulted from the meeting of divergent traditions and the confrontation of the old-established society and ways of life with the force and vitality of new and inviting circumstances. The type of thought and hegemony provided by men like Elijah and Moses *Capsali, Elijah *Mizraḥi, and other representatives of the leadership structure of the old communities of the Ottoman Empire and North Africa, and the attitudes and aims of new leaders of the Sephardi type, like Gracia and Joseph Nasi, or the great Sephardi rabbis of the Balkan peninsula, such as Joseph *Taitaẓak, clashed, penetrated, and fructified each side in the 16th and 17th centuries. This process of confrontation and mutual influence took place in a Jewish culture and society which combined the old Romaniot customs and ways of life of the Byzantine environment in the Balkans and Asia Minor, and the Muslim environment, elements of the old Babylonian Jewish culture, and the social and cultural traditions of the great centers of Jewish life in Egypt, Kairouan, Fez, and other communities in North Africa. It encountered representatives of the Sephardi Jewish culture which had developed in close contact with Christian culture in Spain who were conscious of the value in and greatness of their historical experience and mode of leadership. Within a relatively short space of time, both the Romaniot and North African were either put aside or submerged by the Sephardi influence. To a scholar of the stature of Samuel b. Moses de *Medina, it was self-evident that the Sephardi prayer rites and order of worship should be preferred in Balkan communities because of their intrinsic superiority.

ATTEMPTS AT POLITICAL ACTION. On occasion the travail of readjustment took the shape of a clear-cut issue of Jewish foreign policy. A dispute over this arose within Jewry in the 16th century, when an attempt was made to use Jewish economic activity as a defensive punitive weapon in extreme cases of insult and injury to Jews. It was opposed by considerations of caution and the hope that part of the aims could be achieved by less dangerous means. The same dilemma was to return much later, in deliberations over initiating a boycott of Nazi Germany. When Pope *Paul IV ordered that a number of *anusim* who had escaped to *Ancona from Spain should be burned at the stake, the circle around Dona Gracia Nasi and other Sephardi groups in the Ottoman Empire attempted to use Jewish commercial power in the Mediterranean both to put pressure on the pope and to reward the duke of Pesaro, who had given asylum to those who had escaped from Ancona. As Joseph ibn Lev, a contemporary Sephardi rabbi, described it:

> Several people arose who wanted a great revenge for the holocaust of these just men … they demanded from the sages and the holy [Jewish] communities that they should assent to and put in force a valid agreement that no Jew among those living in the Ottoman Empire shall be permitted to trade in Ancona, since the Divine Name has been defiled by this pope, the lord of this place. Moreover, some of those who lived in Ancona have escaped the mortal danger of this destruction, and have come to the city of Pesaro where they have been welcomed by the duke, the ruler of this land, who thought that the Jews of the Ottoman Empire would come to trade there and would boycott the city of the pope who did evil to their brethren as well as actions that have never been done previously to burn the Talmud in contempt. The above-mentioned duke will also spend much money to improve the seaport of this city, so that ships may lie there in safety. Now, if he sees that the Jews will pay him evil for good, it is almost certain that he will extradite the men, women and children who escaped from Ancona … to the pope, who demands them in order to put them to death (*Responsa*, 1 (Constantinople, 1556, 1959^2) 140a).

This closely reasoned argumentation, which combined feelings of national pride, perception of the political use of trade opportunities, and an open-eyed appreciation of the motives of the Christian rulers, was opposed by what may be called the Italian Jewish party. These did not deny the strength and possibilities attaching to Jewish trade in the Mediterranean in the 16th century but argued against the boycott because it would endanger the Jews living in the Papal States. They also considered that "even if this agreement is not made, the duke of Urbino will not cause any harm to those he has accepted; for he is a considerate and sagacious man who knows that this miserable people cannot compel all the Jews. Moreover, he is overjoyed at their settling in his land because they, of necessity, cannot trade in Ancona, and will trade in his city." The Italian party also put forward the argument that the *anusim* from Spain could have been more careful and should have avoided settling under the rule of the head of the Catholic Church (Joshua *Soncino, *Naḥalah li-Yhoshu'a*, no. 39).

In Poland-Lithuania also there arose a question of overall Jewish policy with economic implications. The question of Jews contracting for customs duties and customs stations was differently decided in the late 16th and early 17th centuries by the councils of Poland and Lithuania. The first decided to direct Jews to avoid these lucrative posts because of the enmity they provoked in the Polish middle and lesser nobility; the Lithuanian council expressly decided later to assist Jews to lease and retain them out of a clearly stated policy that, despite the dangers to the community they involved, if the customs were managed by Jews, this would benefit the whole of Jewish trade and improve the Jewish position in general (see *Councils of the Lands).

FORMULATION OF POLICIES AND AIMS. Jewish policy and aims were being put forward after the invention of printing and the spread of printed books, not only in memoranda to rulers and Church leaders, but also in works published to bring Jewish views before the Christian public. Simone Luzzatto published his *Discorso circa il stato degl' Hebrei* … in Italian in 1638. This work of a rabbi and leader of a Jewish community is addressed to the Venetians as an apologetical argument for the existence of the Jews in Venice (see also *Apologetics). In it Luzzatto stresses the economic and social usefulness to the civic society of Venice of a commercially and financially active minority which had no other focus for its loyalty, or a better place to look to, than the city of its residence. He even explains at some length that there are "Catholic" trends in the Jewish faith and behavior, which are inherently opposed to "Protestant" ones. Luzzatto emphasizes the basic honesty of the Jews and their obedience to law. After listing some of the faults which are to be found among Jews, he enumerates traits:

> worthy of some consideration: steadfastness, and unimaginable consistency in their faith and in the keeping of their law; unity in the dogmas of their faith although they have been dispersed throughout the world for 1,550 years; admirable courage, if not in going to meet dangers, then at least, in the strength to suffer troubles; a unique knowledge of their holy Scriptures and of their commentaries; charity and good will toward all, as well as help to each and every one of their nation, even if he is a stranger and an alien. A Persian Jew cares about the problems of an Italian Jew and tries to help him; distance of place does not cause separation among them, for their religion is one. In matters of sexual passion, they behave with considerable abstinence; they are loyal and careful about the purity of the race, that it should be without admixture; many of them show considerable sagacity and know how to carry through the most complicated business; they behave with submission and respect toward any man who is not of their religion; their transgressions and sins have in them almost always more of the lowly and ugly than of cruelty and evil (*ibid.*, Consideration 11).

This work was to have much influence in mercantilist centers and among Christians who were beginning to advocate better behavior toward Jews. *Manasseh Ben Israel continued this line of argument, though in a very different and more upstanding manner, in his various writings and, in particular, in his efforts to obtain the readmission of Jews into England. He stressed the advantages that had accrued to the Netherlands by the admission of Jews into that country and by their active participation in colonial trade there, and compared this position with the decline of Spain and the disadvantages it had encountered after the expulsion of the Jews. He formulated a petition for the readmission of the Jews to England. In common with many English sectarians who supported his case, he regarded the settlement of Jews at "the end of the earth" [i.e., Angleterre] as a necessary precondition to the coming of the Messiah.

STIRRINGS OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION. The 16th and 17th centuries brought the first stirrings of a change in attitudes toward the Jews. The Jewish chronicler Joseph ha-Kohen discerned in the wars of religion in France a hope for an emerging permissiveness enabling each man to live according to his own religion. In the Calvinist Netherlands an attitude of toleration of Jews, and even respect for them and their way of life, developed without granting them political rights or formulating a fully expressed theory for their toleration. This came about not only through day-to-day peaceful contacts with the highly cultured Jewish circles in Amsterdam and other cities of this country, but also through the respect of the Calvinists for the Law and their efforts to create a Christian society based partly on biblical foundations. Some sectarians expressed "the desire … to raise the Old Testament to the position of natural law" which Hugo *Grotius opposed in his *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (1735, Prolegomena, para. 48). Against this position, he stresses that many of the laws of the Old Testament had been abolished by the New, but he does so in a respectful tone. When asked about the proper behavior to adopt toward the Jews, he advised in his *Remonstrantie* (of 1615), that the canon law relating to Jews should be kept in principle, but that in practical economic terms they should be allowed "liberty to trade, do business and manufacture, and enjoy in freedom exemptions and privileges in the same way as the other burghers and citizens." In France, Jean *Bodin, in his *Heptaplomeres*, was so emphatic in affirming the superiority of the Judaic trend of religion over the Christian that it is arguable whether he was Jewish or Christian at heart. Extreme sects and leaders of the Reformation, like Andreas *Osiander and Sebastian Franck in Germany, through the spiritualization of the Christian teaching and their almost anarchistic attitude to authority, arrived at an individualistic approach to each man which was favorable even to the toleration of Jews and Muslims.

Gradually there began to emerge the conception of separation of Church and State, which was to be the main road to toleration, even of Jews. Roger Williams, of New England, advocated this attitude from a Christian point of departure in *The Bloudy Tenet of Persecution for Cause of Conscience Disgust* (1644). He asserted that "true civility and Christianity may both flourish in a state or kingdom, notwithstanding the permission of the diverse and contrary conscience either of Jew or

of Gentile" (*ibid.*, 2). John Locke was to make this conception the mainspring of change and revolution in his *Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689), published in Latin, and immediately translated into Dutch, French, and English. Locke differentiates sharply between Church and State, considering that civil rights should be granted to all. Limitations and humiliations do not change either the character or the standing of a religion. He wrote concerning the Jews: "is their doctrine more false, their worship more abominable, or is the civil peace more endangered by their meeting in public than in their private houses[?]" (J. Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, ed. by M. Montuori (1963), 103). Various lawyers – the foremost being John *Selden in England and Johannes *Buxtorf in Germany – developed interest in Jewish law as a basic element in the European legal system. A man like Johann Christoph *Wagenseil, though drawing attention to Jewish attacks on Christianity in his *Tela Ignea Satanae* (1681), still supported a limited toleration of the Jews, mainly out of missionary zeal. In this atmosphere, even a man like the English economist, Sir William Petty, showed considerable interest in various trades of the Jews and their characteristics. His opposition to them, and the even sharper opposition of Johann Becher in Germany, was largely based on a different interpretation of the data given by Luzzatto and Manasseh Ben Israel.

By the end of the 17th century much of the old medieval structure had gone. The distribution of the Jews in the world was totally different from that at the end of the 15th century. Spain had vanished from the Jewish horizon, as well as its dependencies overseas. France was also almost in the same category. On the other hand, England again had a flourishing and well connected Jewish community from 1655. The Jews of the Netherlands were already an integral and respected element of the economic life of this country in the cities; to some extent also they were attached to it socially, though they did not enter its political structure. The Jews of Poland-Lithuania, despite the sufferings and deprivations they underwent between approximately 1648 and 1660, had become economically, and to a considerable degree socially, an integral and predominant part of the third estate in this realm. In the Ottoman Empire members of an invigorated Jewish society occupied important positions in economic and social life, though the old conceptions of political and social humiliation of the Jew still predominated.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

MODERN TIMES – TO 1880

Introduction

Several changes in political and social theories in Christian society, as well in the political structure of Europe, combined to usher in modern times for the Jews, though they were not concerned primarily with these developments. The centralization of the state that began in the France of Richelieu and Mazarin spread gradually, both in fact and in theory, to most of the states in Europe. In its progress the new disposition of relations between the state and those living on its territory caused many changes, for both good and evil, in the position of the Jews and their legal status. The centralist state created, by its very nature, an aversion to particularism in any shape, whether organizational, legal, or cultural. It opposed, above all, the corporations as the essence of the old feudal, uncentralized, state. Everything standing between the sovereign and the individual was now considered not only a barrier, but a sin. Whereas, in medieval kingdoms, the Jewish community was but one in a network of autonomous and semi-autonomous bodies, which were then considered the skeleton of the body politic, it now appeared one of the most obnoxious, because persistent, manifestations of egoistic group-will against the all-inclusive rights of the state. As the centralist state also opposed local dialects and customs, the Jewish community was doubly obnoxious, for it was a corporation devoted to a separate culture, way of life, language, and religion. Many of the clashes between the state and the Jews in modern times, many of the misunderstandings between Jews and some of their best friends, were the result of this basic antagonism between iron centralism and the unflinching Jewish will for autonomy.

Centralization demanded one law for all in the state and by its very nature opposed the existence of different legal statuses for different groups living in one state. When centralization was later combined with egalitarian trends, this added a *raison d'état* to political philosophy, and thus made legal equality for the Jews a logical as well as a political necessity for a centralist, egalitarian state.

The disfavor into which corporations had fallen and their rapid disintegration were also hastened by economic developments. That meant, for the Jews in the cities, the weakening and disappearance of social and economic bodies fundamentally inimical to Jews because of their Christian foundations and their long tradition of excluding Jews from trade and crafts and of hatred toward them. The forces working against the corporations also opposed on the ethical and conceptual level the corporative medieval spirit that abhorred competition and innovation. The break-up of the corporations unstopped the dam that had long held up individual energies; Jews benefited from this moral revolution as did other restricted individuals.

As with many other changes to be encountered in modern times, the change in status of the corporation had ambivalent effects for Jews. It bettered their economic and social opportunities and weakened the social elements that were the main carriers of hostility toward them. On the other hand, it made Jewish national semi-independence, and social and cultural creativity, antiquated and offensive. Centralization meant, on the whole, abolition of inequalities, but it also meant suppression of particularities. Jewish society found itself in the new modern state facing the break-up of its national, religious, and social cohesion in exchange for the benefit of material and individual gains. At this time it seemed – to those Christians who, because of general social trends, interested themselves in the lot of the Jews – that the dissolution of a separate Jewish framework and absorption into the general

body of the state were a matter of time, and of a short time only. In countries where the centralist trends were strongest, in continental Western and Central Europe (apart from the Netherlands and England), the Jews numbered several thousand at the most in one state. As general cultural and spiritual currents were moving in the same direction, only "people fighting the trend of history" seemed to be making the foolish attempt to oppose them.

Dawn of the Enlightenment

The 18th century also witnessed the dawn of the great ahistorical school of the Enlightenment. This saw men in the abstract, as disembodied individuals only; national culture and religious separateness were so many "coats of paint." The past had no compelling force; only the present mattered, and this could be improved and perfected by the use of reason. In the application of this theory, writers and ideologists of the cast of *Voltaire did not dream of abandoning French as a vehicle of expression or the basic French values of life. They were more anti-Christian than anti-national. Many of them developed a hatred of Judaism as the matrix of Christianity. Though extremely individualistic in theory, many of them searched for another parentage or anchorage than the Jewish for their culture. This prompted the 18th-century flirtation with the Far East, and the latter-day anti-Jewish tinge to their admiration for the Greek past. Many criticized the Old Testament with the old anti-Jewish odium to which was now added the goal of discrediting Christianity. In the Enlightenment, as in the trend toward centralization and against the corporations, Jewish society met an attitude that was favorably inclined toward the individual Jew while inimical toward his traditions and social cohesion. The demand for disavowal of nationality on rationalist grounds meant in practice for the Jew acceptance of French or German or some other national culture instead of his own. This groping between extreme individualism in theory and national assimilation in practice had already become, by the end of the 18th century, the source of some of the greatest individual successes as well as of the most distressing tragedies in Jewish existence in modern times.

Influence of Mercantilist Absolutism on Jewish Status

New economic views, in particular mercantilism, combined with an even greater and more radical expression of the centralist state – first absolutism and, later on in the 18th century, enlightened absolutism – to create differing approaches to Jewish legal status and Jewish economic activity. The mercantilist and absolutist ruler of the early 18th century looked at every increase in population as desirable, so long as and on the condition that it served economic progress. This progress was no longer measured by agrarian standards. The growth of industry and trade, the increment of precious metals, and coin circulation in the state were now valuable goals.

The type of economic activity practiced by Jews had thus, by the 18th century and even earlier, begun to exert an influence in social economic theory and practice. At the same time political theory with regard to Jews had not yet changed in ruling circles, where they were hated and despised as before. As this combination of economic innovation and political conservatism with regard to Jews existed mainly in the countries of Central and Western Europe, where the Jewish population was relatively small, it created a new approach for the treatment of the Jews.

This approach aimed mainly at having as many "useful" Jews in the state as possible – "useful" in this connotation meaning a rich Jew who could help the industrial and commercial development of the country through his activity. Such a Jew must be made to contribute the maximum possible to the state treasury; this extortion sometimes took curious turns of invention, as in the case of the *Judenporzellan* in *Prussia, so called because Jews were obliged to buy a certain quantity of porcelain wares on the occasion of their weddings in order to promote directly the development of this industry.

At the same time it was the policy of the absolutist ruler to ensure that the economic opportunities and well-being afforded to the useful Jew for the sake of the state should not result in the calamity of an increasing Jewish population. Jews therefore had to register officially, and their weddings were supervised (see, e.g., *Familiants Laws). A "protected" or "privileged" Jew on these principles could not transfer his rights to all his children but only to one of them. The others had to apply for rights for themselves, granted for a proper payment only if they were considered useful in their own right. Otherwise they were demoted to the status of the unprivileged, unprotected Jew who always faced the threat of expulsion and had usually to pay piecemeal for continuing his existence in the state. The 1750 Prussian regulation for Jews embodies systematically and in detail the execution of these principles.

This situation contributed to accelerate the fragmentation of Jewish society. The privileged Jew became richer, the unprivileged one, poorer. The first went into trade and finance operations on a large scale, with the state's blessing. The unprivileged Jew had either to earn his livelihood as an official or servant of a privileged Jew or to eke out his living precariously as a peddler or a moneylender on pawn in the old style. As this situation became a rule in many principalities of Germany in particular, it put for the Jew a premium on enrichment and economic initiative as the only means of bettering his lot and obtaining some type of broader acceptance by the state. Combined with the former structure of the Court Jews, it led during the 18th century to unprecedented variegation in economic Jewish activity, in particular among the richer strata, hand in hand with an unprecedented social and cultural differentiation in Jewish society. As most of the communities thus affected lacked strong continuous traditions, this being the result of the multiple expulsions in the German Empire from the 16th century onward, disintegration proceeded unchecked by cultural strength. With the development of the **Landjudenschaften* type of communal leadership, the influence of the Court Jew and of the rich Jew grew, while estrangement between him and poorer Jews also became proportionately greater.

In the Netherlands and southern France (*Bordeaux, *Nantes) there was another line of cleavage – between the more prosperous Sephardi Jew, who was more acculturated to the host society, and the less well-to-do and less acculturated Ashkenazi Jews in these countries, in particular in France, where the line of division had also a regional character, most of the Ashkenazi Jews being concentrated in *Alsace and *Lorraine.

Enlightened Absolutism and the "Betterment of the Jews"

Enlightened absolutism added another element to the former attitude of mercantilist absolutism toward Jews. This aimed at the "betterment of the Jews" so as to make them less "harmful" to general society – for whose weal the enlightened absolutist ruler felt himself responsible – as well as to prepare them gradually for increased rights and better conditions if and when they might deserve them. The tolerance edict of Emperor *Joseph II issued in Austria in 1782 embodies the most systematic attempt to carry out this policy in relation to Jews. It continued the attempts to hold down their numbers, though granting them a few alleviations in the field of economic activity, while setting out a whole system of measures aimed at their "education" through their linguistic and social *assimilation and curtailment of their unproductive economy.

Arguments for Toleration

At the same time, several circles of intellectuals and sectarian divines of the 16th to 18th centuries developed more intensely and more consequentially the approach to real toleration and a different appreciation of the Jew and his status. Jewish apologetics of this period found a more appreciative reception in these circles. Typical and most systematic of such innovators was John *Toland of England. In his *Reasons for Naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland, On the same foot with all other Nations, Containing also, A Defence of the Jews against All Vulgar Prejudices in all Countries* (1714), he relies expressly on the work of Simone Luzzatto, which he promises to translate into English. He uses many mercantilist arguments in favor of the Jews. Toland is ironic toward the anti-Jewish Christian hierarchy, applying a new twist to an old Reformation accusation against the Christian hierarchy that it derived its hieratic and hierarchical spirit from the precedents of Jewish priesthood. In the spirit of upholding the "betterment of the Jews" he promises that they will achieve productivization after they had been granted rights. Even Toland was not ready to permit them to hold state office, though he was prepared to see them as officials in the municipality and the bourse. He adduces

> Those whole streets of magnificent buildings that the Jews have erected at Amsterdam and The Hague: but there are other Jews now in the World to adorn London or Bristol with the like, the fifth part of the People in Poland (to name no other country) being of this Nation … (*ibid.*, 17)

as an argument for encouraging Jewish settlement, in which mercantilist considerations are combined with a novel appreciation of the masses of the Jewish population, not only a few of them.

Presaging a different attitude toward Jewish culture and the Jewish fate, his words express a new attitude:

> Tis true, that in Turky they enjoy immoveable property, and exercise mechanic arts: they have likewise numerous Academies in Poland, where they study in the Civil and Canon Laws of their nation, being privileg'd to determine even certain criminal Causes among themselves: yet they are treated little better than Dogs in the first place, and often expos'd in the last to unspeakable Calamities (*ibid.*, 43).

This acceptance of Jewish learning and a Jewish autonomous judiciary as positive factors still had long to wait before they were appreciated even among friends of the Jews in the 19th century. Toland was representative in this connection of the positive religious attitudes held by small Christian sects in Western Europe toward Jews and Judaism and which are often overlooked in the general picture of the change of attitude to Jews. Typical of this approach and its innovatory, almost prophetic, view of Jewish potentialities are his words in a letter to a friend in 1709:

> Now if you'll suppose with me this pre-eminence and immortality of the MOSAIC REPUBLIC in its original purity, it will follow; that, as the Jews known at this day, and who are dispers'd over Europe, Asia, and Africa, with some few in America, are found by good calculation to be more numerous than either the Spaniards (for example) or the French: So if they ever happen to be resettl'd in Palestine upon their original foundation, which is not at all impossible; they will then, by reason of their excellent constitution, be much more populous, rich, and powerful than any other nation now in the world. I would have you consider, whether it be not both the interest and duty of Christians to assist them in regaining their country … (Appendix 1, to his *Nazarenus* (1718), 8).

Pro-Jewish argumentation proceeded along the main line of enlightenment reasoning in Germany. Its principal and most influential spokesmen were Christian Wilhelm von *Dohm and Gotthold Ephraim *Lessing. In a series of literary works – his drama *Die Juden*, his *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, and most influential and celebrated of all, his *Nathan der Weise* – Lessing put the case for treatment of Jews as equals in humanity on the basis of deistic conceptions of religion and enlightenment conceptions of nationality and mankind. His parable of the "Three Rings" became famous as expressing the basic similarity of all monotheistic religions. Lessing did not defend Jewish separate existence, he defended the right of the individual Jew to be treated like a human being, despite his religion and outward appearance. Lessing was influenced in this, like Dohm later, by the personality and views of Moses *Mendelssohn. Dohm in his work proposed achieving the betterment of the Jews with a clearly defined aim toward improvement of their condition.

Moses Mendelssohn

The impact of Moses Mendelssohn represented an old-new

type of Jewish encounter with the host society, unfamiliar in Germany. As a scholar in the employment of a rich Jew, his position was very similar to that of the scholars in the retinue of the Jewish courtiers in Spain. Mendelssohn met intellectuals as an intellectual, men of enlightenment as a leader in the enlightenment philosophy. He put the case not of the material "usefulness" of a Jew but of his cultural usefulness. Defending the separation of Church and State, and defining Torah as a social constitution or Jewish national law, he presented a Jewish approach toward *enlightenment. There were several families in his Berlin circle who were more radical in their efforts to achieve practical assimilation. Some of them despised the Jewish faith and culture. The readiness of Christians of high social and cultural standing to meet individual Jews as equals, and the refusal of the enlightened absolutist state to grant rights even to "enlightened" Jews, created conditions of social temptation and psychological pressure to leave the faith and become apostates. This was the beginning of the considerable trend toward apostasy, which at the end of the 18th century and during the 19th was to take away more than 200,000 Jews from Judaism in Europe.

Egalitarianism and Emancipation in the U.S.
The *United States of America opened a totally different line of approach to the Jews. In the new land, uncontaminated by traditions of oppressive practice toward Jews, where many sectarians appreciated the model of the "Mosaic republic" for their own society, *emancipation of the Jews came as part of the independence and liberation of the American states. Despite former partial limitations included in the constitutions of the former colonies, the new states accepted equality of peoples of all religions as a matter of principle and of fact. The views of the founder of Rhode Island, Roger Williams, in the 17th century were thus fulfilled. Some social discrimination and several remaining legal disabilities were quickly removed during the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century. Thus 1776 is a date not only in United States history but also in Jewish history marking the first emancipation as a matter of general policy.

The French Revolution
With the growth of revolutionary sentiment after the American Revolution, many people were prepared to regard the equality of the Jews as a test case for the application of egalitarianism as a guideline for political and social life. Yet the *French Revolution did not grant immediately, or as a self-understood matter, equality of rights to Jews. Despite the preparatory work accomplished by the historiography of Jacques *Basnage and the works of Abbé *Grégoire, the hostile tradition of public opinion toward Jews was still very strong in France. In the long and complicated discussions and legal enactments that took place between 1789 and 1791 an important role was played by the fact that many in France were ready to grant – and indeed granted – rights to the "good" Sephardi Jews of the south, while they were reluctant to grant similar grants to the "uncivilized" Jews of Alsace-Lorraine. Jewish emancipation met here – not for the first time in history, but for the first time in the course of emancipation in modern times – with the fact that the egalitarian principle is dependent upon popular sentiment, and often these do not coincide in regard to the attitude toward Jews.

Final emancipation was carried through in the end as a matter of revolutionary logic by Robespierre and his followers in 1791. The same logic demanded that emancipation be granted only to Jews as individuals – which, spelled out in practice, meant only to Jews ready and willing to leave their own culture and identify and to assimilate into the French – and not to Jews as members of a separate nation.

Napoleon Bonaparte and the French Sanhedrin
The tensions and complexities underlying emancipation in a country with an old anti-Jewish tradition were brought into sharp relief under Emperor *Napoleon Bonaparte. On the one hand, he carried on the tradition of the French republican revolutionary armies, which had brought equality to Jews in the Netherlands, in Italy, and in German cities and principalities. On the other hand, Napoleon sensed the historic unity and character of the Jews and disliked their independent spirit. He was also sensitive to the disturbing problem of Jewish moneylending as it had emerged in Alsace-Lorraine. He therefore turned to ancient notions of creating a semi-representative type of leadership for Jews as an instrument for carrying out his objectives concerning them. In 1806 he convened an *Assembly of Jewish Notables and later on created a *Sanhedrin to give religious sanction to the answers of the Assembly to the questions put to it by his emissaries. The two institutions, constituted of Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews from France, Italy, and Germany, accepted the main demands of the centralist empire while striving to keep as far as possible within the framework of Jewish law and tradition. The Sanhedrin's decisions of 1807 to a large extent provide an explanation of Jewish customs and morals in terms understandable to French Bonapartist society. They cover much legal ground, and, without explicitly departing from the basis of messianic hope and Jewish national cohesion, make patriotism to the present-day state "the religious duty of all Jews who were born or who settled in a state, or who are so considered according to the laws and conditions of the state to regard this state as their fatherland" (["… *de regarder le dit Etat comme sa patrie*]" from *Décisions Doctrinales du Grand Sanhédrin qui s'est tenu à Paris au mois d'Adar Premier, l'an de la Création 5567 (Fevrier 1807), Sous les Auspices de Napoléon-Le-Grand, Avec la traduction littérale du texte Français en Hébreu* (1812), 42).

While exacting this declaration of French patriotism from Jewish notables and rabbis, Napoleon prepared a series of laws which in practice limited the equality of Jews before the law. Demanding from the Jews the full consequence of emancipation, he denied them part of its content. It is a historical irony that Napoleon's decrees against the Jews lapsed through their non-renewal by the Restoration Bourbon regime.

In the west of Europe Jewish status did not deteriorate after the downfall of Napoleon: the struggle for the full emancipation of the Jews in England went on in a relatively tranquil atmosphere, while the Netherlands, and *Belgium which separated from it in 1830, retained Jewish emancipation. In France, after the lapse of the Napoleonic decrees in 1818, the condition of the Jews continued to improve. In 1831 the state began to pay salaries to rabbis; in 1846 the last minor legal disabilities for Jews were abolished through the influence of Adolphe *Crémieux, a French Jewish statesman who obtained in 1870 a decree conferring equality on the Jews of Algeria.

The Congress of Vienna and Romantic Reaction in Germany

In Germany there were different developments. The Romantic reaction against revolutionary rationalism reasserted in modern terms the validity of old Christian assumptions against the equality of the Jews. The Congress of *Vienna refused to ratify the rights of the Jews acquired under the Napoleonic conquest: the implications of the proposal concerning their rights "in" German cities and states were changed by substituting ratification of laws granted "by" German cities and states. Even worse was the reaction of public sentiment. Respectable philosophers deliberated on the impossibility of Jews being citizens of a historic Christian state. Vulgar publicists like Hartwig *Hundt-Radowsky advised expulsion of the Jews, vilified their character, and hinted that their murder would be no more than a minor transgression. The so-called *Hep! Hep! disturbances against Jews that occurred in Germany in 1819 were but a violent expression of this reactionary movement. The equality of Jews in German society was actually hindered by deep-rooted popular prejudice against them. Their legal equality was much delayed and complicated by the fact that even their friends were divided into those who demanded, as in the 18th century, their assimilation and "betterment of character" as a precondition to the equality of individual Jews, and those who saw emancipation as a precondition to assimilation and "betterment of character."

Typical of modern German society was the attitude of German radicals to "*Die Judenfrage*" ("the Jewish question"). Feuerbach and his disciples carried over the 18th-century enmity to Jews on the grounds of their religion and prejudices. Bruno *Bauer actually demanded their Christianization before any acceptance of Jews into society. Karl *Marx considered Judaism evil, and Mammon the Jewish God. He differs from Bauer in considering that Jews could be emancipated legally while remaining as themselves in society because, as he formulated it, capitalist society is becoming "Judaized." Social emancipation would come only in a revolutionary society where there is neither Judaism nor Christianity and the historical trend of "capitalist Judaization" is stopped and reversed. Until then Marx considered it axiomatic that the Jewish religion include contempt of theory, of art, of history, and of man as a goal in itself: "The social emancipation of the Jew means the emancipation of society from Judaism." This scion of the Jewish people thus despised past Jewish creativity and tradition, declaiming in a prophetic tone against the culture of the Jews.

Emancipation in Germany and England

Jewish emancipation was achieved in German states as a result of various legal enactments, their retraction, and their reenactment throughout most of the 19th century (see *Bavaria, *Prussia), while German society, in particular its higher echelons, did not accept Jews during this period. In England Jewish emancipation was completed through a struggle for the abolition of Christian formulas in the oath upon taking a seat in parliament or entering public office. Radical opinion in England was much more prepared for the granting of full religious equality than in France. The Welsh philosopher Richard Price criticized paragraph 10 of the French "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen" of 1789 because of its rider to religious equality – "provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order established by the law." In his view this was mistaken: "For it is obvious that in Turkey, writing against Mahomet; in Spain, against the Inquisition; and in every country, against its established doctrines, is a disturbance of public order established by law; and therefore, according to this article, punishable." He would have enacted the right of man "also to discuss freely by speaking, writing, and publishing all speculative points, provided he does not by any overt act or direct invasion of the rights of others …" (from his appendix to "A Discourse on the Love of Our Country," 1789). This historical tradition of the recognition of separate entities as equal, and not of individuals only, was to find expression in the whole approach to the "Jewish Question" in England as well as in the United States. When the historian *Macaulay in 1833 supported the proposal to abolish Jewish disabilities, he based his case not only on actual situations and abstract principles, but also to a large degree on the glorious Jewish past which guarantees a great future for the Jews as emancipated citizens in any state (see also *Apologetics). He did not demand of Jews that they should give up their messianic belief. He equated it with the Christian millennarian belief in the coming redemption. When at last Lionel Nathan *Rothschild was enabled to take his seat in Parliament in 1858 as a professing Jew, the struggle for Jewish emancipation in England closed in accordance with principles laid down long ago by sectarian forces and ideals.

Period of the Polish Partitions

The changes in Jewish life, culture, and status in Western and Central Europe that had resulted through the impact of economic and cultural processes at work in general society with implications for the Jews, and the entry of Jews supported by the interests and aims of the host societies into various economic and social functions, influenced relatively small numbers of Jews. In Eastern Europe the changes resulted from political and social upheavals that influenced masses of Jews, mainly in the direction of evolving new systems and develop-

ments of their old culture and society. The partitions of Poland-Lithuania (1772, 1793, 1795) between Austria, Russia, and Prussia broke up the greatest Jewish concentration of Europe into three parts, disconnecting old lines of communication and severing long-established relations between communities in towns and regions. The political and spiritual turmoil into which Polish society was thrown preceding the partitions, and the revolt led by Kościuszko against the partitions and its failure, raised, among a host of other problems, the Jewish question too.

The growing importance of the Christian third estate at the time of the death throes of Poland-Lithuania was an adverse factor for the Jews. On the other hand the economic importance of the Jews there and the egalitarian principles penetrating from the West began to work for Jewish equality. How to achieve the "betterment" of the Jews and their "productivization" became themes of some importance about this time in some circles of both Polish and Jewish society. Their effects on relations between Jews and Poles for the time being were doomed to remain theoretical considerations only. The status of the Jewish masses of former Poland-Lithuania was to be determined from now on by powers influenced by totally alien traditions of treatment and attitude toward Jews.

Incorporation into Russia

Russia, which obtained the lion's share of the Jewish population, had had no Jews under its rule since the 15th century, when the "Judaizing" movement caused such a scare that Jews had been totally excluded from the country. In campaigns before 1772 the Russian armies would drown Jews or kill them in other ways in cities they had taken. This could not be done with the vast masses of Jews she now acquired. Of the other powers, both Prussia and Austria were already dedicated to the mercantilist-absolutist system of discriminating between individual Jews and controlling their population. Both were now confronted by large numbers of Jews, the majority of whom were poor and whose demographic growth could not be stopped.

Empress *Catherine II was prepared to see the Jews as an integral part of the town population in the newly acquired districts, and she defined their legal status as such, granting them even the right to vote for municipalities. This almost immediately created difficulties: the Russian autocratic government did not permit townsmen to settle in villages; yet, many Jews were living in them. To this was added the aim of the now politically dispossessed Polish nobility to take over the place the Jews had filled in the economy of the villages. The Russian government, on its side, was troubled by the situation, in which it found itself socially allied to the Polish Catholic nobility, while from a religious and national point of view it felt obliged to promote the interests of the Belorussian and west Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox peasantry. Jewish merchants began to enter eastern, originally Russian, districts, and to compete with local merchants. The government therefore began to consider ways and means of dealing with this new Jewish aggregate and the problems it raised.

Czar *Alexander I met, in the committee he created for clarifying this problem, with two opposed opinions similar to those currently debating this question in the West. Some members of the commission considered that Jews had first to be granted rights so as to improve them and "make them harmless." Others considered that the Jews had first to be rendered harmless and to be "improved" before they could be granted new rights. The statute for the Jews promulgated in Russia in 1804 was largely based on the second view. One of the main measures to prevent their causing harm to the peasants, by inducing them to buy alcoholic drinks and damaging them in other ways, was the demand that Jews should leave all the villages within four years. Another result of this trend was the unique invention of drawing a second borderline within the border of the state: Jews were not permitted to settle or live in the territory east of this line. The permitted area included regions taken over from Poland with an addition of several more in the southeast of the state. Thus the *Pale of Settlement of the Jews was created in Russia (in a process of line drawing and area redistributions that went on well into the 1830s), to remain in existence until the Revolution of 1917.

The Pale of Settlement, from its creation, was doubly constricting. Jews could not go beyond its borders, while within them they were driven from the villages to the townships and cities. As the Jews were an integral part of the village economy, and village occupations constituted the livelihood of a considerable number of Jews, their expulsion from the villages was not easy to implement; many decrees and counter-decrees were issued through the greater part of the 19th century, and still it was not accomplished in full. Jews also left the villages because of other reasons. The Polish uprisings of 1830 and 1863 caused much impoverishment among the Polish nobility; many of its most enterprising members emigrated from the country, and the Jewish village economy was thus much impaired. In the 1840s Jews tried to carry on their former business in alcoholic beverages through leasing the vodka monopoly from the government. From the 1860s, however, they even left this branch.

Economic and Social Developments in Western and Central Europe after Emancipation

Economic and social developments in West and Central Europe were different from those in Eastern Europe. The upper strata of Jews in Central and Western Europe became wealthier with emancipation or semi-emancipation. The banking house of the *Rothschilds developed from its relatively modest origins at Frankfurt on the Main to become the arbiter of international loans and monetary transactions in Europe in the first decades of the 19th century. Byron could exclaim:

> Who hold the balance of the world? Who reign / O'er congress, whether royalist or liberal? / Who rouse the shirtless patriots of Spain? / (That make old Europe's journals squeak and gibber all). / Who keep the world, both old and new, in pain / Or plea-

> sure? Who make politics run glibber all? / Jew Rothschild, and his fellow-Christian, Baring … (*Don Juan*, Canto 12, v).

In France, the brothers Pereire dealt in international *banking on a smaller scale. Gerson von *Bleichroeder was not only a banker of first magnitude in the third quarter of the 19th century, but also the financial adviser of *Bismarck. These banking houses participated to a large degree in the financing of *railroad construction too, as did also Baron Maurice de *Hirsch. The importance and function of these international rival banks was already declining by the 1880s, when national banks and limited liability share banks took over much of the finance and financial activity in many countries. Many of these Jewish bankers and largescale contractors and merchants were ennobled, and thus moved even farther away from common Jews.

In Western and Central Europe, Jews also entered the "free professions." In *medicine, they continued a long and much respected Jewish tradition. In other professions they were newcomers. In the legal profession they were new (see *Law) in the sense that Jews did not participate in general, state-regulated law practice until the emancipation, but they brought with them an old tradition of Jewish legal deliberation and practice. Jews entered newspaper publishing, editing, writing, and reporting (see *Journalism). The great news agencies of *Reuter in England and Bernhard *Wolff in Germany were founded and directed by Jews. Though university chairs were still withheld from Jews, they entered many of the lower ranks of the academic world. Many Jews contributed to literature; some apostates like Heinrich *Heine and Ludwig *Boerne were notable. Among apostates who gained prominence in *politics and social thought were Benjamin *Disraeli, Julius *Stahl, and Karl Marx. Jews also entered politics, some gaining prominence, like Lionel Nathan Rothschild and David *Salomons in England, Adolphe Crémieux in France, and Gabriel *Riesser in Germany. Jews were active in the leadership of revolutionary movements, as Hermann *Jellinek and Adolf *Fischhof in the 1848 revolution of Austria. Many Jewish intellectuals were active in the 1848 revolution in Germany. The names of Ferdinand *Lassalle and Moses *Hess were prominent among revolutionary leaders. Many Jewesses of the upper circles were famous for their *salons and cultivated mode of life, both in Berlin and in Vienna at the time of the Vienna Congress. Later on, Jewish patrician social life became well known in Central and West European cities. At the same time, small merchants and peddlers, horse and cattle dealers, smallscale moneylenders, and representatives of other lesser occupations were common among Jews in Bavaria, Alsace-Lorraine, and above all, among immigrants coming from the eastern districts of Germany and Austria to the central districts.

Migration Trends from the End of the 18th Century

Jewish migration in Europe had changed direction by the end of the 18th century – or even somewhat earlier – and up to the 1890s. It now went from east to west, but occurred mainly within the borders of states. In Russia, it moved from the densely populated parts of Lithuania and *Belorussia to the more thinly populated districts of the *Ukraine. In Germany, it moved from the Posen (*Poznan) districts to the center and west of the country, filling gaps created by the apostasy of the Jewish upper strata and veteran families. In Austria, it went from Galicia to the regions of Vienna and Hungary; in France, from Alsace-Lorraine to the center and west of the country. Jews from Bavaria, as well as other districts of Germany, in particular up to the unification of Germany in 1870, emigrated to the United States and some to England. All these immigrants in their new places of settlement met with the manifestations and results of the industrial and commercial revolution in Europe. They also gradually absorbed, in layer after layer of immigration, the new trends of cultural adaptation and assimilation already at work among the older communities there. The Sephardi communities of England and the United States were pioneering in this process. Their members became the upper layer of Jewish society in these countries.

The East European Shtetl

In Eastern Europe, Jewish occupations remained at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century within their former framework. The shtetl not only developed an economic structure of its own during the first half of the 19th century under the impact of the expulsions from the villages, and through the development of a new chain of economic and social relations with the villages from the shtetl centers, but also created an ecological pattern of its own. The shtetl economy of small shopkeepers, craftsmen, peddlers, and peddling craftsmen established itself to become the typical economic set-up for the majority of Jews in the Pale of Settlement. In its midst, and at the heart of shtetl life, was the central market place, around which there stood the main shops and taverns for tea and alcoholic beverages. Market day was the time of earning and activity, when the villagers arrived to buy and sell. For many shtetl Jews their township was actually their home from Friday through Sunday only, since the rest of the week they spent peddling or working as itinerant craftsmen – cobblers, tailors, smiths – in the villages. Social differentiation was much slower in developing, and up to the 1840s only a sprinkling of Jews had entered the newly opened free professions. A few Jews enriched themselves in Russia as large-scale traders and bankers, or somewhat later, as railroad-building contractors, such as Samuel *Poliakoff or the *Guenzburg family. By the 1880s, master craftsmen and journeymen in the Pale together numbered approximately half a million. In the incipient industries, such as cloth manufacture in *Lodz, a Jewish proletariat was beginning to emerge.

Divergences in Jewish Society in the West and East of Europe

In West and Central Europe developments in Jewish society took their direction from the upper circles connected with the centralist state structure. Jews contributed to its economy in loans and banking, industrial enterprise, and largescale inter-

national trading, in particular in the extreme west and northwest of Europe, at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century. Up to the 1880s there was a progression toward banking and commercial undertakings on an increasingly greater scale, toward entry in considerable numbers into the free professions and general society, and toward political and social leadership. In the East, while the typical shtetl economy and society was developing, the social distance was widening between the increasingly impoverished strata of shopkeepers, peddlers, and craftsmen, and toward the end of this period, some industrial proletariat, and the relatively narrow group of wealthy bankers, builders, and largescale merchants.

Despite these differences between East and West, which gradually became even greater in Europe, and were at their most prominent between the Jews of the West and those of the Ottoman Empire and Islamic countries who had suffered from the general cultural and economic backwardness of their host society, the consciousness of unity and contacts between different elements of the Jewish populations did not diminish. Even where demographic and economic developments differed, cultural forces and traditions common to all were strong unifying factors.

Population Growth

This is evinced in the process of the remarkable population growth among Jews during most of the 19th century, accelerated in the 1890s. At the beginning of the 19th century there were approximately 3.25 million Jews in the world, of whom 2.75 million were in Europe, mostly Ashkenazim, and about half a million outside Europe, mostly Sephardim. At the beginning of the 1880s there were 7.5 million Jews, of whom about seven million were in Europe, mostly Ashkenazim (see *Demography; *Vital Statistics). The rate of growth of the Jewish population was almost everywhere twice that of the general population, even in backward countries. This was at a time of a great growth of *population everywhere. The Jewish population naturally benefited from its concentration in Europe, where the gains of medicine and preventive hygiene first made their mark, as well as from their concentration in towns, where again these cultural advances first had their effects. However, the specifically high Jewish rate of growth was mainly due to two factors: to a much lower infant mortality and to the good care taken of the ill and aged. Here old cultural-religious traditions gave an advantage to the Jewish population. As a result of the developments in population growth and migration the distribution of Jews in the world at the beginning of the 1880s was approximately four million in czarist Russia, 1.5 million in Austria-Hungary, 550,000 in united Germany, approximately 300,000 in the Ottoman Empire, and approximately 200,000 in the United States.

Radical Trends in Eastern Europe

Several developments in Eastern Europe between the 1860s and 1880s led to a considerable radicalization in the ideology of the youth and a marked cleavage within Jewish society; on the other hand, through the selfsame developments, the social structure and the problems of Eastern Jewry began to closely resemble those of the Western Jewish communities. The demand of the Russian government (1827) requiring the Jewish community in most of the Pale of Settlement to supply youngsters as *Cantonists for prolonged Russian army service gave rise to much bitterness within the communities between the leading circles, who were responsible for mustering the quota, and the lower strata, who suspected the former of evading this onerous duty in the case of their own children and putting it on the children of the poor. Jewish society as a whole was embittered toward the tyrannical government of Russia that used army service as a means of bringing about the assimilation of young boys.

The government of Czar *Nicholas I again put forward a constitution for the Jews in 1835. Apart from exclusion of the paragraph concerning expulsion from the villages, this constitution was a summary of former disabilities, including a prohibition on Jewish residence within 50 versts (33 miles) of the western border. The constitution promised various alleviations for Jews turning to Russian culture, again a continuation of former policies. Thousands of Jewish families applied for agricultural settlement, and many were settled in the south. In 1840 a new commission for research into the Jewish legal status and existence was set up. Both the premises it worked on and the decisions arrived at had a markedly anti-Jewish bias. Czar Nicholas I also attempted to enforce changes in Jewish education and dress; he abolished Jewish *kahal* autonomy in 1844, and planned to classify the Jewish population into five classes, according to their "usefulness." This project, as well as his cruel policy toward the Jews, was abandoned after his death in 1855.

Czar *Alexander II attempted the solution of the Jewish problem, again on the basis of discrimination between Jews but in this case through showing favor toward small professionally educated groups of Jews, with the aim of bringing, by their example, the general Jewish population – to which no alleviation was granted – to the main road of general culture and productivization. During the 1860s various groups of such Jews were granted various exemptions from anti-Jewish discriminatory legislation, the main prize being the permission to live outside the Pale of Settlement. This right was granted to Jewish merchants who paid the highest scale of tax, to Jews who had academic diplomas, and, in 1865, to Jewish craftsmen. This trend was not continued in the 1870s, while public opinion as well as state policy turned against minorities in Russia in general, and Jews in particular. Only in *Romania was the Jewish status and Jewish existence even worse than in czarist Russia. The intervention of the Congress of *Berlin in 1878 in favor of Jews in the Balkan states, and chiefly of those in Romania, helped them only formally, but not in actual practice.

Communal Organization

Jewish autonomy all this time was being attacked, both from without and from within, not only in its form as a corpora-

tion, but also as a bastion of religious and social separatism. The early Jewish enlightenment circles regarded the community establishment as an institution for enforcement of Orthodoxy and meddling in their personal lives which they did not intend to suffer. To intellectual dilettantes of means, of the type of Isaac *D'Israeli, the father of Benjamin, community service was a nuisance. As he declared in 1813 to those who had elected him *parnas* of the community,

> A person who has always lived out of the sphere of your observation, of retired habits of life, who can never unite in your public worship, because as now conducted it disturbs instead of exciting religious emotions, a circumstance of general acknowledgment, who has only tolerated some part of your ritual, willing to concede all he can in those matters which he holds to be indifferent; such as a man, with but a moderate portion of honour and understanding, never can accept the solemn functions of an Elder in your congregation, and involve his life and distract his business pursuits not in temporary but permanent duties always repulsive to his feelings (in: C. Roth, *Anglo-Jewish Letters* (1938), 238, no. 115).

This is an expression not only of D'Israeli's personal taste and indolence, but also of the trend toward assimilation and a renunciation of Jewish social cohesion and cultural tradition. With increased assimilation, such tendencies against autonomy became sharper and more meaningful. For people who appreciated the way of life and habits of the society of their environment, the forms of Jewish prayer, burial and marriage customs even looked ludicrous.

Despite these forces undermining the organized Jewish community, it not only continued to exist in the West but even gained new strength and an articulate structure there through the system of *consistories imposed by Napoleon, who was interested in utilizing the community organs as functionaries of the state. This situation continued with some changes in most of continental Western Europe. In England the *Board of Deputies of British Jews began to act on behalf of the whole of the British Empire from the time of the chairmanship of Moses *Montefiore (1838). The Jewish organizational framework in England – and, patterned on it, in many of the dominions – acquired an even more authoritative position in the second half of the 19th century with the establishment of the authority of the chief rabbi and with the organization of the rigid *United Synagogue.

Communal organization in the United States proceeded along different lines. Divisions between the first layer of Jewish immigration there, the Sephardi, the second, mainly German Jews, and the beginnings of the third, of Eastern European Jews, in conjunction with the size of the country and the huge size of the cities in which the Jews tended to concentrate, combined to create the type of synagogue community established by the exiles from Spain (see above). This was later to develop, with the mass immigration of Eastern European Jews after 1881, into the *Landsmannschaften* form of community, which still retained many of the religious aspects of community leadership and life. The same factors also led to the creation of secular ideological associations, such as the Arbeter Farband and *Workmen's Circle. By the mid-19th century attempts toward centralization were made in the United States also, though in the main ephemeral. About this time there also developed a type of organization suited to the upper-middle-class elements of U.S. Jewry, introducing orders on the Masonic pattern devoted to Jewish problems. One of the first, and still the most influential, was the *B'nai B'rith order, founded in 1843.

In Central Europe, religious and social fragmentation led to many breaches within the Jewish community, mainly brought about by the Orthodox wing which felt itself threatened by the growing predomination of *Reform elements in Jewish society. By the 1880s the Orthodox sector achieved in both Hungary and Germany – ironically with the help of liberals in Parliament – the right for every individual Jew to leave his local community. It resulted in the institution and ideology of the *Austrittsgemeinde* (see also Samson Raphael *Hirsch; Isaac Dov *Bamberger). These religious and cultural orientations led to new forms of linkage within the state of the Reform and Orthodox sectors, and, in Hungary, also of the *neolog trends. They convened their own conferences and synods of rabbis (see below).

In Eastern Europe Jews in general retained a strong attachment to the ancient community structure. *Ḥasidism on the one hand and the emergence of secular Jewish political and social organizations on the other produced new elements of leadership, which mostly cooperated with the community organization, while trying to use it for their own purposes and according to the ideals guiding them. Thus in regions where Ḥasidism predominated the local rabbi became very much subordinated to the authority of the ḥasidic *ẓaddik, whose follower he was, or to the authority of the *ẓaddik* who had the largest following in the community.

From about the beginning of the 1880s the aims and weight of secular political parties began to influence the policies and composition of the community leadership. The abolition of the *kahal* by the Russian government in 1844 did not greatly restrict actual community work. The Jews continued with their own leadership structure even if having to use different names for it in reference to the state authorities.

The adherence of Jews to their own conception of the personality and type of education required for religious leaders was strongly in evidence in their reaction to the requirement of the czarist government that rabbis be educated in Russian culture and enlightenment trends. Seminaries for such rabbis were opened by the state at Jewish centers such as *Vilna and *Zhitomir but were boycotted by traditional scholars, and the graduates were considered ipso facto unfit for the rabbinate. The government therefore deputed its own state-appointed rabbis in many places, the so-called **kazyonny ravvin*; however, the Jews continued to acknowledge their own rabbis, generally looking upon the *kazyonny ravvin* as an insult or joke.

Religious and Cultural Differentiation

Religious and cultural life between approximately the middle of the 18th century and the 1880s underwent a continuous process of differentiation, enrichment, and involuntary pluralism. Ḥasidism introduced the charismatic personality as a regular element of leadership, which was later on institutionalized in the dynasties of ḥasidic *ẓaddikim*. At first Ḥasidism was bitterly opposed both for its tenets and the temper and way of life of ḥasidic groups, in particular at the courts of the *ẓaddikim*. The opposition failed, although it was led by the greatest rabbinical authorities who made lavish use of their powers of excommunication (see *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna) and by the lay community leadership which strongly attacked it. As a result the opposition itself created a new school of Lithuanian yeshivot expressive of its own ideals and attitudes, and gradually formed a new *Mitnaggedic-Lithuanian pattern of Jewish subculture. Due to the basic conservatism of Ḥasidism, despite the suspicions cast on it by its opponents, and since the main attention of its opponents was concentrated on giving direction to their own pattern of culture, there emerged (more or less by the 1830s) an uneasy coexistence between these two groups.

As the *Haskalah movement and the *maskilim* also remained within the framework of Jewish society, despite the sharp disagreement and suspicion between them and the conservative elements, Jews began, by about this time too, to accustom themselves to the existence of various trends within Jewry. Both the tension between them and the reluctant partial recognition reciprocally accorded by each side now resulted, for the first time since the period of the Second Temple, in the existence of clearly defined groups – differing in many aspects, cultural, religious, and social – but all regarding each other as within Jewry and partaking of Judaism, and each considering its own brand of Jewishness to be superior. Even Reform and assimilated Jews were defined publicly as Jews. This situation led to a heightening of intolerance on the formal level but to mutual toleration in practice. Jewish life was much enriched by the competing cultural streams, variety in modes of life, and diverse types of leadership existing within Judaism side by side in disharmony but with a tacit agreement to disagree.

The great personalities of the founders of these trends became the ideal prototypes for future generations – both through the history of their own lives and by means of the legends and semi-legends woven around them. In Ḥasidism, *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov and the circle of his pupils, among the *Mitnaggedim*, Elijah Gaon of Vilna and his circle of pupils, and, in Haskalah, Moses Mendelssohn and his disciples, served both to fructify and influence cultural trends and individual behavior, as well as to accentuate differences.

Elements in Ḥasidism such as the ḥasidic *dance and song, the camaraderie of ḥasidic groups and courts, ḥasidic tales and accounts of wonders, not only colored the culture of the majority of East European Jewry but later, in the 20th century, influenced semi-secular and secular teachings and movements, like those of Martin *Buber and *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir in its early stages, as well as the patterns of behavior of many other Jewish youth groups in the late 19th and the first half of the 20th century, and much of secular Hebrew and Yiddish literature.

The Mitnaggedic Jewish culture both created representatives of a scholarly lay elite in the Lithuanian towns and townships, and did much to give new stature and dimensions to the **talmid ḥakham*. The influence of *Mitnaggedim* ideals and attitudes is reflected in the teachings of men like Simon *Dubnow and in much of the secular and non-ecstatic trends of Jewish life in Ereẓ Israel, the United States, and *South Africa.

Haskalah led in many cases to extreme assimilation, but on the other hand it continued, in particular in Eastern Europe, its original cultivation of Hebrew and its creation of a secular Jewish literature, in philosophy, historiography, and above all, in belles lettres. In Central and Western Europe its influence bifurcated in the often convergent directions of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums on the one hand, and of Reform Judaism on the other (see also Abraham *Geiger; Leopold *Zunz; Samuel *Holdheim; Aaron *Chorin). In Eastern Europe Haskalah often provoked the opposition of the Jewish masses through the collaboration of its enthusiasts with oppressive governments in attempts to impose on them secular education and changes of language, *dress, and custom. Yet it was mainly on the foundations laid by Haskalah thinking, methods, and achievements that secular Hebrew culture and literature could develop within the framework of Zionism in the 20th century.

Organization of Mutual Assistance on an International Scale

Western and Central European Jews were thoroughly emancipated by the end of the 1860s. While increasingly involved with the culture and society of their environment, they could not remain unmoved by the plight of their unemancipated brethren in Eastern Europe, in the Balkan states, and in the Ottoman Empire. The rebuffs met with by many of the assimilationists in gentile society, and their own emotional and intellectual inability to adhere strictly to the rationalist (ahistorical) dogmas of the enlightenment, caused Jewish assimilation to remain paradoxically a specific phenomenon, in both Jewish and Christian societies. Cumulatively, these factors led in 1860 to the creation of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, an international organization of assimilated Jews. These united their efforts, for the sake of religious brotherhood, to help their oppressed and inarticulate coreligionists, despite national differences. The activities of this organization included diplomatic action and the establishment of schools and welfare institutions in the countries of "backward" Jews, thus subconsciously expressing Jewish solidarity. Its many successes in part provided a challenge that led antisemites to readapt ancient libels about Jewish strivings for world domination into a malignant and influential myth through the forgery of the Protocols of the Learned *Elders of Zion. In a relatively short time the international structure of the Alliance began to weaken under

the strain of national solidarities. Anglo-Jewry created its own *Anglo-Jewish Association, and German Jews eventually established their own *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden.

Trends in Religious Reform

Cultural differentiation also led to many innovations and changes in Jewish life. Exponents of the Reform trend admitted explicitly that it was proposed to break down halakhic barriers – which were considered latter-day increments on the core of pure Jewish faith – between Jew and gentile. These included *kashrut*, the prohibition on *mixed marriages, and many of the Sabbath laws; there was also a move to abolish mention of the hope for a Messiah and for the return to Zion, and the use of the Hebrew language in prayer. On the last points Zacharias *Frankel seceded from the radical majority of the Reform movement and demanded a more conservative and historical approach (see *Conservative Judaism). This created yet a new facet of Jewish religious and cultural activity in Central Europe and later in the United States.

With the aim of throwing light on, as well as learning about, their own past, in order to present the case for emancipation and proposals for assimilation on a more respectful and firmer basis, the leading scholars of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums gradually developed a broader and increasingly secularized approach to their research into the Jewish past. The historical work of I.M. *Jost is the first sustained modern attempt of this type by a Jew.

Jewish ideals underwent a reformation with the aim of serving and reorientating Jewish religious consciousness. Reform circles tended to regard the Messiah not as a person who would come to redeem Israel but as a universalist process to redeem humanity. On the basis of this conception Leopold Zunz called the European revolution of 1848 "the Messiah." A later development of this conception was the theory of Jewish "mission": Israel had to see itself as the guardians and carriers of pure monotheism for all mankind; in modern circumstances assimilation would only help to fulfill this duty. Pointing to the social, religious, and political failings of Christianity, such theorists considered their "purified" Judaism the destined vehicle for making monotheism paramount. "The spring of nations" of the 1848 revolution introduced a new complication and an added tinge to the trends of assimilation and acculturation. Jews in Prague for example found themselves caught between the crosscurrents of German and Czech nationalism. In *Budapest they were caught in the triangle of German, Magyar, and Slav national demands, and in Galicia in the triangle of German, Polish, and, later on, Ukrainian demands. The upsurge of national consciousness gave rise to animosity against Jews. The Czechs resented the assimilation of Jews into the German sector, while many Slav nationalities opposed their assimilation into the Magyar group. Hence from now on the question whether to assimilate or not to assimilate was joined with the problem into which nationality to assimilate.

Modern Manifestations of Anti-Jewish Prejudice

With the growing democratization of political processes in various European states to the west of the Russian border, and the emergence into political influence of the mass of elementary school graduates, Jews were to encounter in most of the countries of their emancipation mounting popular prejudice and a new phenomenon in the influence of the stereotype, whereby the press, and popular art and literature destined for the masses, presented various social manifestations through the medium of clichés and images. The stereotype image of the Jew in modern times was based on and bore the imprint of the baneful image of the Middle Ages, but its representation by various groups was fashioned by their own fears. To conservative and right-wing groups the Jew had become by the 1860s the prototype of the wicked arch-innovator, and Jews were stigmatized as the destructive bacteria of the social web. To the left-wing radical he appeared the evil representative of the capitalist spirit, the arch-schemer and arch-exploiter. The common bond of the medieval anti-Jewish legacy let these opposed stereotypes coexist and even complement each other.

The blood libel case in Damascus (the *Damascus Affair) in 1840 shocked Jews everywhere, not only because of the cruelties inflicted on the victims and absurdity of the charge but also and mainly because they saw a recrudescence of an extreme medieval-type expression of Jew hatred. It led Moses *Hess in his *Rom und Jerusalem* (1862) to reject his own assimilationist and revolutionary past. His sense of isolation and humiliation caused by the anti-Jewish attitude of the left-wing Marxist radicals brought him back to a deep feeling of the historic continuity of the Jewish nation and to place great hopes for its future in its own homeland. Hess had a much greater impact than commonly accorded him: his response fitted the challenge felt by many Jews in West and Central Europe.

The historian Heinrich *Graetz was deeply moved and influenced by this work. In 1863 he wrote to Hess: "I am now in a state to let you know something that will interest you. The plan of settlement in Ereẓ Israel – or *Yemot ha-Mashi'aḥ* [Hebrew in the original] – is beginning to crystallize." In 1870 he communicated to Hess an idea of "a very cultured Englishman, a Christian"; Graetz was not permitted to communicate the whole idea, but could only ask "whether in France, in which Jews already have military training, and there are men of courage among them, there may be found about 50 that could become a kind of gendarmerie. They will find excellent employment but they must bring with them a certain measure of Jewish patriotism …. Please look into this matter and tell me your opinion" (published in: Ẓevi (Heinrich) Graetz, *Darkhei ha-Historyah ha-Yehudit*, ed. by S. Ettinger (1969), 268, 272).

Awakening Nationalism

The state of mind of Jews, in particular those who from alienation returned wholly or partially to Judaism, was influenced in the 1860s to 1890s both by their hostile reception in Christian society and the spectacle of awakening nationalism

among suppressed peoples. When Italy united in the 1860s a geographical term became a political reality. Germany united to become a mighty empire through its victory of 1870–71. Slav peoples were demanding independence and fighting for their cultural identity against German or Magyar demands for their assimilation. Other Slav nations had revolted against the Ottoman Empire and established their independence. Ancient Greece had been resurrected relatively long ago (at the end of the 1820s), and Philhellenism had become a long-enduring fashion and ideological trend among cultured people in Europe. The whole meaning of Jewish assimilation was questioned in the light of these developments. Was Jewish continuity and culture less cogent and valuable than that of Serbs? Were Jews better received by the dominant nations than the Slavs and the Magyars? Inevitably the question was asked, "Why give up?"

From the 1840s gentile circles in England expressed hopes and formulated plans for "Jewish restoration to the Holy Land." These projects were supported not only by sectarians without political power but also by political leaders like the Earl of Shaftesbury. Pamphlets were published. Some activists like Laurence *Oliphant went to Ereẓ Israel to try to work them out. These projects and ideas were in a large degree prompted by the rapid and visible weakening of the Ottoman Empire and the anarchy within it. The Ottoman Empire was considered at that time "the sick man of Europe." The Crimean War was fought in the 1850s over the settlement of its fate. Though subsequently kept alive, this empire appeared to offer good opportunities for obtaining concessions and charters, in particular as the system of *capitulations made interference in its affairs possible and even easy.

This combination of external circumstances and the examples of national struggle and national resurrection was noted inside Jewish society by people who were either disappointed in their contacts with the environment or who, rooted in Jewish culture and society, reacted to the ravages brought about by assimilation. It was no accident that the pioneers of the idea of combining the reawakening of Jewish national consciousness with the return to Ereẓ Israel came either from the cultural borderline of assimilation like Moses Hess and his followers, or from the social borderline of the eastern districts of Germany where Jews living their own traditional life saw destructive influences advancing upon them; such were Elijah *Gutmacher and Ẓevi Hirsch *Kalischer, or Judah *Alkalai from the heartland of the Slav struggle for independence against the Ottoman Empire in Serbia (*Yugoslavia). In the United States of America Mordecai Manuel *Noah proposed (1825) the creation of the Jewish state "Ararat," first in the United States, although later his attention shifted to Ereẓ Israel.

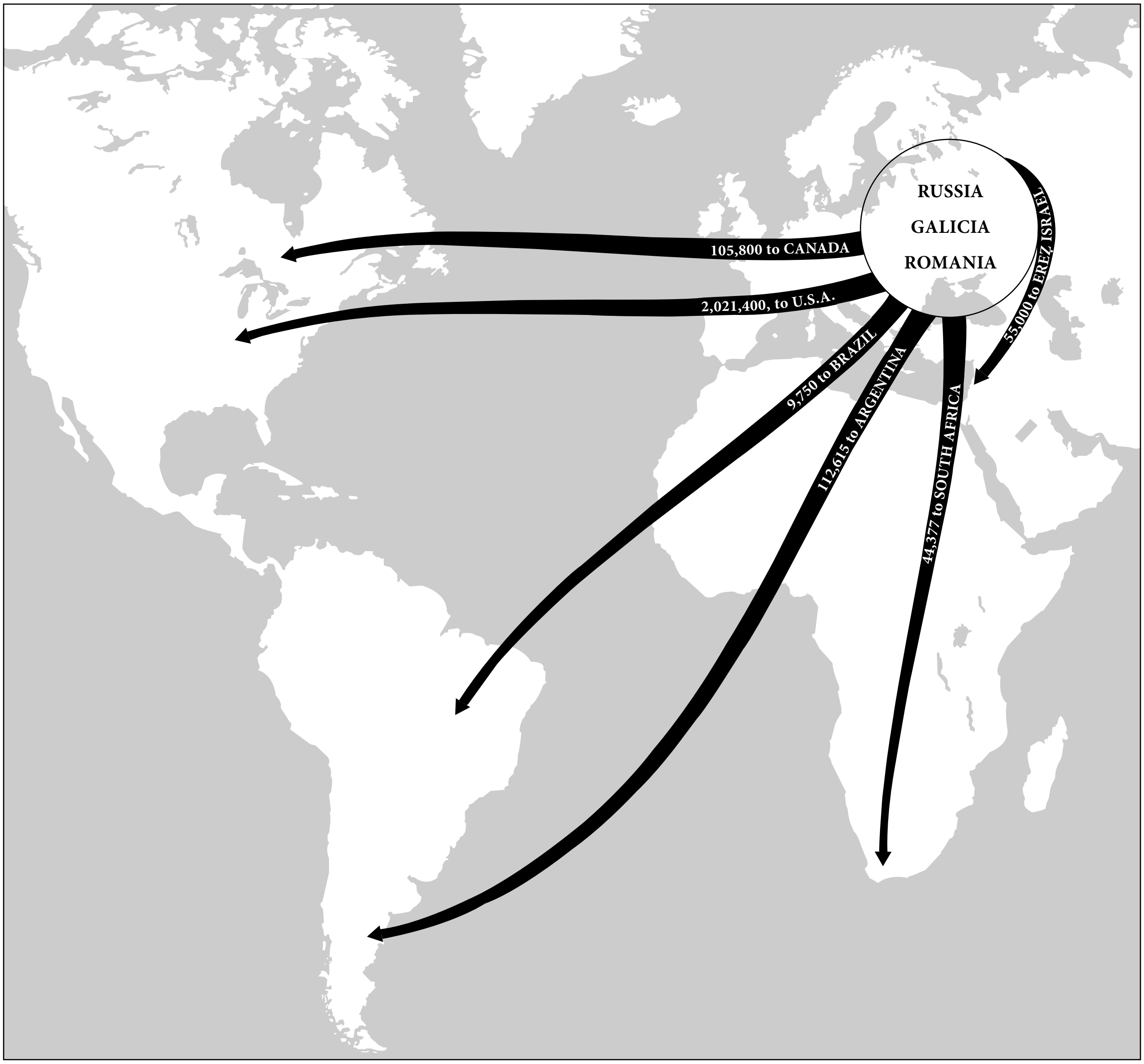
Jewish Life in Ereẓ Israel

Jewish society and settlement in Ereẓ Israel was then in a stagnant phase, following earlier development. A certain renaissance of Jewish life in the land began with the groups who went there under the leadership of *Judah Ḥasid (1700) from Europe and Ḥayyim b. Moses *Attar from the Maghreb (1742). Social and religious activity in Eastern Europe brought over groups of both Ḥasidim (1777) and *Mitnaggedim* (1808–10). By the mid-19th century all these groups, and additional immigrants, mostly of a mature age, had coalesced into a fixed pattern of settlement and society. Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, and Safed were "the four lands of holiness" in which Jews customarily settled. The income of over half of them, according to some estimates even up to 80% of the community, came from **ḥalukkah*. At this time *ḥalukkah* was a much respected institution for rendering financial assistance and homage by those remaining in the Diaspora, with its comforts and opportunities, to those who went to Ereẓ Israel to represent the nation in prayer and Torah study at the holy places.

Jewish culture reached high standards in this society. Most Jews there devoted their lives to divine worship in one way or another. The *ḥalukkah* distribution also imposed a pattern of social organization since the **kolel* unit was formed according to the source of *ḥalukkah* income and perpetuated the settlers' ties with their towns and regions of origin. The Sephardi element in this society tended to engage more frequently in ordinary business and crafts than the Ashkenazi. That element was thus more congenial to the first Ḥovevei Zion and Zionist pioneers who arrived in Ereẓ Israel in the 19th and early 20th centuries. This was also the background for the choice of the Sephardi pronunciation for modern Hebrew by its pioneer Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda. The capitulation system helped to keep the settlers in touch with the consuls of their lands of origin. While abroad the *meshullaḥim* (emissaries) not only collected money for the *ḥalukkah* but also brought the message of Ereẓ Israel to the Diaspora, and kept Jews everywhere in living contact with Ereẓ Israel through the sermons they delivered and accounts of conditions there. One of the main grounds of division between the Orthodox and Reform sectors in Jewry derived from differences in attitude toward messianic hopes, Ereẓ Israel, and the use of the Hebrew language in prayer, thus emphasizing in minds and emotions the centrality of these factors to Jewish life and thought.

Summary

The position of the Jews at the end of the foregoing period can be briefly summarized. By the end of the 1870s the Jewish population was in the process of constant and unprecedented growth, due largely to the persistence of old traditions of family cohesion and philanthropy. In the West both economic and social developments were moving in an upward direction, the old Sephardi families leading the way in these achievements, whereas in Eastern Europe conditions were growing worse, with a greater proportion of Jews deriving their livelihood from small businesses and workshops, and some growth of a working proletariat. The shtetl economy and society had crystallized. Migration was still largely taking place within the borders of states, in the general direction of east to west. Apostasy and assimilation, and to a certain extent also mixed marriages,



Map 4. Intercontinental migrations, 1881–1914. Based on data from H. Lestschinsky, "Jewish Migrations, 1840–1946," in L. Finkelstein (ed.), The Jews, *New York, 1960.*

had made considerable inroads into the upper strata of Jewish society in the great cities of Central and Western Europe, which were largely filled by the human and cultural reservoir of East European Jewry. In Central and Western Europe Jews had entered almost all professions, though their appointment to state and university posts was very slow. Although Jewish emancipation was complete almost everywhere in Europe except for czarist Russia, the equality granted to Jews in Romania and other Balkan states by the intervention of the powers and international conferences, like the Berlin Congress in 1878, remained on paper only. Growing achievements, acculturation, and emancipation had taught that the attainment of equality was as much a social and psychological problem as one of legal status. The first two aspects could not be legislated. The stereotype of public expression and propaganda, and the attainment of the masses to political and social power, did not permit the slow and delicate processes of social and cultural adjustment to equality to develop naturally. Jews were active and had achieved positions in science, in law, in the press and journalism, in medicine, in the arts, and in trade and banking. Some occupied important places in politics, yet their Jewish origin always remained recognizable to others as well as to themselves, even in the case of apostates like Benjamin Disraeli or Karl Marx. Their reactions to this situation differed from denigration of the Jewish character and culture (Marx) to pride in Jewish descent and even a claim to racial superiority (Disraeli). Most Jews active in public life preferred not to help fellow Jews or to become involved in Jewish matters.

In this attitude there was little difference between the conservative Achille *Fould in France and the liberals Eduard *Lasker and Ludwig *Bamberger in the German parliament or the revolutionaries Ferdinand *Lassalle and Johann *Jacoby. Jewry had become much diversified as a result of over a century of intense differences in opinion and changes in mood. Yet it remained united in consciousness though divided emotionally and in ways of life. Toward the end of this time the example as well as the antagonism of awakening nationalism had combined with the beginnings of a renaissance of Jewish national and cultural consciousness and creativity to influence in various ways – some starting originally as paths to assimilation like the Wissenschaft des Judentums – in the renewed striving for cohesion, internalized cultural creation, and direction of a vaguely felt need for independence in the land of their fathers.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

MODERN TIMES – FROM THE 1880S TO THE EARLY 21ST CENTURY

Introduction

The absolute growth of the Jewish population was constant and impressive up to the *Holocaust. There were approximately 14 million Jews in the world around 1918 and 16 million Jews around 1937. Even the terrible loss of about six million Jews through the horrors of the Holocaust still left at the end of World War II a nation of approximately 11 to 12 million. According to estimates, the number of Jews in the world by 1970 was higher than immediately after World War I.

The rate of growth slowed down continuously from the 1880s onwards. The use of contraceptives and the ideal of a one-child or two-child family, which became increasingly prevalent among town populations in general, were felt among Jews in most of Europe and other continents, in particular from the middle of the 1920s. The effects – social as well as emotional – of the Holocaust caused, according to some estimates, a slight reversal of this trend and of the diminution in the Jewish birth rate. Mixed marriages up to the rise of Hitler to power became a continuous drain on the Jewish population. Their proportion in some countries and cities grew to more than one quarter of the total of Jewish marriages. Over three-quarters of the children of such marriages were brought up as non-Jews. The above-mentioned phenomena were evident in the European Jewish family; communities in the Mediterranean lands and particularly in Muslim countries were almost not affected by them until quite recently. In Europe again racist antisemitism and the revulsion felt by Jews at its appearance led to both a decrease in the number of mixed marriages from the late 1930s and a much higher proportion of affiliation among the offspring of such marriages to Jewish identity.

From the end of World War II mixed marriages multiplied, in particular in Western Europe and the United States, while the degree of attachment of such couples and their children to the Jewish nation remained very much in the balance. As a result of the combination of these phenomena the rate of growth of the Jewish population decreased from 2% annually before World War I to 1.1% in the 1920s, and to 0.8% in the 1930s. Although East European Jewry (except in Soviet Russia) was relatively little affected by the phenomena of the small family and mixed marriages, other factors, such as persecutions, the years of hunger and of massacres between 1918 and 1923, the economic crisis of 1929, and the anti-Jewish economic and social policies in most of the "successor states" to Austria-Hungary and Russia between the two world wars, combined to produce the same effects on the Jewish population as in the West.

Two processes changed the dispersion and ecology of the Jews in the world throughout this period. Emigration, from 1881, transferred masses of Jews from Eastern Europe overseas (largely to the United States), and shifted the center of gravity for Jews in terms of environment and cultural influence. (See Map: Intercontinental Migrations 1). Societies and cultures which had been molded predominantly by English tradition, and by the pluralist pattern created by the "melting pot" of multinational immigration, increasingly became the hosts for Jews. These were now the matrix of the challenge and response of Diaspora life, instead of the Germanic or Slav environment and the homogeneous, predominantly intolerant, cultures by which the Jews had been surrounded before the great wave of emigration. In its own macabre way the Holocaust led in the same direction, for extermination overwhelmingly affected the communities of Central and Eastern Europe.

Secondly, in the whole of this period the Jews in the world underwent a constant and accelerating process of urbanization and even megalopolitization. Even while the shtetl society and economy were still almost intact in Eastern Europe, though much changed by the effects of emigration and economic and social factors, in 1914 there were already over 100,000 Jews living in each of 11 cities in the world. In the old area of Jewish settlement *Warsaw numbered approximately 350,000 Jews, *Lodz more than 150,000, Budapest approximately a quarter of a million, and Vienna more than 150,000. In the new area of Jewish settlement created by the pace of emigration (see below) *London numbered more than 150,000 Jews, *Philadelphia in the United States more than 175,000, *Chicago about 350,000, and New York 1,350,000. The trend has continued, both in absolute numbers as well as in the proportion of Jews in metropolitan cities relative to the general Jewish population in a country. On the eve of World War II over one-third of the Jews in the world were concentrated in 19 cities, each of which had more than 100,000 Jewish residents. New York alone had a population of about two million Jews, somewhat less than half of the total of Jews in the United States. After Jewish emancipation in Russia in 1917 and the abolition of the Pale of Settlement (see below), and in particular after the industrialization of Soviet Russia from the 1930s, Russian Jewry also tended to become increasingly concentrated in the big industrial and administrative centers. This development is in line with the general trend in the world toward urbanization, but far outpaces it. In 1970, Jews

outside the State of *Israel were concentrated in the largest and most complex urban settlements in the world, New York having the largest single concentration of Jews in any place and at any time. The mass exodus of Jews from Arab states under pressure after the creation of the State of Israel again assisted this trend. Many of the small Jewish communities in backward towns were liquidated and their members resettled in large urban concentrations, mostly in the State of Israel or in France. The dispersion of the 16 million Jews in the world and their proportion among the general population by 1937 can be seen in the Table: Distribution of Jews. (See Map: Intercontinental Migrations 2).

Table 1. Distribution of Jews by country, 1937

Country	Number	Percentage of Jews in General Population
Ereẓ Israel	384,000[1]	over 20
Poland	3,000,000[1]	10.4[1]
Lithuania	160,000	7.6
Romania	1,130,000	6.2
Hungary	485,000	5.9
Latvia	94,388	5.0
Turkey (Europe)	58,000	4.7
Austria	285,000	4.6
The Maghreb (present Libya, Algeria, Morocco and Tunis)	310,000	from 5.6 to 1.3
U.S.	4,350,000	3.6
Iraq	100,000	3.1
Czechoslovakia	375,000	2.6
Soviet Russia (Europe)	2,700,000	1.9
Greece	120,000	2.2
The Netherlands	120,000	1.7
Argentine	250,000	1.4
Canada	170,000	1.4
England	300,000	0.7
France	250,000	0.7

1 Estimate.

After the Holocaust about 50% of the Jews were living on the American continent, while only one-third remained in Europe and the Soviet Union. From 1945 Ereẓ Israel became the main haven of refuge; France also absorbed many Jews from North Africa. Among approximately 14 million Jews in the world in 1970, about 6 million were living in North America, predominantly in the United States. About 2½ million were living in the State of Israel. There were about three-quarters of a million in Southern and Central America, and about 200,000 in South Africa and *Australia. The majority of Jews living in France in 1970 arrived there through very recent emigration, mainly from North Africa, and the majority of Jews in England and *Switzerland were the result of immigrations from 1880. The distribution and concentration of Jews in various parts of the Soviet Union was the result both of movements toward the east after 1917 and of movements even farther east during World War II.

The emerging pattern therefore reveals that the vast majority of Jews live in new surroundings, though for a considerable number this change was ardently wished by them (in the State of Israel for historical and ideological reasons, and in the United States because of its attitude toward them). Western Europe in 1970 numbered more than one million Jews, of whom about half a million were living in France and about 450,000 in Great Britain. The Soviet Union numbered approximately three million Jews; the number of Jews in other communist countries was contracting steadily; they had reached a vanishing point in Poland, because of its virulent antisemitism. Jews had also left most of the Arab and Muslim states. The history of the Jewish population between 1880 and 1970 shows great vitality in movement, in adjustment to new environments and patterns of living, and in the creation of a state. Its present ecology makes the problems of Western urban civilization paramount in Jewish life. The location and numbers of the Jews have changed through their own dynamics as well as through the forces of human cruelty, of racism, and *antisemitism.

Effects of Anti-Jewish Discrimination in Russia

The evil of stereotypes and vulgarization increasingly made itself felt in its impact on Jewish life from the 1880s. The ruling circles of the czarist state and society adopted a policy of open antisemitism in order to divert the resentment of the masses to the Jews. These circles were considerably disturbed and angered by a phenomenon of their own creation that had appeared in Jewish society. In the 1860s and 1870s Jews had been promised alleviations and rewards as a prize for acquiring secular education and skills in line with the government policy of remolding them into satisfactory citizens. The Russian government, however, had no conception of the strength of the cultural traditions of veneration of study and respect for the student among Jews. Jewish society in Russia, by the criteria of its own culture, was considerably more educated and intellectualized than Russian society. When the aspirations of Jewish youths now turned toward secular learning and Russian culture, the ruling circles were dismayed by the "flood" of Jews that threatened their high schools, universities, and consequently, the composition of the Russian intelligentsia. They turned increasingly to the policy of severely restricting the numbers of Jewish students by imposition of the *numerus clausus. They also applied higher standards to Jewish pupils in Russian high schools and made more exacting demands on them.

Frustration and anger swept the youth who were eager to learn outside the sphere of their own traditions, who had been ready at first for assimilation in and service to the Russian state, and who were now being punished for revealing the high cultural level of their society and their own individual abilities. The trend toward academic education and free entry to the professions could not be halted among the Jews of the Pale of Settlement. Thousands who were not accepted at Russian universities went westward for their educa-

tion, mainly to Germany and Switzerland. In university cities in these countries Jews formed a large part of the "Russian student colonies." They knew that, having obtained a degree, back in Russia they would still be discriminated against because of their Jewishness.

The state thus fostered radicalization among Jewish students and a Jewish intelligentsia, who identified themselves with the revolutionary struggle for freedom and a better society in Russia. Hence the proportion of Jewish intellectuals among the leading cadres of the various Russian revolutionary parties grew increasingly larger, and was much greater than their proportion in the general population and at total variance with the social background of their homes. The czarist authorities and their supporters were quick to clutch at the stereotype of the "Jewish subversive spirit" in opposing the Jews, and pointed out to them – by discriminatory measures as well as by massacres-that the western border was open to Jews wanting to emigrate (while the eastern border of the Pale of Settlement remained closed). The government thus hoped both to solve "the Jewish question" and to weaken the revolutionary movement at one stroke.

Pogroms and Mass Emigration

In 1881 one wave of massacres broke over southern Russia that hit about 100 communities. From then on massacres as well as arson in the Jewish townships, whose structures were built of wood, became endemic in czarist Russia. In 1891 the expulsion of Jews from *Moscow was effected, an event that alarmed Jews throughout the country, for they saw it as a reaffirmation of the Pale of Settlement policy. In 1903 there occurred a massacre in *Kishinev that set off a wave of anti-Jewish violence. The ruling circles also made great efforts to involve the Poles in these outbreaks. They were successful at *Bialystok. In 1912 an anti-Jewish *boycott was organized in Warsaw. Thus Russian Jews were faced by the menace of *pogroms, i.e., constant physical assault and robbery; these were certainly abetted by the authorities, and – as the official archives showed, when opened after the revolution of 1917 – in many cases organized by police functionaries and financed by societies close to the government. Jews reacted against this situation by the creation of *self-defense organizations, a pattern of behavior which continued until the period of the pogroms under *Petlyura, Makhno, and *Denikin during the civil war after the Revolution of 1917.

The Jews of the Pale of Settlement and Galicia and Austria reacted to the straitened economic circumstances even more strongly than to the wave of unprecedented hatred and violence in Russia, by mass emigration. (See Map: Intercontinental Migrations 1). Between 1881 and 1914 over 2½ million emigrated from Eastern Europe (c. 80,000 annually), over two million of them to the United States, creating the great Jewish center there. Over 350,000 settled in Western Europe; centers of Jewish tailoring and trade in England and in other countries were created by this emigration, since a large proportion of the Jews were tailors and many who formerly had no profession joined their ranks. Many others turned to peddling. The "greenhorns" were unacquainted with the language and culture of the new country and were dependent to a large degree on economic and spiritual help from earlier arrivals. They clustered together, thus creating "ghettos" in the great cities of the east coast of the United States and in Western Europe. These were at first islands of the Eastern European Jewish culture and way of life, where Yiddish was spoken and *Yiddish literature, newspapers, theaters, and journalism burgeoned amidst the surrounding cultures.

For the second generation, the traditions of learning and respect for intellectual activities and the free professions pointed to intensive study and the acquirement of a profession as the way to social betterment. This naturally entailed deep acculturation. The dynamics of traditional Jewish culture in an open and more or less tolerant society created the present broad strata in Jewry of those occupied in the free professions of the intelligentsia, including writers, artists, and newspapermen, in the United States and other Western countries. The children and grandchildren of the poor and hard-working immigrant parents, who at first labored in the grueling atmosphere of the "sweatshops" "pulled themselves up by their own boot straps" thanks to a tradition that took the road of learning and social leadership and service wherever and whenever permitted.

The present situation, where the vast majority of Jewish youth enters the universities and other academic institutions, can be interpreted as being no less the result of an acceleration of immanent Jewish trends than a part of the present general trend toward academic education. The vestiges of occupations such as tailoring and peddling are rapidly disappearing. Productivization has taken a different and unexpected turn in modern Jewish society in the West.

German Jewry

Up to 1932 German Jewry was in the forefront of intellectual achievement and the acquirement of free professions, though it never achieved the type of social acceptance found in other Western societies. In Germany too the development was away from the crafts and petty trade to academic professions, medium and largescale business enterprises, and public service. German Jewish society experienced during this period a certain undercurrent of tension between its acculturated strata and the "*Ostjuden*," who, whether as immigrants or as transients, caused some offense by their culture and way of life, in particular through fear of the "bad impression" they could make on good, cultured Germans.

However, at the end of World War I there was a rise in antisemitism. The defeat of Germany in war was explained by the myth, propagated by extreme right-wing elements, that circulated after 1918 of the "stab in the back" that the victorious German army had received from revolutionaries, pacifists, and intellectuals under the influence of the cowardly "Jewish spirit," as opposed to the heroic and creative "German spirit"; such accusations, combined with resentment at

Jewish commercial and financial activity in Germany during the great inflation of the early 1920s there, reinforced the old stereotype evil image of the Jews. Fuel was added to the old hatred by the preeminence of Jews in many scientific fields, and, especially, their activity on the liberal and left-wing side of German politics (Walther *Rathenau, minister for foreign affairs of the German republic, was assassinated in 1922; Kurt *Eisner, head of the socialist republic of Bavaria in 1918, and Rosa *Luxemburg, as the symbol of left-wing socialism, were murdered).

Racism and Antisemitism

Racism was threatening to become from the second half of the 19th century the new buttress of quasi-scientific rationalizations of the hatred of the Jews when its older religious props were disintegrating. These ideas were influenced by successes in the organization and development of agriculture and cattle breeding along racial lines, by the stimulus of racist and semi-racist policies toward blacks everywhere, and toward "natives" in many parts of the British Empire, and by the penetration of Darwinian biologistic concepts of the "war for survival" and "survival of the fittest," which led to a sociological Darwinism that was first used in conflicts between social circles in Christian society and in republican France.

There gradually emerged in Europe a racist theory (see *Race, Theory of) which postulated the division of mankind into "higher" and "lower" races and into "good" and "bad" breeds. Carried over from the disciplines of nature and economics, where functionalism and teleology could flexibly suggest the breeding of a race for a specific purpose, this theory acquired cruelty and absurdity when applied to humanity and to the area of absolute imponderable values and goals (see also J.A. de *Gobineau; H.S. *Chamberlain). When combined with the stereotypes of the Jew and his character, it acquired the ultimate horror of a racial scale, where the "Aryan," which stood in Nazi race parlance for Germanic, represented the best type of man, while the "Semite," which in the same parlance was actually intended to designate the Jew, came to represent an irreparably evil and harmful blood and race.

The growing influence of Adolf *Hitler and the Nazis, the medieval-type poison disseminated by newspapers like *Der *Stuermer*, and the theories propounded by A. *Rosenberg and expounded by J. *Goebbels, created a dangerous situation and an oppressive attitude toward Jews even before the seizure of power in Germany by Hitler in 1933. The public vote, adherence of the youth, and the growing "respectability" of the Nazis and Nazi ideas among the right wing of German society, pointed the way to the Holocaust. The influence of this development in the heartland of Europe, in a country and nation famous for their culture, became threatening for Jews everywhere.

*Antisemitic political parties and organizations had begun to appear in Germany and Austria-Hungary in the 1870s (see A. *Stoecker; K. *Lueger; G. *Istóczy). These had from the first made in clear tones "socialist" claims against Jewish exploiters and "Christian" aims against subversive Judaism, and expressed overt hatred of the blood and the irradicably evil character of the Jew. In 1882 a first international congress of antisemites convened in Dresden, marking the conception of an all-European war against the Jewish "international conspiracy." The anti-Jewish agitation of Edouard *Drumont in France reached its peak and was defeated in the *Dreyfus affair in the 1890s (see also Emile *Zola). Right-wing sentiment against the Jews lingered on actively in France after the decisive defeat of the anti-Dreyfusards, however: it attracted many embittered intellectuals, Catholic and radical.

Another type and tradition of antisemitism was active and virulent in the "successor states" of Russia and Austria-Hungary. These faced wide-scale Jewish participation in the "third estate" (Poland, Lithuania) and in the intellectual elite of the country (Hungary). Memories of the war against Russia, when Jews were suspected of Russian leanings in the east of Poland (leading to the massacre in *Pinsk), and memories of the communist revolt in Hungary led by the Jew Béla *Kun intensified enmity against the Jews. Obliged by the minority treaties (see *Minority Rights) and by their internal economic and political situation to refrain from open action against Jews in the 1920s and early 1930s, these states developed, in particular Poland, Romania, and Hungary, a systematic policy of anti-Jewish measures camouflaged as measures intended for the improvement of trade or crafts, or for stricter sanitation. Taxation also served as a weapon against the Jews. Public opinion and semi-official economic organizations, such as the *Rozwoj organization and cooperatives in Poland, served the same purpose. Numerus clausus was introduced openly or clandestinely. Jews did not obtain state employment, while the "general" measures mentioned above enabled the closing down of Jewish shops and workshops and made economic activity difficult for the Jews. Public opinion encouraged this policy and was in turn officially encouraged to display hostility to Jews. Attacks against Jews by students and youths were endemic in Romania, where they were scarcely punished, and became more and more frequent in Poland.

Following the rise of the Nazis to power between 1933 and 1939 all these various brands of antisemitism on the continent of Europe tended to merge, accepting to a greater or lesser degree the racist theory and cruel methods of the Nazis. On the other hand, this provoked growing revulsion from antisemitism in some conservative and Church circles, though expressed hesitatingly and not generally leading to much activity against antisemitism.

The Nazis set the tone in introducing racism as a basic concept in law with the *Nuremberg Laws (1935). They gradually tried out on European public opinion as well as "educated" German society the steps of open boycott, of violence against, and harsh isolation of the Jews and expropriation of their property, culminating in the **Kristallnacht* action of November 9–10, 1938. The badge of a yellow "*magen David*" served to mark the Jew outwardly. Jews were given a spurious autonomy appointed by and closely supervised by specially trained

"experts" of the *SS and *Gestapo. By the eve of World War II not only the non-communist states of Eastern Europe but also fascist Italy under *Mussolini and pro-Nazi political parties in the West, like that of Oswald Mosley in England and the Croix de Feu in France, had accepted – some enthusiastically, some reluctantly – the Nazi line toward Jews, though not always all the forms of Nazi behavior toward them. The civil war in Spain (1936–39), where thousands of left-wing Jews fought and died in the ranks of the international brigades of the republic against the armies of the Caudillo Franco, served in the case of the Jews to rally the extreme right wing of Europe closer to Hitler and make his victims its enemies.

The Economic Crisis of the Early 1930s

Jews everywhere were hard hit economically by the crisis of 1929, as were almost all sectors of the public in Europe and the United States. The New Deal of Franklin D. *Roosevelt did much to help them in the United States, where they were again in the mainstream of development of the whole country. Yet the early 1930s were a difficult time not only economically but also socially for Jews there. The odium incurred by Roosevelt and his measures were often directed against Jews too. Public agitators like Father Coughlin used the new medium of radio to preach hatred against the Jews.

In Soviet Russia after 1917

In the Soviet Union there continued, up to 1928 approximately, a long period characterized by the break-up of the shtetl economy and the penalization of many Jews as "bourgeois elements" in the legal, economic, and social aspects of existence. This policy was followed, even if they had been petty shopkeepers or smallscale artisans under the czarist regime, without taking into account the restrictions that had forced them into their petty bourgeois status. In this case also a "general line of policy" turned out to be destructive and unfair to Jewish society in particular. During the economic crisis the Soviet government was favorable to Jewish autonomy (there were many preponderantly Jewish municipalities and even several such regional administrative units even after the end of the 1920s). The setting in of industrialization around 1928 gave new opportunities to Jews and began to compensate many of them for the former social havoc.

In the 1920s the Soviet state encouraged a change in Jewish economy and society through agriculture and settlement in compact groups, first in the *Crimea and the south of the *Ukraine – which had been traditional areas for Jewish agricultural settlement with governmental encouragement from the first half of the 19th century – and later in what was proclaimed to be the autonomous Jewish region of *Birobidzhan. The projects proceeded rapidly with the help of Jews from abroad. In 1926, 150,400 Jews gained their livelihood from agriculture, approximately 6% of the total. By 1928 they numbered 220,000 (8.5%). A peak was reached in 1930 with 10.1% of Russian Jews in agriculture. Subsequently a steady decline, both in absolute numbers and even more proportionally, set in. During the collectivization of Soviet agriculture most Jewish settlements were practically de-Judaized by an "internationalization" process, i.e., the introduction of non-Jewish peasants. The Jewish settlements were finally obliterated during the Nazi occupation of World War II.

In *Argentina, where the funds provided by Baron de Hirsch and vast tracts of available land seemed at the end of the 19th century to ensure prosperous Jewish settlement, this prospect withered away in the 20th century through the lure of the cities and lack of idealistic and national motivation. The failures of these attempts – state-supported in Communist Russia and supported lavishly by private means in the open economy of Argentina – proved, no less than the success of similar attempts in Ereẓ Israel (see below), that only ideals could reverse the trend in Jewish society toward urbanization manifest from the eighth century.

New Types of Social Organization

The years between 1880 and the creation of the State of Israel in 1948 were also ones of creativity in Jewish social organization and forms. Where the old community structure continued to exist it was destined to acquire importance through the activities of Zionists, autonomists, and other Jewish political party representatives, to revive and use it as an instrument for national, secular, social, and educational policy. It was further strengthened when the community organization became, under the minority treaties, a recognized cell of Jewish self-government representing the Jews as a minority in various states. International Jewish organizations patterned after the Alliance Israélite Universelle continued to appear with specific goals for diplomatic or philanthropic activity. To combat antisemitic propaganda the B'nai B'rith order set up its Anti-Defamation League in 1913, while in Germany the *Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbuerger juedischen Glaubens carried on such activity until its prohibition by the Nazis. Various organizations for the aid and direction of emigration arose in this period, the most prominent being the *HIAS and later the *Palestine offices of the Zionist Organization; *ORT, *OSE, and above all the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (from World War I) served to provide training for professional skills, health needs, and massive charity wherever required. The Jews of the United States who were emotionally attached to "*di alte heym*" and still retained memories of the hardships they underwent while taking root in the "New Country," made charity not only a duty and function but also a social bond and an ideal in life, a factor of cohesion in itself, and in forging links with other Jews; this proceeded from the time of World War I, in particular in relation to Palestine and later on the State of Israel.

The year 1897 saw both the convention of the first *Zionist Congress and the creation of the first all-state Jewish socialist party, the *Bund of Russia. The calling of the Zionist Congress and the method of ensuring its permanence through elected institutions acting in the interim between congresses, and, above all, through the institution of the *shekel, created an international Jewish framework that saw itself the repre-

sentative of its "voluntary citizens," and "a state in preparation." The Zionist Organization created the instruments of the *Jewish National Fund and *Keren Hayesod, which served as financial agencies of this extra-territorial state. Even Orthodox Jewry found itself compelled at the beginning of the 20th century to organize in this novel form of a political party, establishing the *Agudat Israel. This form took root: the *Folkspartei, the *Jewish Socialist Workers' Party (Sejmists), and other Jewish groups organized as political parties to advance their aims, sometimes on a territorial and sometimes on an international basis.

In the Soviet Union the ruling Communist Party created its "Jewish section," the *Yevsektsiya, in 1918, which served as an instrument of agitation and propaganda in opposing the Jewish religion and Hebrew national culture. In the Soviet Union there also emerged Jewish units of local municipal and regional autonomy (see above). The search for forms continued in the attempt to create a *Jewish Agency to unite Zionists and non-Zionists in work for Ereẓ Israel, and later in the method of raising *bonds for Israel to assist an independent Jewish state. Cultural activity was also organized in democratic countries through separate organizational frameworks, like the Central Yiddish School Organization (CYSHO; see *Education) for Yiddish schools and culture, and *Tarbut for Hebrew secular schools and culture. The various trends of Jewish religious thought and life developed organizations of their own, in particular flourishing in the pluralist United States, in the shape of the three main groupings of Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox, with several splinter groups (see, e.g., *Reconstructionism). Many organizations tended to link themselves in one way or another to the State of Israel, though there is also in the United States the *American Council for Judaism, active mainly as an anti-Zionist and anti-Israel body. In the camp of the *New Left, stirrings were felt toward expression and organizational articulation on specific Jewish matters and issues, though in the main it was inimical toward and destructive of Jewish cohesion.

Contribution to General Culture

Jewish involvement in general culture and service to it became greater and more creative in this period. Henri *Bergson, Hermann *Cohen (who expressed himself not only as a general philosopher but also as a Jewish one), and Edmund *Husserl are but a few of those who contributed to *philosophy. *Mathematics and *physics increasingly attracted Jews who were very creative in these fields, like George Cantor, Albert *Einstein, Hermann *Minkowski, Robert *Oppenheimer, Edward *Teller, and Lev *Landau. The work of Georg *Simmel, Emile *Durkheim, and later that of Claude *Lévi-Strauss is central to *sociology and *anthropology. Many Jews have contributed to the literatures of various countries; most of them cannot avoid the Jewish problem, even when consumed by *Selbsthass* ("self-hate"). In art, the creations of Amedeo *Modigliani, Chaim *Soutine, and others are important in the modernist trend. Through the work of Marc *Chagall the shtetl life and mythology, and motifs and images from the world of Midrash and Jewish legend have gloriously and colorfully entered European art. By granting the 1966 Nobel Prize for literature to Shemuel Yosef *Agnon, European society recognized the place of modern *Hebrew literature and creativity in world literature, acknowledging at the same time the Jewish acculturated contribution to European literature by granting it also to Nelly *Sachs. In the State of Israel, which continued schools and trends of artistic creativity from mainly Eastern Europe and Germany, are found many varieties, forms, and schools of literary and artistic expression, increasingly rooted in the life of the state.

The Jewish specificity of this entrance to the humanities and literature was expressed by the German historian Ernst Troeltsch, who combined appreciation of the Jewish contribution with recognition that it was new to European culture and somewhat alien. He states that for Hermann Cohen:

> history is concerned rather exclusively with the ideal future, and this is a systematics consisting purely of thought and ethics of the organized will of humanity. Through this the ideal Jewish approach to history finds its expression among the various approaches possible within the circle of our culture, for, since 1848, new conditions and new assumptions have been created through the entry of Judaism into literature and spiritual activity, first and foremost in the field of history …. This is given its most energetic expression by Cohen … (*Der Historismus und seine Probleme* (1922), 542).

André Gide reacted in a hostile fashion in 1914 to Jewish intrusion into French literature:

> Why should I speak here of shortcomings? It is enough for me that the virtues of the Jewish race are not French virtues; and even if the French were less intelligent, less long-suffering, less virtuous in all regards than Jews, it is still true that what they have to say can be said only by them, and that the contribution of Jewish qualities to literature (where nothing matters but what is personal) is less likely to provide new elements (that is, an enrichment) than it is to interrupt the slow explanation of a race and to falsify seriously, intolerably even, its meaning. It is absurd, it is even dangerous to attempt to deny the good points of Jewish literature; but it is important to recognize that there is today in France a Jewish literature that is not French literature, that has its own virtues, its own meanings, and its own tendencies (*Journals of André Gide*, transl. by J. O'Brien, 2 (1948), 4).

This reflection on the essential difference between Jewish and French creativity is preceded here by the reaction of Gide, who later became for a while a left-winger and Communist fellow traveler, to the character of the young Léon *Blum, the future Socialist premier of France, leader of the Front Populaire before World War II: "I cannot fail to recognize nobility, generosity, and chivalry, even though when applied to him these words must be considerably distorted from their usual meaning." Gide considered that these traits could not be applied in their usual meaning to Blum because of "his apparent resolve always to show a preference for the Jew, and to be interested always in him, that predisposition … comes first of

all from the fact that a Jew is particularly sensitive to Jewish virtues." He suspects too that this completely assimilated young man "considers the Jewish race as superior, as called upon to dominate after having been long dominated, and thinks it his duty to work toward its triumph with all his strength … He always talks to you as a protector. At a dress rehearsal, when he meets you by chance … he … makes everyone think … that he is the most intimate friend you have in the world" (*ibid.*, 3–4).

Antisemitic insinuations and touches thus often entered even where Jews and non-Jews seemingly mixed on the most equal terms in the salons of literature and science.

The National Renaissance and Zionism

The renaissance of Jewish solidarity and national thought that began in the 1860s continued and developed in the period under consideration. All the circumstances of the general growth of nationalism, the break-up of the Ottoman Empire, and above all, the feeling of Jews that they were not wanted in the social and cultural world around them with growing awareness that social and cultural understanding and acceptance mattered, led to a return to Judaism and to specific solutions for it. Leon (Judah Leib) *Pinsker suggested in his *Autoemancipation* (1882) that Jews could free both themselves and the world from the malaise of antisemitism if they would only make a sustained effort to return to the "state of nature" of a nation living in its own land and within its own social and economic framework, and if they ceased to frighten others by persisting in a ghost-like existence in exile. His ideas coincided to a considerable degree with ideas of other Jewish thinkers of different shades, like Nathan *Birnbaum, Moses Leib *Lilienblum, and Peretz *Smolenskin.

A supreme example of the Jew shocked out of complacent assimilation was Theodor *Herzl. Through his imaginative thought and charismatic leadership he rallied around his personality and ideas all those who wanted Jews to devote their efforts to the creation of a home of their own. Herzl stood outside most of Jewish culture, and was indifferent even to Hebrew. He put his trust mainly in diplomacy and in the possibility of obtaining a charter from the Ottoman Empire and shaping autonomous Jewish existence within it: methods and hopes that were destined to disappointment. Nevertheless, Herzl had the power to express openly his trauma, his consequent pride in being a Jew, and his political sense for symbols and forms of leadership, and to bequeath them to Zionism after him. His attempt in 1903 to lead Jews to a "*Nachtasyl*" in Uganda, mainly for the sake of alleviating the sufferings of Russian Jews, failed in a large measure due to the opposition of those very Jews (see *Uganda Scheme). The territorialists who later wanted to continue this trend of Herzl's thought were destined to fail in all their attempts, lacking the motive force of the historic attachment to Ereẓ Israel (see *Territorialism). The various organizational and financial instruments (see above) created in Herzl's lifetime and soon after his death were to assist the ultimate achievement of the Jewish state by enlarging their methods and including "practical" settlement work.

From the days of the *Bilu pioneers in the late 19th century Jewish settlement activity in Ereẓ Israel did not stop despite many problems and failures, and despite the political view that generated reluctance toward practical settlement efforts before the attainment of a proper charter. Baron Edmond de *Rothschild intervened to assist Jewish settlement from 1883. His methods were often bureaucratic. His officials lacked contact with the settlers, but the money poured in (1½ million pounds sterling over approximately 15 years) and the instructors he sent helped to save them from economic catastrophe and to embark on various agricultural and horticultural efforts.

The main problem of the Zionist settlers at the beginning of the 20th century was ideological and social. Tensions between them and the *ḥalukkah* settlers created a gulf between the "old *yishuv*" and the "new *yishuv*," as the two sectors in Ereẓ Israel came to be called. The settlers of the first villages soon accepted French culture, spread by the Alliance Israélite Universelle schools as well as by the officials of the Baron. Asher Ginsberg (*Aḥad Ha-Am) was shocked at what he saw in both the cultural superficiality of Zionist leadership and the emptiness of purpose in the settlements. He suggested a new "spiritual" Zionism. His positivist thought contributed much to the ideological buttressing of secular Zionism.

In 1904 the Second Aliyah began, and it continued until 1914. Its pioneers brought with them high standards of Jewish and general culture, lofty ideals of socialist collectivism and productivization, and a deep conviction that ideals may be proved only through living according to them. Among the approximately 40,000 who came in this way, many of whom left after a relatively short time, were several leading personalities. Some were destined to lay the foundations of and lead the State of Israel: David *Ben-Gurion, Iẓḥak *Ben-Zvi, Berl *Katznelson, Aharon David *Gordon, among many others. Gordon stressed the revolutionary and creative character of physical work and the supreme value of the return to nature. These people considered that work by Jews in the fields and roads of the Jewish settlements was a precondition to national revival as well as the path to individual renewal. They aimed to form a Jewish peasantry and a Jewish agricultural proletariat, hence their struggle for work by Jewish labor and for Jewish land, a struggle that continued up to the establishment of the State of Israel. The followers of Gordon organized the *Ha-Poel ha-Ẓair party in 1905. Some of them, more radical in outlook and adherents of Yiddish as the national language, organized in the *Po'alei Zion. By their joint effort the pioneers created the organization of agricultural laborers in 1911.

The greatest achievement – and, as it would now seem, a lasting contribution to the social organization of mankind – was made by these pioneers with the help of funds of the Zionist Organization and instruction by various experts (see Yehoshua *Ḥankin; Arthur *Ruppin) in creating types of communal living and agricultural settlement: the cooper-

ative *moshav and the collective communes of the kevuẓah and *kibbutz. The last two relate back as if instinctively to the old tradition of Jewish communes in the Second Temple period (see *Essenes; *Dead Sea Sect). They were influenced respectively by ideals of social justice and equality, and of national service. Both consciously and subconsciously, the kibbutz served, through its spirit of collective brotherhood, to maintain the high cultural level and intensive social life of the pioneers in conditions of hard physical effort and economic hardship.

Malaria, the hot climate, and despair that they might be unable to attain their objectives were the enemies against which the Jewish idealist settlers had to battle from the first days of the Bilu'im. Despite many attempts and failures, a relatively high rate of suicide, and the fact that some 40 existing agricultural settlements contained only a minority of the approximately 80,000 Jews in Ereẓ Israel by 1914, they formed a strong social and ideological core that remained ready to continue to expand as soon as the war ended in 1918.

Following the tradition of Jewish self-defense, true to the conception that everything should be done by the Jews themselves, inspired to generate a romantic renaissance that attached great importance to physical valor, the pioneers of the Second Aliyah decided to take the defense of the Jewish settlements into their own hands. In 1909 they created the *Hashomer organization. Those who formed it intended to be more than mere watchmen, and took for their model of behavior that of the warrior bedouin. This organization lost several of its first members in defending the Jewish settlements. Some of them, through their way of life and the courage they displayed, developed an ideal prototype for the role of the Jewish defender.

Before World War I Eliezer Ben-Yehuda had succeeded in bringing Hebrew back to life as a day-to-day language by personal example and propaganda for it as a living language. The wealth of its literary, legal, and philosophical strata considerably contributed to its revival. This became firmly established through the "language conflict" between the supporters of Hebrew as the only language to be used for every field and activity, and those who considered that German should be used for various subjects and spheres for which Hebrew was not considered ripe, in particular for teaching at the new *Technion in Haifa. After pressure by the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden in support of German, the determined stand of teachers and public opinion decided the day for Hebrew in 1913.

World War I and Its Aftermath

World War I tested Jewish nationality as a political concept in the international arena. Zionism was in disarray. Conceived as an international movement and organization for carrying out Jewish policies by modern political means, it found itself divided between the two warring camps. Its main offices were in Germany, while the main body of its supporters were in the lands of Germany's enemies or in neutral countries. From the days of Herzl, Zionist diplomacy had relied both on friendship with the Ottoman Empire, using the influence of Germany for this purpose, as well as on the friendship and support of England. Now these mainstays were in conflict. The Turks were gradually drawn into the war and when they entered it they had already become particularly suspicious of Jews and Zionists.

Jews everywhere found themselves in a similar predicament. Culturally they admired Germany; the Austro-Hungarian Emperor *Francis Joseph was considered a friend and protector of Jews. Russia and the Russians were hated and feared, in particular by the great mass of recent immigrants from Russia who now formed the great centers of Jewish population in the United States and England. On the other hand, the Western democracies, and in particular England, were traditionally considered the states and societies most favorably inclined toward Jews. The Turks, who became the allies of Germany in 1914, were considered cruel and unreliable. When German successes in the East brought great areas of the Pale of Settlement under German rule, the attitude of the Germans and the Austro-Hungarians toward the Jews compared favorably with that of the Russians. Jewish officers in the German and Austro-Hungarian army, in particular army chaplains, came in touch with the Jewish society in the conquered territories, and did much to assist it. This encounter also brought important results for the Jewish consciousness of the German Jews themselves. Many of these German Jews made the acquaintance of "*Ostjuden*" life and culture in its home and began to respect and even to admire it. Much of the later understanding between these two sections of Jewry in the period between the two world wars stemmed from this encounter. The Russians, on the other hand, often maltreated Jews during their retreat, and expelled many of them eastward, suspecting them of spying for the Germans. They thus broke up on their own initiative – as they thought temporarily – the structure of the Pale of Settlement. Jews in the West, in Germany, and Austria-Hungary, were well informed about the various aspects of the situation in the East. Left-wing radicals, both Jewish and non-Jewish, wished for the downfall of all autocratic rulers, but in particular prayed for the downfall of the arch-autocrat in Europe, the czar.

Most Jews served in the armies of their respective countries, and did not feel obliged to form a specific Jewish policy and attitude, except for scattered reflections and sentiments influenced by the considerations mentioned above. Army service had an important result for Jewish society, as at least one million Jews received a sound military training under conditions of war. This served to good effect after the war, when Jewish ex-servicemen took over the self-defense of Jewish communities in many places in Eastern Europe (see *Military Service).

A sector of the Zionist leadership and many of the rank and file thought and behaved on similar lines. Their main policy was to wait and see. They argued that it would endanger the Jewish population in Ereẓ Israel if Zionism took a stand against the Turks and it would harm the Jews in Russia if

Zionists entered into an agreement with the Turkish-German side. A small but very able and devoted minority thought otherwise. It included the veteran Zionist Max *Nordau, Chaim *Weizmann, Vladimir *Jabotinsky, Pinḥas *Rutenberg, Joseph *Trumpeldor, and Meir *Grossman. They considered that Zionism should have an active policy. They estimated that a victory for a side which included the Turks would mean an end to the whole of Jewish development in Ereẓ Israel. The phenomenon of the Polish legions who had served in the Napoleonic armies and the persistence of Polish national policy without a state of its own, the example of similar Italian units and policies before the attainment of Italian independence, and admiration for the symbolic figures of Garibaldi and Cavour influenced the thoughts of some of them.

They came to the conclusion that there could be no greater political asset than to create an activist, pro-Entente, Zionist-Jewish policy, and that there could be no finer expression of national behavior than to create Jewish units that would fight against the Turks, when, for the first time since the Jews had fought in alliance with the Persians and taken Jerusalem from Emperor Heraclius in 614, Jewish blood would again be part of the price for the ancestral Jewish homeland. Jews would obtain, so they hoped, basing themselves on these precedents, a seat and a say with the victors, and they were sure these would be the Western democracies. For some of them there was also the ideology of a renewal of the courage and warrior spirit of the Jewish nation through its formal and actual participation in the war. The behavior of the Turks in Ereẓ Israel was so outrageous that Aaron *Aaronsohn formed a spy group, *Nili, to serve the Allies.

The differences of opinion were decided by acts. Trumpeldor and his associates organized a group that was accepted as a unit of muleteers; this battalion served with distinction at Gallipoli. It was recruited mainly from Jewish refugees from Ereẓ Israel in Egypt. Trumpeldor forged, both through instruction and personal example, high morale and brave behavior among these soldiers. Jabotinsky in the meantime worked tirelessly in England for the formation of a *Jewish Legion in the British army to fight for the liberation of Ereẓ Israel. He seized on the fact that many of the Jewish immigrants were not due for army service in England; their exemption caused antisemitism, and from his point of view they were a ready reservoir for his intended unit. The British began to incline to his view as the war became prolonged and they saw that the opposition of the mass of the Jewish population in the United States to the Allied cause was a considerable hindrance to the U.S. entry to the war. One hundred and fifty of the *Zion Mule Corps, as Trumpeldor's unit was eventually called, joined Jabotinsky in London. In August 1917 the 38th Battalion of the Royal Fusiliers, or as they were called from the end of 1919, the "First Judeans," composed almost entirely of Jews, mainly from London, was officially instituted (see *Jewish Legion). In 1918 this battalion fought in Ereẓ Israel. Its commander was Colonel John Henry *Patterson, formerly commander of the Zion Mule Corps. In the U.S. Pinḥas Rutenberg, with the help of David Ben-Gurion, Iẓḥak Ben-Zvi and Chaim *Zhitlovsky, mobilized in 1917 approximately 6,500 men who were to form the 39th Battalion of the Royal Fusiliers. After the conquest of Ereẓ Israel by the British, the 40th Battalion was formed out of Ereẓ Israel volunteers, many of whom later became activists of the *Haganah, like its leader Eliyahu *Golomb.

Activist policy carried the day on the diplomatic and political fronts also, thanks to the actions of Chaim *Weizmann and his supporters. Despite many obstacles put in the way by Jewish assimilationists, the *Balfour Declaration was issued on Nov. 2, 1917. Thus, at the end of World War I, clearly conceived Jewish policies were brought into effect through the importance of the new Jewish concentration in the United States, the ability and readiness for sacrifice among the intelligentsia circles of Russian origin, and the devotion and courage of the pioneers in Ereẓ Israel. The latter also had not only kept the Jewish settlements intact under the hostile Turkish regime, but had undergone the ordeal of severe persecution after the discovery of the Nili spy group.

The years 1917 to 1921 were decisive from many aspects in Jewish history. In 1917 the Jews in Russia acquired full emancipation and the Pale of Settlement there was abolished by the democratic Provisional Government. Legal emancipation was eventually attained by Jews in all of Europe. Despite the sufferings and confusion caused by the civil war, and the Communist policies with regard to Jewish society and culture, this achievement still formally remains in force, though with the terrible interlude of the years of Nazi domination. The institution of *minority rights and treaties seemed to ensure, in countries to which they applied, the right of Jewish self-government, cultural hegemony, and a means of maintaining Jewish identity and cohesion on the basis of international guarantees. No longer pertinent, they were important between the two world wars. The Balfour Declaration and, later on, the *Mandate for Palestine conferred on the British, opened the long and tortuous path to the State of Israel. At the time many saw the opportunity and did not estimate the difficulties. United States Jewry emerged as the great political force and financial mainstay for all Jewish activity. At the same time the massacres perpetrated by the Ukrainian and White Russian bands and armies against Jews in pogroms in the Russian civil war, the cruelty and hostility displayed toward them by many of the new national states in Europe, and the social and spiritual crisis in Germany presaged future dangers and complexities. Communist domination in Russia cut off one of the most devoted sectors of Zionist activity, Jewish cultural creativity, and pioneer spirit from the main body of Jews in the world and from participation in the settlement of Ereẓ Israel.

The Yishuv in Ereẓ Israel

The impetus of Zionist successes brought the quick reorganization of Jews in Ereẓ Israel, under patterns suggested by Zionism, in the Keneset Yisrael all-country structure, through the *Va'ad Le'ummi, and the Chief Rabbinate, which had as its first head the leading spiritual personality of Abraham Isaac

*Kook. Circles of the "old *yishuv*" opposed this development and refused to participate in the common organization, basing their argument partly on their opposition to voting rights for women. They appealed to the *League of Nations and obtained the right of secession. They were supported by the Agudat Israel. Though unpleasant, their secession and opposition could not hinder Zionist and *yishuv* activity in Ereẓ Israel.

Life and development in Ereẓ Israel between the two world wars were influenced by and decided through a number of processes and events. Arab national opposition within the country to the Jews and their enterprise hardened with every success attained by other Arab countries to achieve independence or to approach it, and with every success attained by Jewish settlement and society in Ereẓ Israel. In a series of violent and cruel outbursts in the years 1921, 1929, 1933, and 1936–39, the Arabs tried to break Jewish morale and enterprise. The 1921 excesses achieved for them the Churchill *White Paper (1922), which gave a restrictive definition for the concept of the Jewish National Home, after the closure of Transjordan to Jewish settlement through the creation of a separate Arab emirate (later kingdom) there. Later outbursts brought in their wake commissions of inquiry, and diplomatic activity which in one way or another brought proposals of concessions to the Arab cause.

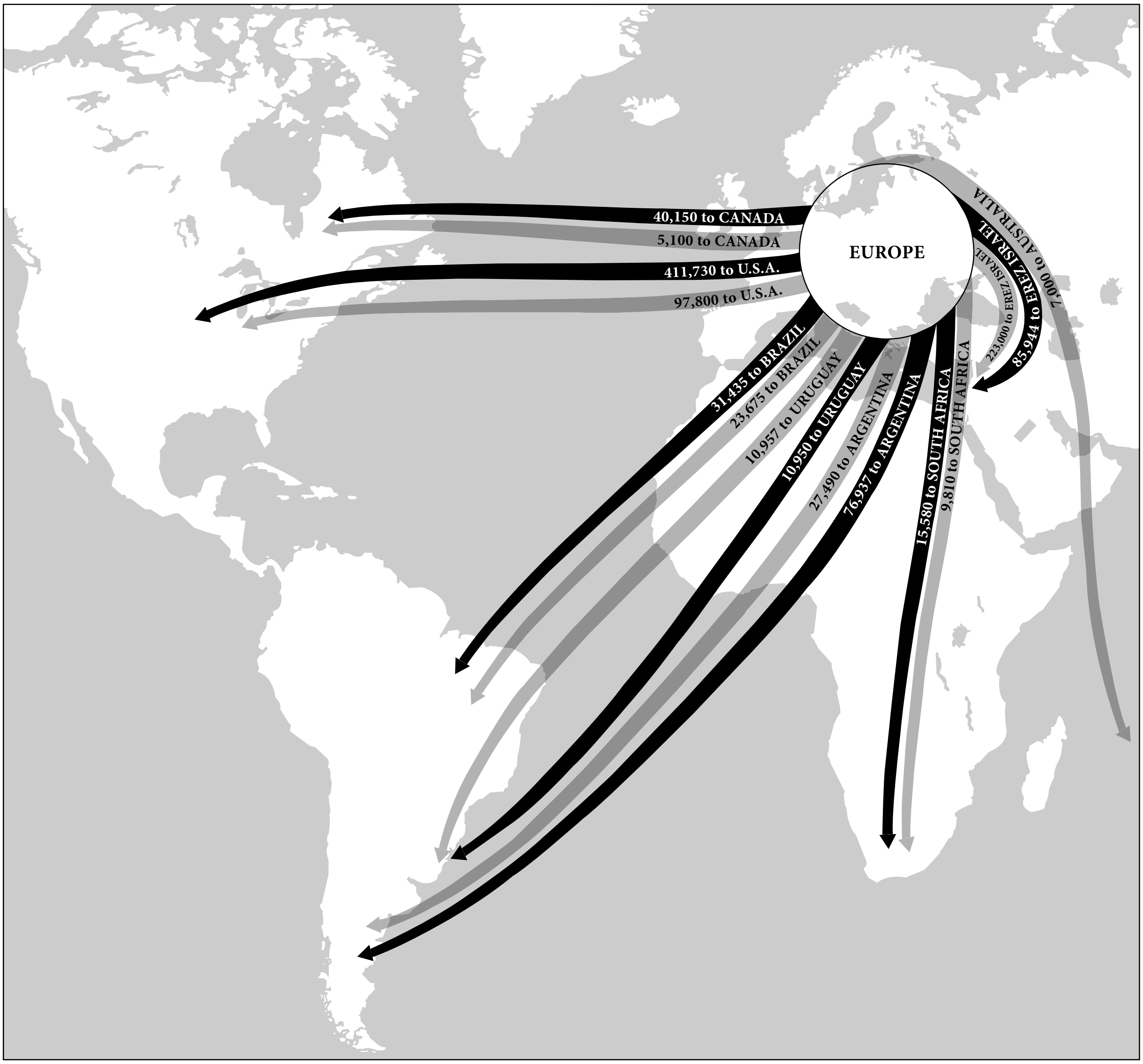
The history of relationships in the triangle between the Jews, Arabs, and British authorities in Ereẓ Israel is a long succession of flat Arab no's to a series of compromises loaded heavily in their favor. It is also a chapter in the history of colonial British officials the majority of whom were drawn to the romantic Arab against the ordinary European Jew. Jewish immigration to Ereẓ Israel was limited by various criteria and formalities; Jewish land acquisition was hindered in many ways. Only a minority of the British officials, and only in a limited number of cases and actions, fulfilled the mandatory power's obligation of furthering the "Jewish National Home."

Jews were divided among themselves as to the best ways of furthering their enterprise. In the dispute between Weizmann and Judge Louis D. *Brandeis there came to the fore the question of preference for individual initiative on accepted economic lines or preference for national and collectivist enterprises, sound from a social and ideological viewpoint more than from an economic one, which began to occupy Zionist attention from the time of this quarrel. Religious Zionist *Mizrachi circles complained about the secular and often anti-religious character of many of the settlers and settlements. The educational system set up by the new *yishuv* was divided between two networks: a modern Orthodox one and a "general" one with secularist leanings. The ultra-Orthodox circles maintained a network of their own. The readiness of Jews to come to Ereẓ Israel was often dependent on the political climate in the Diaspora. Thus the great immigration of Jews from Poland in the mid-1920s was nicknamed the "Grabski *aliyah*" after the Polish finance minister who through his discriminatory taxation policy influenced many to make *aliyah*.

Despite these hindrances and vacillations, progress continued unbroken throughout the period. The number of Jews in Ereẓ Israel grew in the 1920s about threefold, reaching 160,000. At the end of this decade there were 110 agricultural settlements (against 50 in 1920), cultivating 700,000 dunams (175,000 acres) of land. The electrification project of Rutenberg progressed, and the Potash Company successfully exploited the resources of the Dead Sea. The Plain of Jezreel became Jewish; irrigation for Jewish agriculture was swiftly developed. The new forms of the kibbutz and moshav proved themselves viable and were much admired by Jewish and general public opinion. In 1925 the first secular Jewish university was founded, the *Hebrew University of Jerusalem. This progress continued in the 1930s, accelerated by the needs and plight of German Jewry. In 1933 there were one quarter of a million Jews in Ereẓ Israel, and by 1939 half a million, 120,000 of whom lived in 252 agricultural settlements. These included 68 kibbutzim and 71 moshavim. Mixed agriculture became the main basis of the Jewish settlements' economy, freeing them from dependence on one source of income only, though citrus plantations were very successful. The skills, abilities, and money of German Jews did much to develop industry and advance technology.

Even the Arab Revolt of 1936–39 and frequent Arab attacks on Jewish settlements and traffic on the road did not succeed in halting the progress. The method of "*stockade and watch-tower" (*ḥomah u-migdal*) was invented to erect, overnight, settlements capable of defense. Fifty-five new settlements were founded between 1936 and 1939. World War II found the Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel strong, active, and alert socially and economically. By 1939 many were embittered against the mandatory government, which prevented Jews, then in mortal danger in Europe, from reaching a safe haven in Ereẓ Israel. As other states had already raised barriers in the 1920s against immigration (e.g., the quota of 1924 in the United States whose terms prevented the entry of many Jews there), Ereẓ Israel was at that time the only society willing and eager to receive them, but for the refusal of the British. Jews developed a network of *"illegal" immigration which smuggled tens of thousands of Jews into the country. Measures taken by the mandatory authorities to suppress this immigration caused further clashes.

The defense system, strategy, and tactics of the Jews in Ereẓ Israel were based from 1921 on the underground mass organization of the Haganah. It had to develop its training and arms supplies clandestinely. Up to 1945 strategically always on the defensive against the Arabs, it had to develop under pressure of attack new tactics to respond to different challenges. In the meantime there were differences of opinion over the share of various social circles in the leadership of the Haganah, expressed mainly in terms of right-wing and left-wing; different policies as to the methods and timing of reaction to individual acts of terror; and from the late 1930s also differences over the question if and to what degree to oppose by armed force the British anti-Zionist legislation and measures. These led to splits in the Jewish forces. A group of the minority right wing



Map 5. Intercontinental migrations, 1915–30 (black) and 1931–39 (gray). Based on data from H. Lestschinsky, "Jewish Migrations, 1840-1946," in L. Finkelstein (ed.), The Jews, *New York, 1960.*

advocating an activist response to Arab terrorization formed a separate armed underground, generally named the "Irgun Bet" in the 1930s. In 1937, after two splits, the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IẒL) emerged and, in 1940, the *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel (Leḥi). From many aspects these were more extreme developments of the former right-wing "Irgun Bet."

The Haganah attempted with considerable success to form legal Jewish militia and defense units in cooperation with the mandatory government. In the personality of Orde Charles *Wingate it found a devoted British officer who identified himself with the Jewish cause. On the eve of World War II a large number of the Jewish youth in Ereẓ Israel were organized one way or another for defense, and ready to serve. They supplied the volunteers for the various Jewish units, and later on the *Jewish Brigade Group in the British army of World War II was formed. In this unit, in turn, many who were later to be commanders of the Israel Defense Forces gained experience in large-scale training and operations. In the *Palmaḥ, the Haganah created a striking force of youth trained in commando style who through close links with social life in the kibbutzim were emotionally and ideologically devoted to the new Jewish society. Consciously and subconsciously all these various military and para-military organizations and units drew their inspiration from the conviction, crystallized in Russia at the time of the pogroms, that human stature demanded active armed defense by the Jews of their honor and their life. They were also inspired by historical memories revived on the soil of Ereẓ Israel: the acts of the Maccabees, the

example of the great revolt against the Romans (66–70), and the deeply implanted readiness for *kiddush-ha-Shem*, which had already assumed a secularist form in sacrifice for an ideal in the activities of Jewish revolutionaries in Europe from the second half of the 19th century.

Hebrew and Yiddish

Between the world wars at one and the same time Hebrew was finally transformed from a literary language into a full-scale living language and Yiddish was transformed into a language for literary and scientific expression from a spoken popular dialect. The attainments of Hebrew before World War I were now broadened and deepened by a rich literary creation – much of it begun before World War I but reaching a peak and social recognition between the two world wars (Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik, Saul *Tschernichowsky, Zalman *Shneour, Nathan *Alterman, Shemuel Yosef *Agnon, among a galaxy of poets and writers). In the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, the Technion in Haifa, and in all aspects of everyday life, in the elementary school and kindergarten, in the units of the defense organizations as in professional work and writing, old mishnaic, talmudic, and midrashic terms were given new meanings and connotations to serve modern needs. Many new terms were coined. Many Jews in the Diaspora began to study and use Hebrew as a living language, considering it and forging it into a powerful bond and rich symbol of unity with the Jewish past and of participation in the emerging new Jewish spirit in Ereẓ Israel.

Yiddish also continued to evolve and diffuse literary works on a high level before World War I and after it (Mendele Mokher Seforim (see Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh), who through his work and personality formed a link between Hebrew and Yiddish literature; Shalom *Aleichem; Sholem *Asch; *Der Nister; Peretz *Markish; David *Bergelson; and many others). It was cultivated and perfected, and attained precision in expression and grammar, in academic institutes (see *YIVO), and school systems. For many Jews – mostly anti-Zionist or left-wing, but also some among the Orthodox – Yiddish became a symbol of the greatness of European Jewish culture of the Ashkenazi type, and of what they considered the abiding value of continued Jewish existence in the Diaspora. Nathan *Birnbaum, an early pioneer of Zionism, served through his leadership and personality as a link between these various groups of "Yiddishists." In the Soviet Union, mainly through the ideology and activities of the Yevsektsiya circles, as well as among radical circles of the Yiddishist camp elsewhere, Yiddish became a symbol of the break with the religious "clerical" and the "bourgeois nationalist" past. It was used to work for and express total secularization as the basis for specifically Jewish life and creativity in the new society. This found technical expression in the adoption of changes of spelling and vocalization to wipe out the last traces of Hebrew and religious influence from the language.

Thus, on the eve of the Holocaust, Jews had two fully developed national languages, two competing conceptions as to the center of gravity of Jewish achievement and Jewish continuity, and two incipient conceptions of the relation to the past and the character of future culture. Two sets of literature were being developed and sustained at a high level; two parallel structures of scientific and educatory effort were being activated successfully. Hebrew stood for a hope for the eventual unity of Jews throughout the world, on the basis of a common past rooted in biblical, mishnaic, and talmudic times and striving for a renaissance in the land of Israel. Its secular tendencies were also directed toward the transformation of this past unity and those past treasures into new forms capable of containing the entire former complex. Yiddish expressed the feeling that what had happened in Europe from approximately the tenth century onward, and more or less north of the Pyrenees, was what mattered and should be handed on to be transformed and used. It stood for the belief in "*Doyigkeyt*" (the value of what is here and now in Jewish life, meaning Europe and the European communities overseas, and the elements that were present and activating in their culture in the 20th century). It was intended to be the abiding vehicle of autonomous secular Jewish culture and life in the Diaspora based on a European Jewish Ashkenazi cultural pattern. The Holocaust cut the existential plane from under Yiddish. Its achievements, and goals, and the conceptions it expressed remain in its literature and in the progress it made in competition with established Hebrew in a relatively short time. In the Soviet Union Yiddish was helped by the prohibition of Hebrew and by state aid provided for Yiddish institutions and literature. This also vanished with the anti-Jewish stands adopted by *Stalin and the "liquidation" of many Yiddish writers and artists after the end of World War II. Tension between the "Hebraists" and "Yiddishists" was considerable between the two world wars. After the Holocaust, it became a matter of the past.

World War II and the Holocaust

World War II found the Jews everywhere, unlike the outbreak of World War I (see above), united in the war against Hitler. The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of August 23, 1939, caused some fanatical Jewish communists to deviate for a short time from this natural course, to which they returned gladly in 1941 with Hitler's attack on Soviet Russia. Each German victory – a series unbroken up to the end of 1942 – spelled horror and doom for the Jews who came under German rule. As clearly evident now from documents captured and from the torsos of "Jewish museums" that Hitler began to erect, his clearly formulated plan and avowed intention was to exterminate first all the Jews in Europe and later all Jews in the world, so that future generations could see what Jews were only as museum exhibits. The Nazis saw and pointed to Jews as the vermin of humanity whose house had to be cleaned of them in order to be made fit for the future great culture under pure Aryan domination.

The Nazi methods in dealing with Jews were an unvarying compound of deception, human cruelty, and the use of both psychological pressure and technical harassment to

break the spirit of the victims and dehumanize them before their final dispatch. In the ghettos, in the various *Aussiedlung* actions, and in the death camps, the same pattern of sadistic torture proceeded, creating a constant and worsening situation of hunger, epidemics, arbitrary executions and torture, and in the end death for the emaciated body, taking the maximum care to use every ounce and particle possible for the benefit of the great Aryan German culture. Under this pattern it was intended that the victims lose all sense of time and individuality; the humanly impossible was always possible in the organized chaos and nightmare surrounding the Jews. Degradation was as much the aim as killing. This system was applied in the full to Jews, though it was also applied to other enemies and opponents of the "thousand-year Reich."

Despite this satanic dehumanization by a mighty state machine, there were indeed Jewish uprisings, in the *Warsaw Ghetto, and several other ghettos, and in the *Treblinka death camp as well as several others. There were Jewish *partisans wherever they could find shelter, which was often denied to them by non-Jewish partisans.

The Nazis were able to deceive their decent victims because no ordinary human being could conceive the existence of such depths of vileness in the human mind, even having read *Mein Kampf* and meeting with the Nazis. The Nazis used a series of cover names and cover conceptions to confuse the Jews. The terms "*ghetto," or "elders of the Jews" (*Judenrat), "*Judenpolizei*," the slogan "labor makes free" at the entrance to death camps, and the fiendish invention of sending Jews to a "shower-room" that was really a gas chamber, constituted a mixture of medieval concepts, which apparently ensured life with humiliation, and modern concepts of service and cleanliness, so that the Jews should not realize their fate (cf. *Nazi-Deutsch).

The process of actual extermination frequently began with mass pogroms in the old czarist style. It continued in the nightmarish journeys in freight trains under horrible conditions to the ghettos in Poland. On Jan. 20, 1942, the details for the final mass extermination were settled at the so-called *Wannsee Conference at Berlin. At this conference the liquidation of 11 million Jews was envisaged, and from the following year was largely implemented at *Auschwitz and the other camps. The Warsaw Ghetto revolt of April–May 1943 was a last stand manifesting Jewish courage and belief in the future and the human spirit. By the time the Nazis had been defeated between four-and-a-half and six million Jews were already dead; the Holocaust was carried out in such a way that exact numbers are difficult to ascertain (see *Holocaust). When the gates of the death camps were opened at *Buchenwald, *Bergen-Belsen, *Dachau, and elsewhere, hundreds of thousands of living skeletons were found in them. They had to be brought back to ordinary human life.

The Holocaust showed the inhumanity to which antisemitism and racism could lead, not only despite, but in the main through, mass culture, mass education, and the use of mass media for propaganda and indoctrination. The executioners were dehumanized beyond recovery in the process. The victims were intended to reach this state but the Jewish vitality and spirit, and the demonstration of Jewish brotherhood quickly brought back most of the survivors to personal integration and proud human stature. The numbers that had been tattooed on their skins in the camps were not obliterated: most of those Jews learned to live with them, and gained a renewed belief in humanity.

The Holocaust was organized by the Germans. The German people knew of it. Such an operation could be carried out only by means of the technology at its disposal, and the victories achieved by its sons, but many other peoples of Europe, in particular of Eastern Europe, took part in the initial mass pogroms, and collaborated in the murders. It was not by accident that Hitler chose Poland in which to carry them out. Some nations – the Dutch, the Danes, the Swedes, the Bulgarians and many Italians – showed courage in helping and hiding Jews (cf. *Righteous of the Nations). Few came out openly on their side. A notable exception was the mass action of the Amsterdam port workers. The Western allies were afraid of German propaganda and on many occasions took good care not to be trapped into specific and open actions of help to the Jews as Jews. The bombing of Auschwitz was considered impossible on technical grounds, while aid by air to the Polish insurgents in Warsaw was conceived and carried out despite Russian opposition. On general grounds of condemning torture and inhumanity the Allies included the account of the Jews in their warnings to the Germans of the day of reckoning to come. But they refused to counter the singling out of Jews for destruction by the Nazis by singling Jews out themselves for help and protection.

It seemed, after the Holocaust, to many, friends and enemies alike, that with regard to the Jews Hitler had achieved his purpose of breaking their spirit, though he had failed in achieving their total extermination. In looking at the physical wrecks in the camps, and in counting the scanty remnants of European Jewry, it seemed to the foreign secretary of the Labor government, Ernest *Bevin, as well as to many other level-headed statesmen, that the time had come to liquidate the enterprise of European Jewry in Ereẓ Israel after its virtual liquidation in Europe. Emancipation had again returned formally to Jews all over the world; the antisemitism of Stalin was yet to be seen. The pressure of the Jewish masses for immigration to Ereẓ Israel seemed to be gone with the annihilation of these masses. Economically rich countries were ready to receive the remnants; why imagine that they would insist on going to a poor, dangerous, and effort-demanding little country? The Jews of Ereẓ Israel had witnessed the horror of the destruction of millions of Jews, of the conception of Jews as subhuman beings, and the passivity of the democratic and communist pro-Jewish world. It seemed that ensuring the guaranteed status of an autonomous and prosperous minority in an Arab state should satisfy the Jews of Ereẓ Israel, while rehabilitation and immigration to other countries would help what remained of European Jewry.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF JEWISH HISTORY

EGYPT	EREẒ ISRAEL (Judah)	EREẒ ISRAEL (Israel)	MESOPATAMIA	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
c. 1991 B.C.E.	[Hebrews in Egypt]			
[xii Dynasty]				
c. 1786 B.C.E.				
c. 1720/10 B.C.E.	[The Patriarchs]		c. 1728-1686 Hammurapi	
[Hyksos]				
c. 1570				
c. 1550 B.C.E.				
c. 1400–*c.* 1350 Tell el-Amarna Period				
[xviii Dynasty] *c.* 1370–*c.* 53 Akhenaton				
c. 1340–*c.* 10 Haremhab				
c. 1310				
[xix Dynasty] *c.* 1309–*c.* 1290 Seti I				
c. 1290–*c.* 24 Ramses II				
	c. 1280 Exodus			
c. 1224–*c.* 16 Mer-ne-Ptah				
	c. 1250 Conquest of Canaan under Joshua			
c. 1200	*c.* 1200 Philistines settle in Ereẓ Israel			
	[The Judges] *c.* 1125 Deborah			
	c. 1100 Gideon			
	c. 1050 Fall of Shiloh			
	Samuel			
	c. 1020–1004 Saul		ARAM DAMASCUS	
	1004–965 David			
c. 935–*c.* 914 Shishak	965–928 Solomon		Rezan	
918/17 Shishak invades Ereẓ Israel	**Judah**	**Israel**		
[xxii Dynasty]	928–911 Rehoboam	907–907 Jeroboam I		
	911–908 Abijah	906–906 Nadab		
	908–867 Asa	883–883 Baasha	Ben-Hadad I	
		882–882 Elah		
		882 Zimri		
		882–71 Omri	Ben-Hadad II	
	867–46 Jehoshaphat	871–852 Ahab	853 Battle of Karkar	Elijah
		852–51 Ahaziah		
	846–43 Jehoram	851–42 Jehoram		
	843–42 Ahaziah	842–14 Jehu	Hazael	
	842–36 Athaliah			
	836–798 Jehoash	814–800 Jehoahaz	Ben-Hadad III	
	798–69 Amaziah	800–784 Jehoash		Amos
	769-33 Uzziah	784–48 Jeroboam II		Hosea
	758-43 Jotham (regent)	748 Zechariah	Rezin	*c.* 740–*c.* 700 Prophecies of Isaiah
		748 Shallum		
	743-33 Ahaz	747–37 Menahem		
	758-43 (regent)	737–35 Pekahiah		
		735–33 Pekah	MESOPATAMIA	
	733-27 Ahaz	733–24 Hoshea		
	727-698 Hezekiah	722 Samaria captured by Shalmaneser V		
		720 Sargon makes Samaria an Assyrian province		
		Mass deportation of Israelites		
	701 Expedition of Sennacherib against Hezekiah			
663 Sack of Thebes	698–42 Manasseh			
	641–40 Amon			
	639–09 Josiah		612 Fall of Nineveh	627–*c.* 585 Prophecies of Jeremiah
	609 Battle of Megiddo			
	609 Johoathaz			

EGYPT	EREẒ ISRAEL	BABYLONIA	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
	608–598 Jehoiakim	605 Battle of Carchemish	
	597 Jehoiachin		
	597 Expedition of Nebuchadnezzar against Judah; Jehoiachin deported to Babylonia		
	595–86 Zedekiah		
	586 Destruction of Jerusalem; mass deportation to Babylonia	Exile of Judeans in Babylonia	593–571 Prophecies of Ezekiel
	585 ? Murder of Gedaliah		
		PERSIA	6th cent, Canonization of the Pentateuch (in Babylonian Exile)
		539 Cyrus takes Babylonia	
525 Egypt conquered by Cambyses	538 First return under Sheshbazzar	538 Cyrus' edict	
	c. 522 Zerubbabel governor		
	520–15 Temple rebuilt		
460–54 Rebellion of Inaros	458? Second return under Ezra	465–24 Artaxerxes I	
		423–04 Darius II	
	445 Walls of Jerusalem reconstructed under Nehemiah; Ezra reads the Torah		
	428 ? Second return under Ezra		
411 Destruction of the temple of the Jewish colony at Elephantine	*c.* 408 Bagohi governor		
404 Egypt regains freedom		404–358 Artaxerxes II	
	398? Second return under Ezra		
343 Egypt reconquered by Persia	348 Artaxerxes III deports a number of Jews to Hyrcania		4th cent. Canonization of the Prophets Section of the Bible
		333 Battle of Issus	
332 Alexander the Great conquers Egypt	332 Alexander the Great conquers Ereẓ Israel	323 d. of Alexander the Great	
323–285 Ptolemy I			
	301 Ptolemy I conquers Ereẓ Israel		
		SYRIA	
385–46 Ptolemy II Philadelphus		312–280 Seleucus I	Mid-3rd cent. Pentateuch translated into Greek in Egypt (Septuagint)
246–21 Ptolemy III Euergetes		223–187 Antiochus III	
221–03 Ptolemy IV Philopator	219–17 Antiochus III conquers most of Ereẓ Israel		
	217 Ptolemy IV defeats Antiochus III in the battle of Rafah and recovers Ereẓ Israel		
203–181 Ptolemy V Epiphanes	198 Battle of Panias (Banias): Ereẓ Israel passes to the Seleucids		
181–46 Ptolemy VI Philometor		187–75 Seleucus IV	
	175 Onias III deposed by Antiochus IV	175–64 Antiochus IV Epiphanes	
	175–71 Jason High priest		
	c. 172 Jerusalem becomes a *polis* (Antiochia)		
	171–167 Menelaus high priest		*c.* 170 Book of Ben Sira written
	169 Antiochus IV plunders the Temple treasuries		
168 Antiochus I invades Egypt	168 Antiochus IV storms Jerusalem; gentiles settled on the Acra		
	167 Antiochus IV outlaws the practice of Judaism; profanation of the Temple; the rebellion of the Hasmoneans begins		
	166–60 Judah Maccabee, leader of the rebellion, victorious over several Syrian armies		
	164 Judah Maccabee captures Jerusalem and rededicates the Temple	164–63 Antiochus V	
	162–59 Alcimus high priest	162–50 Demetrius I	

EGYPT		EREẒ ISRAEL		SYRIA		CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
		161	Judah Maccabee defeats Nicanor and reconquers Jerusalem; treaty between Judah and Rome			
		160	Judah Maccabee falls in battle against Bacchides			
			Jonathan assumes the leadership; guerilla warfare			
		157	Treaty between Bacchides and Jonathan; withdrawal of Seleucid garrisons, Jonathan enters Jerusalem			
		152	Jonathan high priest	152–45	Alexander Balas	
c. 145	Onias IV builds temple in Leontopolis					
		142	Jonathan treacherously murdered by Tryphon	145–38	Demetrius II	
				145–38	Antiochus VI and Tryphon	
145–16	Ptolemy VII Physcon		Simeon assumes leadership. Demetrius II recognizes the independence of Judea; renewal of treaty with Rome			
		141	Simeon captures the Acra			
		140	Great Assembly in Jerusalem confirms Simeon as ethnarch, high priest, and commander in chief			
				138–29	Antiochus VII Sidetes	
		134	Simeon assassinated			
		134–104	John Hyrcanus			Latter second century. First Book of Maccabees written
		134	Treaty with Rome renewed			
		134–32	War with Antiochus VII; Jerusalem besieged; treaty between John Hyrcanus and Antiochus VII			
				129–25	Demetrius II	
				125–96	Antiochus VIII Crypus	
116–08	Ptolemy VIII Lathyrus					
		107	John Hyrcanus' sons capture Samaria	115–95	Antiochus IX Cyzicenus	
108–88	Ptolemy IX Alexander	104–03	Judah Aristobulus			
		103–76	Alexander Yannai			
88–80	Ptolemy VIII Lathyrus					
		76–67	Salome Alexandra			
		63-63	Civil war between Hyrcanus II. Temple Mount besieged and captured by Pompey			
		63–40	Hyrcanus II ethnarch and high priest. Judea loses its independence			
		56–55	Revolts of Alexander b. Aristobulus and Aristobulus	57–55	Gabinus governor of Syria	ITALY (ROME)
48	Hyrcanus II and Antipater help Caesar in Alexandria	48	Caesar confirms Jewish privileges			44 Assassination of Caesar
		40	Parthian invasion			
		40–37	Antigonus II (Matathias)			43 Second Triumvirate
		37	Jerusalem captured by Herod			31 Battle of Actium
		37–4 B.C.E.	Herod			27 B.C.E.–14 C.E. Augustus
			Shemaiah and Avtalion			
		19	Temple rebuilt			
		4 B.C.E.–6 C.E.	Archelaus ethnarch			
		4 B.C.E.–34 C.E.	Herod Philip			
		4 B.C.E.–39 C.E.	Herod Antipas			
		6 C.E.- 41	Judea, Samaria, and Idurnea formed into a Roman province (Iudaea) under a *praefectus*			
			beginning of 1st cent., d. of Hillel			19 Tiberius expels the Jews
		26–36	Pontius Pilate *praefectus*			
		30	Jesus crucified; d. of Shammai			31 Jews allowed to return
38	Anti-Jewish riots in Alexandria	37–41	Crisis caused by Caligula's insistence on being worshiped as deity			37–41 Caligula

EGYPT		EREẒ ISRAEL		ROMAN EMPIRE		CULTURAL ACHIEVMENTS	
40	Legation of Jews of Egypt lead by Philo to Rome	41–44	Agrippas I	41–54	Claudius	Until *c.* 40	Philo writes in Aleandria
				41	Claudius issues edict of toleration		
				54–68	Nero		
66	Massacre of the Jews at Alexandria	66	Beginning of revolt against Rome				
		67	Vespasian conquers Galilee, the Zealots take over in Jerusalem				
				69	Galba; Otho; Vitellius		
		c. 70	Destruction of Qumran community	69–79	Vespasian		
		70	Siege of Jerusalem, destruction of the Temple				
		70	Sanhedrin established at Jabneh by Johanan b. Zakkai				
73	Temple in Leontopolis closed	73	Fall of Masada			*c.* 79	Josephus completes *Jewish Wars*
				79–81	Titus		
116–117	Revolt of the Jews			81–96	Domitian		
				96–98	Nerva	93	Josephus completes *Jewish Antiquities*
				98–117	Trajan		
		c. 115	d. of Gamaliel II				
		c. 116–117	"war of Quietus"	117–38	Hadrian	2nd. Cent.	Canonization of the Ketuvim (Hagiographa)
		132–35	Bar Kokhba war				
		135	Fall of Bethar, Aelia Capitolina established; Akiva executed				
		c. 135–38	Persecutions of Hadrian				
		c. 140	Sanhedrin at Usha	138–61	Antoninus Plus		
				161–80	Marcus Aurelius		
				161–69	Lucius Aurelius Verus		
		c. 170	Sanhedrin at Bet She'arim				
				180–92	Commodus		
				193	Pertinsax		
				193–211	Septimus Severus		
		c. 200	Sanhedrin at Sepphoris	211–17	Caracalle	*c.* 210	Redaction of the Mishnah
				212	Jews (together with most subjects of the empire) become Roman citizens		
BABYLONIA							
219	Arrival of Rav			217–18	Macrinus		
		c. 220	d. of Judah ha-Nasi	218–22	Heliogabalus		
		c. 230	d. of Gamaliel III	222–35	Alexander Severus		
		c. 235	Sanhedrin at Tiberias				
247	d. of Rav					245	Dura-Europos synagogue built
254	d. of Samuel			253–60	Valerian		
259	Academy of Nethardea moves to Pumbedita						
		c. 270	d. of Judah II Nesiah	270–75	Aurelian		
				284–305	Diocletian		
		c. 290	d. of Gamaliel IV				
c. 297	d. of Huna						
c. 299	d. of Judah b. Ezekiel						

GENERAL HISTORY	CHRISTIAN EUROPE	EREẒ ISRAEL	BABYLONIA	ARABIA	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
306–337 Constantine I					
313 Edict of Milan					
	321 Jews in Cologne	320 d. of Judah III	330 d. of Rabbah b. Nahamani		
325 Council of Nicaea	325 Christian Church formulates its policy toward the Jews: the Jews must continue to exist for the sake of Christianity in seclusion and humiliation				
337–361 Constantius II			338 d. of Abbaye		
		351 Jews and Samaritans revolt against Gallus; destruction of Bet Sh'earim	352 d. of Rava		
					c. 359 Permanent calendar committed to writing
					c. 390 Jerusalem Talmud completed
361–363 Julian the Apostate	339 Constantius II prohibits marriage between Jews and Christians and possession of Christian slaves by Jews	363 Julian the Apostate allows Jews to start Rebuilding the Temple			
		c. 365 d. of Hillel II			
		c. 385 d. of Gamaliel V			
379–395 Theodosius I					
		c. 400 d. of Judah IV			
408–450 Theodosius II	438 Theodosius II Novellae against the Jews and heretics	425 Patriarchate abolished			
		426 d. of Gamaliel VI	427 d. of Ashi		
			455 Jews forbidden to keep the Sabbath		5th cent., Yose b. Yose earliest liturgical poet known by name
476 End of Western Roman Empire					
481–511 Clovis I king of the Franks			*c.* 470 Persecutions by the authorities; Huna b. Mar Zutra the exilarch and others executed by the authorities		
493–526 Theodoric					
			495–502 Revolt of Mar Zutra the exilarch		
527–565 Justinian I		520 Mar Zutra III head of Sanhedrin at Tiberias	499 d. of Ravina II		
	553 Justinian interferes in the conduct of Jewish worship		*c.* 500–540 Savoraim		*c.* 499 Babylonian Talmud completed
				525 End of Jewish kingdom in southern Arabia	
			589 Beginning of the period of Geonim		
	590–604 Pope Gregory I				6th–7th cent., Yannai liturgical poet
					c. 600 Eleazar Kallir liturgical poet
622 Muhammad's flight to Medina	612, 633, 638 Severe legal measures against the Jews in Spain				
		614–617 Jewish rule established in Jerusalem under the Persians		624–628 Jewish tribes of Arabia destroyed by Muhammad	
628–38 Dagobert I					
632 d. of Muhammad					
	628 Dagobert I expels Jews from Frankish Kingdom				
		632 Heraclius decrees forced baptism			
640-42 Egypt conquered by the Arabs					
		638 Jerusalem conquered by the Arabs			
	694–711 Jewish religion outlawed in Spain				

GENERAL HISTORY	MUSLIM SPAIN	CHRISTIAN EUROPE	EREẒ ISRAEL BABYLONIA	OTHERS	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
711 Spain conquered by the Arabs					
				c. 740 conversion of the Khazars	
768–814 Charlemagne			762–67 Anan b. David lays the foundation of Karaism		*c.* 760 Halakhot Pesukot (attributed to Hehudai b. Naḥman)
		797 Charlemagne sends Isaac to Harun al-Rashid			
					c. 825 Simeon Kayyara composes *Halakhot Gedolot*
			858 d. of Natronai Gaon		
					c. 860 Amram b. Sheshna compiles order of prayers
			921–22 Dispute between Ereẓ Israel and Babylonia over the calendar		*c.* 875 Nahshon b. Zadok researches the Jewish calendar
					c. 935 Saadiah Gaon writes *Emunot ve-De'ot*
			942 d. of Saadiah Gaon		*c.* 953 *Josippon* written
987 Rise of the Capetian dynasty	970 d. of Menahem ibn Saruq; d. of Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut	886 d. of Shephatiah b. Amittai of Oria	998 d. of Sherira Gaon	Beginning of 11th cent., end of Khazar Kingdom	987 *Iggeret Rav Sherira Gaon*
	990 d. of Dunash b. Labrat	1012 Expulsion from Mainz	1008 Persecutions of al-Ḥakim		
			1013 d. of Samuel b. Hophni	*c.* 1027 d. of Hushiel b. Elhanan	
	c. 1050 d. of Jonah ibn Janaḥ	1028 d. of Gershom b. Judah	1038 d. Hai Gaon		
1066 England conquered by William of Normandy	*c.* 1056 d. of Samuel ha-Nagid; d. of Solomon ibn Gabirol	*c.* 1066 Jews settle in England		1055/56 d. of Hananel b. Hushiel	
1078 Jerusalem conquered by the Seljuks				1062 d. of Nissim b. Jacob	
1096–99 First Crusade		1096 Crusaders massacre the Jews of the Rhineland	1099 Jerusalem captured by crusaders		*c.* 1080 Baḥya ibn Paquda writes *Ḥovot ha-Levavot*

GENERAL HISTORY	SPAIN & PORTUGAL	FRANCE	ENGLAND
	1103 d. of Isaac Alfasi		
		1105 d. of Rashi	
	c. 1135 d. of Moses ibn Ezra		
1147–49 Second Crusade			1144 Blood libel at Norwich
	1141 d. of Judah Halevi		
	1164 d. of Abraham ibn Ezra	1171 Destruction of the Blois community; d. of Jacob b. Meir Tam	
	1180 d. of Abraham ibn Daud		
	c. 1180 First Maimonidean controversy		
1199–92 Third Crusade		1182 Expulsion	
			1190 Anti-Jewish riots; massacre at York
			1194 *Archae* established
		1198 Jews recalled	
		1198 d. of Abraham b. David of Posquières	
1215 Magna Carta			1210 Extortions of John Lackland
			1222 Council of Oxford introduces discriminatory measures
			1232 Domus Conversorum established in London
	1230–32 Second Maimonidean controversy		
	1235 d. of Isaac the Blind' d. of Judah Al-Ḥarizi	*c.* 1235 d. of David Kimḥi	
		1236 Persecutions in W. France	
1241 Tatars reach the frontiers of Silesia		1240 Disputation of Paris	
			1241 “Parliament of Jews” meets at Worcester
		1242 Burning of Talmud at Paris	
	1263 Disputation of Barcelona		1255 Blood libel at Lincoln
	1270 d. of Naḥmanides		1263–64 Jews of London sacked
		1288 Jews burned at Troyes	1275 *Statutum de Judaismo*
1291 Acre captured by the Muslims; end of Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem	*c.* 1291 d. of Abraham Abulafia		1290 Expulsion
	c. 1300–06 Third Maimonidean controversy		
		1306 Expulsion	
1309–78 “Avignonese captivity” of the popes			
	c. 1310 d. of Solomon b. Abraham Adret		
		1315 Jews recalled (by Louis X)	
		1320 Pastoureaux persecutions	
		1321 Lepers persecutions	
	1327 d. of Asher b. Jehiel	1322 Expulsion from the Kingdom of France	
	1328 Riots in Navarre		
1337 Beginning of the Hundred Years' War			

ITALY	GERMANY & AUSTRIA	EREẒ ISRAEL	NORTH AFRICA	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
1106 d. of Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome			1106/7 d. of Jacob b. Nissim	Commentaries of Rashi 1101 The *Arukh* of Nathan b. Jehile of Rome completed
				1159–73 Travels of Benjamin of Tudela
1179 Third Lateran Council				1161 Abraham ibn Daud completes *Sefer ha-Kabbalah*
				1168 Maimonides completes commentary on the Mishnah
1198–1216 Innocent III	1195–96 Anti-Jewish excesses at Speyer and Boppard	1187 Jerusalem captured by Saladin	1204 d. of Maimonides in Fostat (Old Cairo)	1180 Maimonides completes Mishneh Torah
1215 Fourth Lateran Council introduces the Jewish Badge 1227–41 Gregory IX	1217 d. of Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid	1210–11 Settlement of 300 French and English rabbis		1190 Maimonides completes *Guide of the Perplexed*
	1235 Blood libel at Fulda 1236 Frederick II Hohenstaufen introduces the concept of *servi camerae*			12th–13th cent., Ḥasidei Ashkenaz: *Sefer Ḥasidim* compiled
			POLAND	12th–14th cent., *Tosafot* (France and Germany)
1249 Innocent IV issues bill against blood libel	1238 d. of Eleazer b. Judah of Worms 1244 Frederick II, duke of Austria, grants charter	1244 Jerusalem captured by the Khwarizms c. 1265 d. of Jehiel b. Joseph of Paris at Acre 1267/70 Naḥmanides in Ereẓ Israel	1264 Charter of Boleslav V the Pious	
	1285 Destruction of the Munich community 1293 d. of Meir of Rothenburg 1298–99 Rindfleisch persecutions			c. 1286 Zohar in final form completed by Moses b. Shem Tov de Leon
				1310 Asher b. Jehiel compiles Talmudic code.
c. 1328 d. of Immanuel b. Solomon of Rome	1336–37 Armleder massacres		1334 Casimir III extends the charter of 1264	1329 Levi b. Gershom completes *Sefer Milḥamot Adonai*

GENERAL HISTORY	SPAIN	FRANCE	ITALY
	1340 d. of Jacob b. Asher		
		1344 d. of Levi b. Gershom	
1348 Black Death	1348 Black Death massacres	1348–49 Black Death massacres	1348 Protective bulls of Clement VI
	1354 Council of the communites of Aragon		
		1359 Jews recalled	
	c. 1375 d. of Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi		
1386 Beginning of the union between Poland and Lithuania		1394 Expulsion from the Kingdom of France	
	1391 Massacres and conversions		
	1408 d. of Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet		
	1411–12 Vicente Ferrer and oppressive legislation		1415 Benedict XIII orders censorship of Talmud
	c. 1412 d. of Ḥasdai Crescas		
1415 Burning of John Huss	1413–14 Disputation of Tortosa	1420 Expulsion from Lyons	1419 Martin V against forced conversions
1419–36 Jussie Wars			
			1427 Papal edict prohibits transportation of Jews to Ereẓ Israel in ships of Venice and Ancona
1431 Burning of Joan of Arc			
1431–49 Council of Basle			
	1435 Massacre and conversion of the Jews of Majorca		
1453 Constantinople captured by the Turks; end of the Hundred Years' War	1454 d. of Abraham Benveniste		
	1473 Marranos of Valladolid and Cordoba massacred		
	1474 Marrranos of Segovia massacred		1475–94 Bernardino da Feltre preaches against Jews; Jews expelled from several towns
1479 Castile and Aragon united	1480 Inquisition established in Spain		1475 Blood libel of Trent
	1483 Torquemada appointed inquisitor general	EREẒ ISRAEL	
		1488–*c.* 1515 Obadiah di Betinoro in Jerusalem	
	1490–91 La Guardia blood libel		
1492 Conquest of Granada; discovery of America	1492 Expulsion from Castile and Aragon		1492–93 Expulsion from Sicily
	1496–97 Expulsion from Portugal; mass forced conversion		1497 d. of Elijah Delmedigo
	1506 Massacre of Marranos in Lisbon		

GERMANY & AUSTRIA	POLAND-LITHUANIA		CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
1342 Louis IX introduces poll tax (*Opferpfennig*)			Before 1340, Jacob b. Asher completes *Arba'ah Turim*
1348–60 Black Death massacres	1348–49 Immigration from Germany		
1356 Charles IV grants the Electors the privilege of taxing the Jews			
	1364 and 1367 Casimir III extends the charter		
	1388 Witold of Lithuania grants charter to Jews of Brest-Litovsk		
1389 Massacre of Prague community			
	1399 Blood libel in Poznan		
1421 Wiener Gesera; expulsion from Austria			
1424 Expulsion from Cologne			1425 Joseph Albo completes *Sefer ha-Ikkarim*
1427 d. of Jacob Moellin			
		OTTOMAN EMPIRE	1475 Beginning of Hebrew printing (Rashi printed in Reggio di Calabria)
1439 Expulsion from Augsburg			
1452–53 John of Capistrano incites persecutions and expulsions	1454 Privileges revoked; riots in Cracow	1453 onward. Jews favored as a valuable trading and artisan element in the Ottoman Empire	
1460 d. of Israel Isserlein			
1473 Expulsion from Mainz			
	1483 Expulsion from Warsaw		
	1495 Expulsion from Lithuania	1492 onward. The sultans open the gates of the Ottoman Empire for the refugees from Spain	
		1497 d. of Moses Capsali	
1499 Expulsion from Nuremberg		1497 onward. Refugees from Portugal welcomed by the sultans	
	1503 Jews return to Lithuania		*c.*1502 *Dialoghi di Amore* by Judah Abrabanel
			1504 *Sefer ha-Yuḥasin* by Abraham Zacuto

GENERAL HISTORY	PORTUGAL	ITALY (& PAPACY)	GERMANY & AUSTRIA
		1508 d. of Isaac Abrabanel (Abarbanel?)	
			1510 Expulsion from Brandenburg
			1510–20 Reuchlin-Pfefferkorn controversy
1517 Luther publishes his 95 theses		1516 Venice initiates the ghetto	
			1519 Expulsion from Regensburg
		1523–34 Clement VII	
		1523 David Reuveni appears in Venice	
		c. 1525 d. of Abraham Farissol	
1526 Battle of Mohacs; Turks rout Hungarians			
	1531 Inquisition established in Portugal		
		1532 Solomon Molcho burned at Mantua	
1536 Calvin publishes *Institution Chrétienne*			
1540 Jesuit Order approved by the pope			
		1541 Expulsion from Naples	1541 Expulsion from Prague and crown cities
	1542 Pseudo-Messiah (David Reuveni?) burned at Évora		
1545–63 Council of Trent			1544 Luther attacks the Jews
		1549 d. of Elijah Baḥur Levita	
		1550 Expulsion from Genoa	
			1551 Expulsion from Bavaria
		1553 Burning of the Talmud	
		1554 Censorship of Hebrew books introduced	1554 d. of Joseph b. Gershom of Rosheim
1555 Peace of Augsburg		1555 Paul IV orders that Jews be confined to ghettos	
		1556 Burning of Marranos in Ancona	
		1567 Expulsion from the Republic of Genoa	
		1569 Expulsion from the Papal States	
1572 Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day			
		c. 1575 d. of Joseph ha-Kohen	
		1578 d. of Zaariah dei Rossi	
1581 The Netherlands proclaim independence from Spain			
		1584 Gregory XIII orders compulsory sermons to Jews	
1588 Destruction of the Spanish Armada			

POLAND-LITHUANIA	OTTOMAN EMPIRE	EREẒ ISRAEL	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
1514 Abraham Judaeus Bohemus appointed tax collector of the Jews of Poland		1516 Ereẓ Israel conquered by the Turks	1515–16 Jacob ibn Ḥabib's *Ein Ya'akov* publishes 1520–23 First complete editions of the Talmuds printed 1524–25 *Mikra'ot Gedolot* edition of the Bible
	1526 d. of Elijah Mizraḥi		
1534 Sigismund I absolves Jews from wearing the badge		1538 Jacob Berab renews *semikhah* in Safed	
1551 Community leaders given wide juridical and administrative powers	1554 d. of Moses Hamon		1549 Obadiah of Bertinoro's commentary on the Mishnah published 1554 (?) Solomon ibn Verga's *Shevet Yehudah* published
	1555 d. of Elijah Capsali		1555 Joseph Caro's *Beit Yosef* published 1558–60 The *Zohar* printed
	1566 Joseph Nasi created duke of Naxos	*c.* 1561 Joseph Nasi leases Tiberias from the sultan	1564 Joseph Caro's *Shulḥan Arukh* published
		1569–72 Isaac Luria in Safed	1569–71 Moses Isserles' *Mappah* published
1572 d. of Moses Isserles		1572 d. of Isaac Luria	
1574 d. of Solomon Luria		1575 d. of Joseph Caro	
1576 Stephen Báthory issues decrees against blood libel			
	1579 d. of Joseph Nasi		
1580 First extant *takkanah* of the Council of Four Lands			1597 *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* by Gedaliah b. Joseph ibn Yaḥia published

GENERAL HISTORY	ENGLAND	FRANCE	ITALY (& PAPACY)	THE NETHERLANDS	GERMANY
				c. 1490 Marranos settle in Amsterdam	
			1593 Expulsion from the Papal States		
1598 Edict of Nantes			1597 Expulsion from Milan		
					1603 *Takkanot* of the Synod of Frankfort
1613 First Romanov Czar					1614 Fetmilch's attack upon the Jews of Frankfort
					1615 Expulsion from Worms
1618 Beginning of Thirty Years' War					1616 Jews readmitted to Frankfort and Worms
1620 Mayflower arrives at Plymouth Rock; Battle of the White Mountain			1624 Ghetto established at Ferrara	1624 Excom-munication of Uriel da Costa	
				1640 d. of Uriel da Costa	
1648 Treaty of Westphalia			1648 d. of Leone Modena		1649 Expulsion from Hamburg
1649–60 The Commonwealth in England					
1654 Portuguese recapture Brazil	1655 Manasseh Ben Israel in London				
	1656 Readmission of Jews			1656 Baruch Spinoza excom-municated	
			1663 d. of Simone Luzzatto	1657 d. of Manasseh Ben Israel	
1666 Great Fire of London					
		1670 Blood libel in Metz			1671 Jews permitted to settle in the Mark of Brandenburg
				1677 d. of Spinoza	
1683 Siege of Vienna by Turks	1685 Jews given religious freedom				
1689–1725 Peter the Great czar of Russia	1701 Bevis Marks Synagogue built				1711 Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum* published
					1712 First public synagogue in Berlin
		1723 Residence of Portuguese Jews legalized by a letter patent	1723 General Council of Jews of Piedmont		1718 d. of Ẓevi Ashkenazi
	1728 d. of David Nieto			1728 d. of Solomon Aylon	

AUSTRIA	POLAND-LITHUANIA	OTTOMAN EMPIRE	EREẒ ISRAEL	AMERICA	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
					1592 David Gans published *Zemaḥ David*
1609 d. of Judah Loew (Maharal) of Prague					
					1612–21 *Ḥiddushei Halakhot* of Samuel Edels published
	1616 d. of Meir b. Gedaliah of Lublin				
					1617 Yom Tov Lipmann Heller completes *Tosefot Yom Tov*
			1620 d. of Ḥayyim Vital		
	1623 Separate council for Lithuania established				
			1630 d. of Isaiah Horowitz		
	1631 d. of Samuel Edels				
	1640 d. of Joel Sirkes				
	1648–49 Chmielnicki massacres				1650 Manasseh Ben Israel publishes *Hope of Israel*
				1654 Jews arrive in New Amsterdam (New York) and found congregation, refugees from Brazil found communities in West Indies	
1654 d. of Yom Tov Lipmann Heller					
	1655–56 Massacres during wars of Poland against Sweden and Russia				
				1658 Congregation founded at Newport	
	1664 riot in Lemberg (Lvov)	1665 Shabbetai Ẓevi proclaims himself the Messiah in Smyrna – fervor spreads throughout the Jewish world			
		1666 Shabbetai converts to Islam			
1670 Expulsion from Vienna		1676 d. of Shabbetai Ẓevi			
	1680 Riots in Brest-Litovsk	1680 d. of Nathan of Gaza			
	1682 Riots in Cracow				
	1687 Jews of Poznan attacked			1695 Jews settle in Charleston, S.C.	
1703 d. of Samuel Oppenheimer			1700 Judah Ḥasid and his group arrive in Jerusalem		
	1712 Jews of Sandomierz expelled after blood libel				
1724 d. of Samson Wertheimer					
		c. 1730 d. of Nehemiah Ḥayon			
1726 Familiants Laws					

GENERAL HISTORY	ENGLAND	FRANCE	ITALY (& PAPACY)	GERMANY
				1738 Execution of Joseph Suess Oppenheimer
			1747 d. of Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto	
				1750 Severe legislation against the Jews in Prussia
				1751 Beginning of Eybeschuetz-Emden controversy
1756–63 Seven Years' War				1756 d. of Jacob Joshua Falk
	1760 Board of Deputies of British Jews established		1761 Cardinal Ganganelli's memorandum against the blood libel	
	1762 d. of Samson Gideon			1764 d. of Jonathan Eybeschuetz
1770 James Cook discovers Botany Bay				1769 Mendelssohn-Lavater controversy
1772 First partition of Poland			1775 Anti-Jewish edict of Pius VI	
1776 American Declaration of Independence				1776 d. of Jacob Emden
1778 Deaths of Rousseau and Voltaire				1781 C.W. von Dohm's *Ueber die buergerliche Verbesserung der Juden* : Christian plea for Jewish emancipation
		1784 Body tax abolished		
				1786 d. of Moses Mendelssohn
1789 Beginning of the French Revolution		1789 *Sur la Regeneration Physique, Morale et Politique des Juifs* by Abbé Gregoire		1787 Leibzoll abolished in Prussia
		1790 The National Assembly grants citizenship to the "Portuguese" Jews		
		1791 The National Assembly grants full civil rights to all the Jews		
1793 Second partition of Poland			1793 Attack on the ghetto of Rome	
1793–97 First coalition against France	THE NETHERLANDS			
1795 Third partition of Poland				
	1796 Emancipation of the Jews of the Batavian Republic			
1797 Peace of Campo Formio			1797–99 Temporary emancipation brought by French revolutionary army	
1799 Napoleon becomes First Consul				1799 David Firedlaender's letter to Teller
1801 Peace of Lunéville				1800 d. of Solomon Maimon
1804 Napoleon crowned emperor				

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY	POLAND-LITHUANIA	RUSSIA	EREẒ ISRAEL	AMERICA	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
				1730 First public synagogue in New York	
1736 d. of David Oppenheim	1734–36 Attacks by the Haid-amacks			1733 Jews settle in Georgia	
			1742 Ḥayyim Attar and his group arrive in Jerusalem	1742 Congregation founded at Philadelphia	
1745 Expulsion from Prague	1746 d. of Jehiel Heilprin				1743 Moses Ḥayyim Luzzato publishes *La-Yesharim Tehillah*
1748 Prague Jews allowed to return			*c.* 1751 d. of Moses Ḥagiz	1749 Congregation founded at Charleston	
	1757 Disputation with the Frankists at Kamenets-Podolski				1755 First work of Moses Mendelssohn published
	1759 Disputation with the Frankists at Lember (Lvov)				
	1760 d. of Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov				1762 Isaac de Pinto's *Apologie pour la Nation Juive* in answer to Voltaire's defamation of Judaism
1764 Maria Theresa's Judenordnung	1764 Council of Four Lands abrogated				
	1768 Haidamack massacres				
	1772 First *ḥerem on the Ḥasidim*, d. of Dov Baer of Mezhirech	1772 Jews of eastern Poland under Russian rule			1780–83 Publication of Mendelssohn's *Biur*
			1777 Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk and his group of Ḥasidim settle in Galilee		1780 Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye's *Toledot Ya'akov Yosef* published
1782 Joseph II's *Toleranz-patent*; Naptali Herz Wessely's *Divrey Shalom ve-Emet*	1781 Second *ḥerem on the Ḥasidim*				
		1783 Jews eligible for municipal councils			1783 Mendelssohn publishes *Jerusalem*; *Ha-Me'assef* founded
				1789 U.S. Constitution; G. Washington, first president of U.S.	
	1791 d. of Jacob Frank	1791 Pale of Settlement established			
1792 "Judenamt" opened in Vienna					
1793 d. of Ezekiel Landau					
	1794 Berek Joselewicz colonel under Kosciuszko				
					1797 *Tanya (Likkutei Amarim)* of Shneur Zalman of Lyady published
	1797 d. of Elijah Gaon of Vilna				
			1799 Napoleon's campaign		
				1803 Louisiana Purchase	

GENERAL HISTORY	FRANCE		ITALY	GERMANY
1805 Battles of Trafalgar and Austerlitz				
1806 End of Holy Roman Empire	1806–7 Assembly of Jewish Notables			
1807 Treaty of Tilsit	1807 French Sanhedrin			
	1808 Napoleon's "Infamous Decree"			1808 Emancipation in Westphalia; consistory in Kassel
				1811 Emancipation in Hamburg and Frankfurt
1812 Napoleon's retreat from Moscow	1812 d. of David Sintzheim			1812 Emancipation in Prussia d. of Mayer Amshel Rothschild
1813 Battle of Leipzig				1813 Bavarian Jewry edict
1814–15 Congress of Vienna				1815 Congress of Vienna permits the abolition of emancipation laws in the German states
	1816 d. of Abraham Furtado			
	1818 "Infamous Decree" abolished			1818 Hamburg Reform Temple consecrated
				1819 "Hep! Hep!" riots
1821 Greek War of Independence begins				1821 Isaac Bernays opposes the Reform Temple
1823 Monroe Doctrine				
1827 Battle of Navarion Bay	1824 Rabbinical seminary established at Metz			
1829 Emancipation of Catholics in England			1829 Instituto Rabbinico opened at Padua	1828 Wuerttemberg Jewry law
1830 July revolution in France; Uprising in Poland	ENGLAND			
1831 Independence of Belgium recognized	1833 Beginning of parliamentary debates on the emancipation of the Jews	1831 Judaism given equal status with other religions		1833 Emancipation in Hesse-Kassel
1833 Turkey recognizes limited independence of Egypt				1834 d. of David Firedlaender
	1835 David Salomons sheriff of London			
	1836 d. of Nathan Mayer Rothschild			
1839 Turkey invades Syria	1837 Moses Montefiore knighted			
	1842 First English Reform synagogue opened in London			1841 Hamburg prayer book controversy
				1842 Bruno Baer's *Judenfrage*
	1845 Jews admitted to municipal offices			1844 Rabbinical conference at Brunswick
1846 U.S. war with Mexico	1846 Minor disabilities removed	1846 Abolition of "Jewish Oath"		1845 Rabbinical conference at Frankfurt; Reform Society formed in Berlin
1848 Year of Revolutions	1847 Lionel de Rothschild elected to parliament but refuses to take the Christian oath	1848 Adolphe Crémieux minister of justice	1848 Liberal constitution of Piedmont	1847 Anti-Jewish riots in Prussia
				1848 Emancipation
1854–56 Crimean War				1854 Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary opened
	1855 David Salomons lord mayor of London		1855 d. of Isaac Samuel Reggio	
1856 Treaty of Paris	1856 Jews' College founded			1856 d. of Heinrich Heine
	1858 Lionel de Rothschild takes his seat in parliament after amendment of parliamentary oath		1858 Mortana case	
1859 Independence of Romania		1859 Rabbinical seminary transferred to Paris		
1860 Sicily and Naples occupied by Garibaldi		1860 Alliance Israélite Universelle founded		1860 d. of Samuel Holdheim d. of Isaac Marcus Jost

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY	POLAND-LITHUANIA	RUSSIA	OTTOMAN EMPIRE & EREẒ ISRAEL	U.S.	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
			1808–10 Disciples of Elijah Gaon settle in Ereẓ Israel		
1811 Jews of Vienna allowed to build a synagogue		1812 d. of Shneur Zalman of Lyady		1811 d. of Michael Gratz	
				1817 Jews settle in Cincinnati	1819 Verein fuer Kultur und Wissenschaft des Judentums founded 1820 Isaac Marcus Josef begins to publish his *Greschichte der Israeliten*
1829 d. of Mordecai Benet	1822 The *kahal* abolished	1824 Expulsion from the villages 1826-35 Velizh blood libel 1827 Cantonist legislation introduced		1824 Reformed Society of Israelites in Charleston, S.C.; Isaac Leeser arrives in U.S. 1825 M.M. Noah Ararat project 1826 Maryland "Jew Bill" removes political disabilities. Jews settle in New Orleans	
	RUSSIA (& POLAND)	ASIA			
1837 d. of Akiva Eger 1839 d. of Moses Sofer 1840 d. of Nachman Krochmal 1841 d. of Naphtali Herz Homberg 1844 d. of Aaron Chorin	1835 Oppressive constitution for the Jews 1842 Compulsory military service for the Jews of Russia 1844 Autonomy of the kahal abolished; government supervised schools for the Jews founded	1839 Entire community of Meshed (Persia) forced to convert to Islam	1831 Ereẓ Israel taken by Muhammad Ali 1837 Disastrous earthquake in Safed and Tiberias 1839 Citizenship to Ottoman Jews 1840 Damascus blood libel; restoration of Turkish rule in Ereẓ Israel	1828 Removal of disabilities of Maryland Jews 1835 Beginning of large German-Jewish immigration 1837 Jews settle in Cleveland 1841 Jews settle in Chicago 1843 B'nai B'rith founded	1832 Leopold Zunz publishes his *Die gottes-dienstichlen Vortraege* 1837 *Allgemneine Zeitung des Judentums* founded in Berlin 1841 *Jewish Chronicle* founded in London
1848 Anti-Jewish riots 1860 Jews allowed to own real-estate in Austria	1846 Montefiore visits Russia 1853 Saratov blood libel 1856 Contonist legislation abrogated 1859 Merchants of the first class permitted to live outside the Pale		1852 Confirmation of "Status Quo" in Holy Places	1846 I.M.Wise arrives 1847 Jews settle in Washington, D.C. 1848 Influx of Jews from Germany 1849 Jews settle in San Francisco and Los Angeles 1854 First YMHA founded 1855 Cleveland Conference	1853 Publication of Philippson's Bible completed; *Ahavat Ẓiyyon* by Abraham Mapu 1856 *Ha-Maggid*, first Hebrew weekly, founded in Lyck

GENERAL HISTORY	ENGLAND	FRANCE	ITALY (& PAPACY)	GERMANY	AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
1861–65 U.S. Civil War					
1861 Proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy					
1863–64 Polish revolution				1863 d. of Gabriel Riesser	
				1864 d. of Michael Sachs	
			1865 d. of Samule David Luzzatto		1865 d. of Isaac Noah Mannheimer
1866 Austro-Prussian War					
		1867 d. of Solomon Munk			1867 Constitution abolishes Jewish disabilities; d. of Solomon Judah Rapoport
1869 Opening of the Suez Canal				1869 Leipzig Reform Synod; Deutsch-Israelitische Gemeindebund founded	
1870–71 Franco-German War					
1870 Unification of Italy	1870 United synagogue founded	1870 Adolphe Crémieux minister of justice; Jews of Algeria granted French citizenship	1870 Ghetto of Rome abolished; end of Jewish disabilities in Italy		1868–69 General Congress of Hungarian Jews
				1871 Constitution abolishes Jewish disabilities	
1871 Unification of Germany					
	1871 Anglo-Jewish Association founded				1871 A. Rohling publishes his antisemitic *Der Talmudjude*
				1872 Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums opened at Berlin	
					1872 Israelitische Alianz founded in Vienna
				1873 Rabbinical Seminary opened in Berlin	
				1874 d. of Abraham Geiger	
				1875 d. of Zacharias Frankel	
				1876 Orthodox Jews permitted to found independent congregation in Prussia	
					1877 Rabbinical seminary in Budapest opened
	1874–76 Publication of George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*				
1878 Congress of Berlin				1878 Beginning of the political antisemitic movement in Berlin (A Stoecker)	
				1879-80 Antisemitic articles by H. von Treitschke	
1881 Czar Alexander II assassinated					
	1881 d. of Benjamin Disraeli			1881 Antisemitic petition	
1882 British occupation of Egypt		1882 d. of Charles Netter		1885 Expulsion of Russian refugees	1882 Tiszaeszlar blood libel; Kadimah society founded at Vienna
	1885 d. of Moses Montefiore; Nathaniel de Rothschild raised to peerage				
		1886 E-A. Drumont publishes his antisemitic *La France Juive*		1886 d. of Leopold Zunz	
				1888 d. of Samson Raphael Hirsch	
1888 Suez Canal Convention					
				1889 d. of Ludwig Philippson	
					1890 d. of Solomon Sulzer
	1890 d. of Nathan Marcus Adler				
				1891 Xanten blood libel; d. of Heinrich Graetz	1891 Thirteen antisemitic members enter Austrian Reichsrat
	1891 Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) incorporated				
		1893 d. of Adolphe Franck		1893 Fifteen antisemites elected to the Reichstag; Central-Verein Deutscher Staatsbuerger Juedischen Glaubens founded	
					1893 d. of Adolf Jellinek
1894 Dreyfus Affair		1894 Dreyfus trial			

ROMANIA	RUSSIA (& POLAND)	EREẒ ISRAEL	ZIONISM	U.S.	CULTURAL ACHIEVMENTS
	1861 Jews with academic diplomas permitted to live outside the Pale		1862 Moses Hess publishes Rom und Jerusalem	1862 Grant's General Order No. 11; first Jewish military chaplain	
	1863 Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia founded 1864 Jews admitted to the bar 1865 Jewish craftsmen permitted to live outside the Pale				
	1867 d. of Abraham Mapu			1869 Philadelphia Conference	
1871–72 Attacks on Jews	1871 Pogrom in Odessa	1870 Mikveh Israel founded			1868–85 *Ha-Sḥahar* published in Vienna
			1874 d. of Ẓevi Hirsch Kalischer	1873 Union of American Hebrew Congregations founded 1875 Hebrew Union College opened in Cincinnati	1876 Heinrich Graetz completes *Geschichte der Juden*; Goldfaden establishes Yiddish Theater in Romania
	1878 d. of Baron Yozed Guenzburg	1878 Petaḥ Tikvah founded; d. of Judah Alkalai			
1879 Citizenship granted to a number of Jews as individuals; d. of Meir Leib Malbim	1879 Kutais blood libel			1879 d. of David Einhorn	
	1881–82 Pogroms sweep southern Russia; beginning of mass emigration 1882 "May Laws"	1881 Ben-Yehuda arrives in Ereẓ Israel 1882 Beginning of First Aliyah (Bilu); Rishon le-Zion founded 1883 Beginning of Baron Edmond de Rothschild's help to Jewish settlements	1882 Leon Pinsker publishes *autoemanzipation*; Bilu organized in Russia	1881 Beginning of mass immigration from Eastern Europe 1882 Gompers a founder and president of A.F. of L; first Yiddish play performed in N.Y.	
	1885 d. of Perez Smolenskin 1887 Small percentage of Jews admitted to high schools and universities	1884 Gederah founded 1890-91 Large numbers of immigrants from Russia 1890 Reḥovot and Ḥaderah founded	1884 Kattowitz conference of Ḥibbat Zion 1887 Druzgenik Conference of the Ḥovevei Zion	1885 Pittsburgh Platform 1886 Jewish Theological Seminary opened in New York 1888 Jewish Publication Society of America established; United Hebrew Trades founded.	
	1891 Expulsion from Moscow; d. of Leon Pinsker 1892 d. of Judah Leib Gordon 1893 d. of Naphtali Zevi Judah Berlin		1889 Vilna Conference Benei Moshe founded by Aḥad Haam 1890 Odessa conference	1889 Central Conference of American Rabbis established. Rabbi Jacob Joseph arrives as "Chief Rabbi" of New York City 1891 Immigration to Argentina with help of Baron Maurice de Hirsch	

GENERAL HISTORY	ENGLAND	FRANCE	ITALY	GERMANY	AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
		1896 d. of Baron Maurice de Hirsch 1898 Emile Zola's *J'accuse*			
1899–1902 Boer War		1899 Dreyfus retried and pardoned		1899 d. of Axriel Hildesheimer; H.S. Chamberlain's antisemitic Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten jahrhunderts	1899 d. of David Kaufmann; Hilsner Case
			1900 d. of Elijah Benamozegh	1900 Konitz blood libel	
				1901 Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden founded	
	1902 Jewish Religious Union founded			1903 d. of Moritz Lazarus	
1904–05 Russo-Japanese War				1904 Verband der deutschen Juden founded	
1905 Abortive revolution in Russia; separation of Church and State in France	1905 Aliens Act; Herbert Samuel first Jewish cabinet minister	1905 d. of Zadoc Kahn 1906 Dreyfus rehabilitated			1905 d. of Isaac Hirsch Weiss
1908 Young Turk revolution	1907 d. of Adolf Neubauer				
			1910–11 L. Luzzatti prime minister		
	1911 d. of Hermann Adler; d. of Samuel Montagu				1913 d. of Wilhelm Bacher
1914–18 World War I				1915 d. of Abraham Berliner	
1917 U.S. enters the war; Russian Revolution	1917 Balfour Declaration				1918 d. of Moritz Guedemann
1919 Peace of Versailles		1919 Comité des Délégations Juives			1919 Pogroms in Hungary
1920 Polish-Russian War	1920 Britain granted Palestine mandate				
1921 U.S. Immigration Act 3% quota by 1910 Census				1921 d. of David Hoffmann	
1922 Advent of Fascism in Italy				1922 Assassination of Walter Rathenau	

ROMANIA	RUSSIA (& POLAND)	EREẒ ISRAEL	ZIONISM	U.S.	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
1895 Anti-semitic League organized	1897 Bund founded 1898 d. of Samuel Mohilever 1903 Pogrom in Kishinev 1905 Pogroms; mass emigration 1906 Pogroms; Po'alei Zion founded 1909 d. of Baron Horace Guenzburg 1909-10 Polish boycott against Jews 1910 Expulsion from Kiev; d. of Moses Leib Lilienblum	1904 Beginning of Second Aliyah 1905 Joseph Vitkin's *Kol Kore*; Ha-Poel Ha-Ẓair founded 1906 Hebrew high school established in Jaffa; Bezalel founded 1909 Deganyah founded; Ha-Shomer organized; Tel-Aviv founded	1896 Herzl publishes Der Judenstaat 1897 1st Zionist Congress convenes in Basle, Herzl president 1898 2nd Zionist Congress 1899 3rd Zionist Congress; Jewish Colonial Trust founded 1900 4th Zionist Congress 1901 5th Zionist Congress; Jewish National Fund established 1902 Mizrachi founded 1903 6th Zionist Congress Uganda project 1904 d. of Theodor Herzl 1905 7th Zionist Congress rejects Uganda project; Wolffsohn president 1906 Helsingfors program 1907 8th Zionist Congress 1911 10th Zionist Congress; Warburg president	1896 Jews settle in Miami 1897 Federation of American Zionists founded; Jewish Daily Forward begins publication 1898 Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations founded 1900 d. of I.M. Wise; I.L.G.W.U. founded 1901 S. Schecter goes to New York 1906–09 Peak of immigration; 642,000 Jews arrive 1906 American Jewish Committee established 1908 New York City Kehillah founded 1909 Dropsie College opened 1913 US-Russian Treaty of 1832 abrogated because Russia does not recognized rights of American Jews under it; United Synagogue founded; Anti-Defamation League founded 1914 American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee established; Brandeis assumes Zionist leadership	1896 Cairo Genizah discovered 1904 Vaad ha-Lashon organized; Habimah Theater founded; Jewish Telegraphic agency founded 1906 *Jewish Encyclopaedia* completed 1913 *Yevreskaya Entsiklopedia* completed
EGYPT					
1915 Refugees from Ereẓ Israel form Zion Mule Corps	1911–13 Beilis trial 1912 Agudat Israel founded 1915 d. of Isaac Leib Peretz; d. of Isaac Jacob Reines		1914 d. of David Wolffsohn	1915 Menorah Journal, first Jewish literary organ; Leo Frank lynched 1916 L. Brandesis appointed to Supreme Court	
	1917 Anti-Jewish laws abrogated; d. of Mendele Mokher Seforim 1919 Pogroms in Ukraine and Poland; abolishment of community organization and Jewish institutions in Russia	1917 The British capture Jerusalem 1918 Zionist Commission appointed 1919–23 Third Aliyah 1920 British Mandate over Palestine; Tel Ḥai; Arabs riot in Jerusalem 1920–25 Sir Herbert Samuel High Commissioner 1920 Histadrut founded; the Haganah founded 1921 Arabs riot in Jaffa 1922 Churchill's White Paper; d. of Eliezer Ben-Yehuda	1920 Keren Ha-Yesod established 1921 12th Zionist Congress; Weizmann president	1917 American Jewish Congress election 1919 Canadian Jewish Congress founded; American Jewish delegation at Versailles 1920 d. of Jacob H. Schiff; Henry Ford begins antisemitic Dearborn Independent 1921 Brandeis-Weizmann split divides American Zionism	1917 JPS version of the Bible

GENERAL HISTORY	ENGLAND	FRANCE	THE NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM, ITALY, SCANDINAVIA, SWITZERLAND	GERMANY	AUSTRIA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA
1924 d. of Lenin					1923 d. of Joseph Samuel Bloch
	1925 d. of Israel Abrahams			1925–27 Hitler's Mein Kampf	
	1926 d. of Israel Zangwill	1928 d. of Theodore Reinach			
1929–33 Wall Street crash – world depression	1930 d. of Lucien Wolf		1930 Unone dell comunità israelitche italiane formed		
1931 Japanese aggression in Manchuria					
1932 F.D. Roosevelt elected president of U.S.					
1933 Hitler German chancellor	1933 Central British Fund for German refugees set up	1934 d. of Baron Edmond de Rothschild		1933 Anti-Jewish economic boycott; first concentration camps	
1935 Italy invades Ethiopia		1936–37 Leon Blum heads Front Populaire government		1935 Nuremberg Laws	
1936 Germans enter Rhineland					
1936–39 Spanish Civil War					
1938 Austria annexed by Germany; Munich Crisis; partition of Czechoslovakia		1938 Evian Conference	1938 Racial legislation in Italy	1938 *Kristallnacht*; economic ruin of the Jews	1938 Pograoms in Vienna; anti-Jewish legislation; Deportations from Austria begun
1939 Beginning of World War II; Poland overrun	1939 d. of Moses Gaster; d. of Adolf Buechler				1939 Anti-Jewish laws in the Protectorate (Czechoslovakia)
1940 Western Europe overrun by the Germans; Churchill premier of Britain		1940 Discrimination laws of the Vichy regime			
1941 Germans invade Russia; Japan and U.S. enter war		1941 Opening of concentration camp at Drancy		1941 Jewish emigration prohibited	1941 Anti-Jewish laws in Slovakia
		1941–44 83,000 Jews deported and murdered			
1942 Allies land in North Africa; Battle of El-Alamein			1942–44 Mass transports to Auschwitz from Belgium, Holland	1942 Wannsee Conference	

ROMANIA-HUNGARY	RUSSIA, POLAND	EREẒ ISRAEL	ZIONISM	U.S.	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
		1923 Mandate confirmed by League of Nations	1923 d. of Max Nordau	1923 Rabbinical Council of America founded; B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation founded	
	1924 Economic restrictions on Jews in Poland; attempt to settle Jews in Crimea	1924 Technion opened in Haifa 1924–32 Fourth Aliyah			
		1925 Hebrew University in Jerusalem opened			1925 YIVO founded 1925–32 *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (German) A–L
		1927 d. of Aḥad Ha-Am			
	1928 Beginning of Jewish settlement in Birobidzhan			1928 Yeshiva College opens	
		1929 Arabs riot in Jerusalem Massacres in Hebron and Safed	1929 Jewish Agency expanded	1929 d. of Louis Marshall	
	1930 Yevsektsiya abolished	1930 Passfield White Paper			
		1931 MacDonald's letter; split in the Haganah-Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (Eẓel) founded	1931 17th Zionist Congress; Nahum Sokolow president of World Zionist Organization		
		1933-39 Fifth Aliyah; immigration from Germany 1933 Chaim Arlosoroff murdered			
	1934 Birobidzhan – Jewish Autonomous Oblast; Poland annuls Minorities Treaties	1934 d. of Ḥayyim Naḥman Bialik (in Vienna); beginning of “illegal” immigration on a larger scale		1934 Jewish Labor Committee founded; H. Morgenthau Sec. of Treasury	1934 SAIA established
			1935 19th Zionist Congress; Weizmann reelected president of World Zionist Organization		
	1936 Pogrom in Przytyk (Poland)	1936 Arabs riot; Arabs strike	1936 World Jewish Congress founded		1936 Palestine Symphony Orchestra established
1937 Antisemitic legislation in Romania	1937 Discrimination in Polish universities	1937 Peel Commission proposes partition of Palestine, Arab revolt; Haganah reunited; Stockade and watchtower settlements			
1938 Anti-Jewish economic legislation in Hungary		1938 Wingate organizes special Jewish units to fight Arab terrorism	1938 d. of Otto Warburg		
1939 Many Hungarian Jews lose citizenship	1939 Pogroms in Poland (after Nazi invasion)	1939 MacDonald White Paper. Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel (Leḥi) founded	1939 United Jewish Appeal founded	1939 Peak of Nazi refugee immigration; 43,000 arrive	
	1940 Formation of ghettos in Poland		1940 d. of Vladmir Jabotinsky		
1941 Pogrom in Jassy (Romania)	1941 Pogroms in Kaunas and Lvov, massacres by Einsatzgruppen in occupied Russia; expulsions from the Reich to Poland; first death camp established (Chelmno)	1941 Palmaḥ organized		1941 d. of Louis D. Brandeis	
1942 “Struma” sinks in Black Sea with 769 refugees	1942 Massacres in occupied Russia continue. Death camps of Auschwitz, Maidanek and Treblinka begin to function at full capacity; transports from the ghettos to death camps		1942 American Jewish conference endorses Biltmore Program		

GENERAL HISTORY	FRANCE	THE NETHERLANDS ETC.	GERMANY	AUSTRIA CZECHOSLOVAKIA	ROMANIA-HUNGARY
1943 German defeat at Stalingrad, Germans surrender in North Africa, Italy surrenders		1943 Jews of Denmark smuggled to Sweden	1943 Germany declared Judenrein		
1944 Allies land in Normandy; Russians advance westward. U.S. victorious in the Pacific	1944 Representative body of French Jews (CRJF)	1943–44 7,500 Italian Jews murdered			1944 Extermination of Hungarian Jewry began
1945 Germany surrenders; atomic bombs, Japan surrenders; death of Roosevelt; Truman president		1940-45 total of Jewish victioms 139,000. Jewish Brigade helps to organize survivors of death camps and send them to Palestine	1945 Total of Jewish victims 125,000	1945 Total of Jewish victims 342,000	1944–45 Total of Jewish victims (including also Greece and Yugoslavia) 557,000
1946 Communists take over in Eastern and Central Europe			1946 Major Nuremburg trial		
1947 Paris Peace Conference					
1948 Communist Coup in Czechoslovakia; State of Israel proclaimed and War of Independence					

	WESTERN EUROPE	EASTERN EUROPE
1949 NATO organized; Communist republic in China; U.S. Displaced Persons Act		
1950 Korean War	1950 Centralrat der Juden in Deutschland	
1952 Revolution in Egypt First hydrogen bomb exploded		1952 Prague Trials
1953 Eisenhower president of U.S.; Korean Armistice; d. of Stalin; Refugee Relief Act		1953 "Doctors' plot" in U.S.S.R.
1954 French defeated in Indo-China; beginning of uprising in Algeria	1954–55 Mendes-France French premier	
1955 Signing of Warsaw Pact	1954–68 Mass immigration of N. African Jews to France	
1956 Hungarian revolution; Suez Campaign		
1957 British army leaves Jordan; Russian sputnik		
1958 Fifth Republic in France; civil war in Lebanon and Iraq		
1959 Cuban revolution		
1960 Civil war in Congo	1960 Swastika daubing	
1961 Kennedy president of U.S.; Ghana independent (followed by other African states)		
1962 Independence of Algeria; Cuban crisis		
1963 Kennedy assassinated		
1964 Fall of Khrushchev		
1965 U.S. offensive in Vietman; Immigration Act abolishes quota system	1965 Diplomatic relations between Israel and Germany established	
1967 Six-Day war	1967 De Gaulle's anti-Israel stand	1968 Fresh wave of antisemitism in Poland, emigration of most of remaining Jews
1968 Warsaw Pact countries invade Czechoslovakia; Paris May Riots	1968 Frankfurt trials	
1969 First man on the moon		
		1970 Leningrad trials Russian Jews agitate for right to emigrate

RUSSIA, POLAND	EREẒ ISRAEL	U.S.	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
1943 Transports from all over Europe to death camps. Warsaw ghetto revolt. Annihilation of most of the ghettos	1943 d. of Saul Tchernichowsky		
1944–47 Beriḥah	1944 Eẓel and Leḥi strike at the British Jewish Brigade organized (fights in Italy)		
1945 Total of Jewish victims 4,565,000	1945 Bevin's declaration on Palestine; “Illegal” immigration intensified; Struggle against the British intensified; Cooperation between Haganah and Eẓel		
1946 Pogroms at Kielce and other place of mass emigration	1946 Anglo-American Committee publishes its conclusions; Eẓel blows up the King David Hotel; the British deport “illegal” immigrants to Cyprus	1946 Founding of Brandeis University	
	1947 U.N. General Assembly decides on partition of Palestine; Beginnign of Arab attacks		1947 Discovery of Dead Sea Scrolls
1948 Jewish culture in U.S.S.R. suppressed and intellectuals shot; Golda Meir first Israel minister to Moscow	1948 Proclamation of the State of Israel; seven Arab states invade; Israel offensive; The Negev liberated	1948 U.S. recognizes Israel, May 14, 1948 1948 Peak of migration to S. California	

ISRAEL	ARAB COUNTRIES	U.S.	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
1949 First Knesset opens; Chaim Weizmann first president of Israel; David Ben-Gurion prime minister; cease-fire agreements with Egypt, Lebanon, Transjordan, Syria; Israel member of UN: 240,000 immigrants	1949–50 Airborne transfer of c.50,000 Jews from Yemen to Israel	1949 d. of Stephen S. Wise	
1950 Western Powers guarantee existing borders in the Middle East; Law of Return; mass immigration	1950–51 Airborne transfer of 123,000 Jews from Iraq to Israel		
1951 Second Knesset elected; Tension on borders increases; Mass immigration continues; 23rd Zionist Congress in Jerusalem adopts Jerusalem Program			
1952 d. of Chaim Weizmann; Izhak Ben-Zvi second president of Israel; Reparations agreement between W. Germany and Israel			
1953 Beginning of attacks by Arab infiltrators; first Israel reprisal action; Ben-Gurion retures to Sdeh Boker; Moshe Sharett prime minister; Kasztner trial			
	1954–55 emigration from Morocco	1954–55 Celebration of Tercentenary of Jews in U.S.	
1955 Fedayeen attacks and reprisal actions continue; Ben-Gurion prime minister; Waters of Yarkon river directed to the Negev	1955 Moshe Marzouk and Samuel Azaar executed in Cairo		
1956 Sinai Campaign	1956 Jews of Egypt expelled		
1957 Israel evacuates Sinai; U.N. observers on border with Egypt.			
1960 Eichmann kidnapped to Israel			1960 Discovery of Bar Kokhba epistles
1961 Lavon Affair; Eichmann trial; “Shavit 2” Israel missile successfully launched			
			1964 Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture founded
1963 d. of Izhak Ben-Zvi; Zalman Shazar third president of Israel; Levi Eshkol prime minister		1963 d. of A.H. Silver	
1965 d. of Martin Buber	1965 Eli Cohen executed in Damascus		
		1966 Manifestations of black antisemitism	1966 Shmuel Yosef Agnon and Nelly Sachs awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature
1967 Six-Day War, Jerusalem reunited		1967 6,000 volunteers to Israel	
		1968 New York teachers strike	1968 Excavation in Old City of Jerusalem begun
1969 War of attrition at the Suez Canal front begun; Death of Levi Eshkol; Golda Meir prime minister	1969 Jews executed in Iraq		

GENERAL HISTORY	ISRAEL	U.S.	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
	1971 Start of large-scale 1970s Soviet immigration to Israel		
	1972 11 Israeli sportsmen murdered by Arab terrorists at Munich Olympic Games	1972 First woman rabbi	
	1973 Yom Kippur War		
1975 Last U.S. troops leave Vietnam	1975 UN resolution equates Zionism with racism		
	1976 Israel frees hostages in Entebbe raid		1976 Saul Bellow wins Nobel Prize for literature
	1977 Menachem Begin elected prime minister Sadat in Jerusalem		1978 Isaac Bashevis Singer wins Nobel Prize for literature
1979 Ayatollah Khomeini in power in Iran Soviet troops enter Afghanistan	1979 Israel and Egypt sign peace agreement		
1981 Sadat assassinated	1981 Israeli airforce destroys Iraqi nuclear reactor		1981 Elias Canetti wins Nobel Prize for literature
1982 The term AIDS used for the first time	1982 Israel invades Lebanon (start of Lebanon War)	1983 JPS completes new Bible translation Reform movement recognizes patrilineal descent	
	1984 First mass airlift of Ethiopean Jews		
1985 Gorbachev introduces glasnost in Soviet Union	1987 Beginning of first Intifada	1985 First Conservative woman rabbi	1986 Elie Wiesel wins Nobel Peace Prize
1989 Collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe Tiananmen Square uprising in China Nelson Mandela released in South Africa Berlin Wall falls	1989 Renewal of mass Soviet immigration to Israel		1987 Joseph Brodsky wins Nobel Prize for literature
	1990 Madrid Peace Conference		
	1991 Scuds hit Tel Aviv in Gulf War		1991 Nadine Gordimer wins Nobel Prize for literature
1990 Germany reunited			
1991 Gulf War Yugoslavian civil war Breakup of Soviet Union	1993 Oslo Accords	1993 U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum inaugurated	
1994 Rwanda genocide claims hundreds of thousands of lives		1994 d. of Lubavitcher Rebbe	
	1995 Israel and Jordan sign peace treaty	SOUTH AMERICA	
	1995 Rabin assassinated	1994 DAIA building bombed in Buenos Aires	
1998 African wars reach peak that will claim 3 million lives in 3 years			
	2000 Israel withdraws from Lebanon Beginning of second Intifada Pope John Paul II visits Jerusalem		
2001 9/11 attack on World Trade Center and Pentagon	2001 Ariel Sharon elected prime minister		2002 Imre Kertesz wins Nobel Prize for literature
2001 U.S.-led coalition forces invade Afghanistan			2004 Elfriede Jelinek wins Nobel Prize for literature Aaron Ciechanover and Avram Hershko first Israelis to win Nobel Prize in science
2003 U.S.-led coalition forces invade Iraq			
2004 Indian Ocean tsunami kills 230,000 people	2004 d. of Yasser Arafat		
2005 UN initiates International Holocauast Remembrance Day	2005 Israel disengages from Gaza Strip		2005 Harold Pinter wins Nobel Prize for literature

Rescue of the Remnant
This view and plan was upset by the spirit and readiness to undergo mortal risks and physical sufferings by three elements of the Jewish people. The greater part of the remnant in Europe refused to be lured by comfort in other Diasporas. Even the many who went to the countries of Western Europe and the United States, and even those who found it possible to return to live in German cities, conceived that they could see no other compensation for their humiliation, for the torture and death of their brethren – and no other surety or hope that a Jew could continue to live among men and be considered a fellowman – but the creation of an independent political and social existence in a Jewish state in Ereẓ Israel. The Jews of Ereẓ Israel showed themselves at this juncture ready to face both Arabs and ultimately British might and to risk everything for the creation of a Jewish state. The cooperation of the soldiers of the Jewish Brigade in Europe was enlisted, paratroopers were dropped behind Nazi lines during the war (see Hannah *Szenes), emissaries of the Haganah and IẒL were sent to Europe, and they began again to organize "illegal" immigration (cf. *Beriḥah). The attempts to enter Ereẓ Israel were met by the British authorities with expulsions. The immigrant ship *Exodus* was intercepted and went from port to port in Europe. Later on the immigrants were concentrated at Cyprus, but the immigrant ships – congested and unseaworthy – continued to arrive off the shores of Ereẓ Israel at night. The story of their embarkation, journeyings, perilous disembarkation, and running the cordon of British military and police in the country, lit a flame and became a legend, a record of devotion and heroism. The IẒL, and in particular the Leḥi, turned to acts of sabotage and individual terror against the British. Undeterred by the specter of mass antisemitism and the enmity of states and statesmen, and not heeding allegations of "dual loyalty" and "Jewish lobby," U.S. Jewry poured its enthusiasm, its money, and its position as Americans, into the struggle to assert a proud Jewish identity to offset the image of the skeletons in the camps. They were joined by many non-Jews who felt that their support was not only a matter of justice to the Jews but even more of giving back trust in humanity to small nations.

Prelude to Independence
The Jews had been ready in 1937 to accept in principle the proposition of the Peel Commission of inquiry for the partition of Ereẓ Israel, though not all the details of the plan. In 1942, at a conference in the United States, the *Biltmore Program was accepted by the Zionist organization which set forth clearly the goal of the creation of a Jewish state. Now even the most pro-British elements among the Zionists began to waver in their loyalty to the mandatory power. Other commissions were sent to Ereẓ Israel, searches for arms were made by the British in Jewish settlements (see *Yagur), there were arrests, and hints were frequently thrown out that the British might leave the Jews to their fate, withdrawing their protection and leaving them on their own to face the Arabs. A mixed Anglo-American committee of inquiry proposed in April 1946 the immediate entry of 100,000 Jews mainly from the "*displaced persons" camps in Europe to Ereẓ Israel. The U.S. president, Harry S. *Truman, supported this recommendation; the British prime minister, Clement *Attlee, refused it by attaching a condition requiring disbandment of the Jewish illegal armed organization and handing in of their weapons. The struggle continued. From the end of 1945 the Haganah also took part in actions against the British. When in 1946 the British arrested the leaders of the *yishuv*, the IẒL reacted by organizing the bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem where many government officials were killed.

The fate of the ship *Exodus* in 1947 aroused world opinion against the British government. The British then at first proposed the "Morrison Plan for Partition," which was rejected by both Jews and Arabs. In April 1947, Ernest Bevin carried out his threat and turned to the United Nations, withdrawing from the principle of sole British responsibility for Ereẓ Israel. The Jews refused to be frightened. To the surprise of many, the Soviet government joined that of the United States in supporting partition and the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. On Nov. 29, 1947, the *United Nations General Assembly adopted, by a majority of 33 votes against 13, a resolution on the partition of Palestine. The actual plan was very disadvantageous to the Jews, but the Arabs immediately proclaimed war against it. The Jews had to prepare for this war clandestinely; the Arabs had the support of their states and the sympathy of the British government to help them in their preparations.

Establishment of the State of Israel
When war broke out on May 15, 1948, with the proclamation of the establishment of the State of *Israel, the armies of seven Arab states invaded the territory intended for the Jewish state. In a series of battles, during which they had to organize and improvise under fire, the Jews repelled these armies. They proved in the process the value of their underground organizations and of the approximately 25,000 trained men who had fought in one way or another in World War II, as well as the valor of thousands of volunteers who flocked from many Diaspora countries to fight for their nation. The *War of Independence, in its two phases (interrupted by a short-lived cease-fire), not only enabled the State of Israel to exist; its course also changed the map of the proposed Jewish state in the latter's favor. The borders of the Rhodes *armistice of 1949 were much more viable than those of the U.N. resolution of 1947. The war took a toll of thousands of lives. In besieged Jerusalem alone about 1,600 civilians were killed by the shellings of the Jordanian Arab Legion, then commanded by British officers.

Since then the State of Israel has been surrounded by the hostility of the Arab world, which considers itself at war with Israel and likes to think of Israel as being in a state of siege to be ended with Arab victory. The Arabs not only proclaim a **jihad* against Israel but also organize systematically, as a matter of declared policy, an anti-Israel economic *boycott. The

attitude of the Arabs was to see the State of Israel as a "non-state," destined ultimately for obliteration.

This Arab hostility brought about the consummation of the process of the "Ingathering of the Exiles" from the Muslim countries, which had already begun well before World War I. The enthusiasm of Yemen Jews for *aliyah* had been manifested from ancient times, and began to be realized with the stimulus given by the mission of Shemuel *Yavnieli. After the War of Independence almost all went to Israel; for many of them their air flight was an abrupt transition from conditions of tenth-century Muslim technology and life to the 20th-century society of Israel. Their adjustment was miraculously rapid and successful. Yemen Jewry has enriched Israel culture with its traditions in song and dance, colorful dress and customs. The Jews of Syria and Iraq remained in continuous contact with Ereẓ Israel. They made up a not inconsiderable part of the "illegal immigration" during the mandatory period – often undergoing danger and persecution in the countries of departure. After the establishment of the state they left for Israel "illegally," having to organize self-defense and an underground movement in circumstances of mob hostility and brutal persecution by the state. Most of them had to abandon all their possessions to go to Israel (see also *Asia, *Iraq, *"illegal" immigration; *Syria). A large number of the Jews in Iran also left the country, though they did not face state enmity there.

With the increase of hostility in North Africa many – though by no means all – of the Jews there went to Israel. This ingathering of exiles has created, for the first time since the dispersion of the Jews, a meeting of the diverse varieties of Jewish culture and social life that have crystallized over a period of at least 2,000 years in widely differing environments and circumstances. A vast, almost unprecedented, process of reacquaintance and mutual acculturation has thus begun, and is, it seems, successfully under way. The Hebrew language, the educational system, and army service serve as accelerating and cementing factors, though there remains still much tension and misunderstanding between the various Jewish groups.

To Jews everywhere the creation of the State of Israel was not only a reassertion of their humanity, but a fulfillment and an obligation to strive for further human and Jewish perfection and service. This has been stated as follows:

> To sum up: the political rebirth of Israel is the very essence of Jewish history. She has absorbed into herself the experiences and activities of generations, the covenant of generations. She has renewed the covenant with the land out of a longing, through the creation of a new community, to develop the Covenant of Man into an Eternal Covenant (B.Z. Dinur, *Israel and the Diaspora* (1969), 186).

In this period the State of Israel victoriously fought two wars (in 1956, in the *Sinai Campaign; in 1967, in the *Six-Day War). It carried the burden of terror tactics and guerilla warfare almost continuously. At the same time it gathered in hundreds of thousands of Jews from the Arab states, and as the behavior of the population has shown during the Six-Day War of 1967, it succeeded within this short span in imbuing most of its immigrants with its ethos and with a serviceable acquaintance with European technology and scientific methods. The Jewish state has up to the present proved itself to be democratic in the full sense of the term, in its conduct of the political process and in the freedom of press and discussion. Hebrew culture is continuously developing. In the *Law of Return (1950) the state asserted its basic Jewishness in proclaiming that every Jew has the right to go there and become an Israeli citizen. The State of Israel is not only far from being besieged to all practical intents and purposes but has become one of the important advisers to developing countries in Africa and Asia. Basically secular, it does much toward maintaining links to Jewish law and tradition, though the extent of this application is at the center of heated public discussion.

World Jewry in 1970

All over the world emancipation is formally in force for Jews, with a few unimportant exceptions (Saudi Arabia; Yemen). In practice Jews are severely persecuted in most Arab countries, and suffer governmental harassment and total denial of rights to develop their own culture in all communist countries. There is proof, however, that the cultural activity and consciousness continues as always, even under persecution. The open fight of Soviet Jews for links with their brethren outside the country and for *aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel has become one of the focal phenomena in Jewish life the world over and their redemption a central challenge for the entire Jewish people (see *Russia, Struggle for Soviet Jewry). In many communist countries the number of Jews is diminishing to vanishing point (Poland; *Czechoslovakia).

In the Western world Jews everywhere are active in parties of all shades and occupied with the problems that face the societies to which they feel allegiance. At the same time their ties with other Jews, and in particular with the State of Israel, are strong. The tense atmosphere in the Diaspora during the weeks preceding the Six-Day War showed their devotion at a time of crisis. On the other hand, Jews in the United States are facing, as many Jewish societies have done in modern times, an imponderable problem from without in the emergence of "black" antisemitism among black society. Inside their own camp Jews are facing strong manifestations of Jewish "self-hate," in particular among intellectuals of the New Left, often in the guise of anti-Zionism, so that there now exists not only "left-wing antisemitism" – an old phenomenon dating from the times of Marx and *Bakunin – but also "Jewish antisemitism." Conversely, many Jews now contribute to general culture with a conscious and articulate stress on and expression of their Jewishness, as they understand it (like Arnold *Wesker in England, or Bernard *Malamud and Saul *Bellow among many in the United States). Some have even elevated Jewish existence in exile to the status of a paradigm and symbol of the alienation of modern man.

In many respects the Jewish nation stands at present in a similar situation to that at the time of the Second Temple. It has its independent and creative center in Ereẓ Israel. It has

great and creative centers in the Diaspora, especially in the United States which has been compared in this connection with those of Hellenistic Alexandria or ancient Babylonia with their roles in the development of Jewish culture. Cultural hostility toward Jews, and certainly vulgar antisemitism, is far from disappearing. Despite Pope *John XXIII's great humanist attempt to sever the old Christian attitude to the Jews, this has not disintegrated. The phrases used by Arnold Toynbee designating the Jew and his culture as a "fossil of the Syriac civilization" making the Arab refugees "the new Jews" form but one striking instance of modern "*Salon Anti-semitismus*." Jews are economically active in many specific spheres; while in Jewish society the trend to megalopolization and intellectualization continues and even sharpens, this activity has established in the State of Israel a flourishing modern agriculture and a full range of modern social stratification. The number of Jews in the professions is constantly rising. With the present importance of science, sociology, and psychology for immediate military, industrial, and social needs the service of Jews to society in these fields has become of increasing importance, and their standing is becoming more assured and rewarding, socially and spiritually, both in regard to the society of the environment and in their own estimation.

The problems facing Jews have not disappeared. Many of the old dangers, opportunities, tasks, and ideals remain under a change of guise.

> Each and every chapter in the long history of our people and each and every real point of our historical reality embodies the mystery of old periods, past and future …. They are planted in the heart of every man, through them the place of Israel amongst the nations will be marked in the future (Y. Baer, *Yisrael ba-Amim* (1955), 117).

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

Into the Millennium

In the 35 years that have passed since Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson concluded his magisterial survey of medieval and modern Jewish history for the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, momentous events have occurred in the Jewish world. These, however, cannot be assessed as yet from a historical perspective; rather, they reveal trends and processes that are still unfolding.

The most dramatic event of these years was undoubtedly the mass exodus of Soviet Jewry from the former Soviet Union in the 1990s after the collapse of the Communist system. The million Jews who left arrived mostly in Israel, with significant numbers also settling in the United States and Germany. Contrary to the expectations of some, they have not changed the face of Israel but have rather become another immigrant group undergoing a steady process of acclimatization and assimilation, not unlike, for all the differences, the East European Jews who arrived on the shores of America in another era.

In Israel itself, the euphoria of the great victory in the Six-Day War of 1967 soon gave way to a national depression in the wake of the *Yom Kippur War of 1973 as the myth of Israel's invincibility was shattered along with confidence in its Old Guard leaders. The immediate consequence was the election upset of 1977, bringing Menahem *Begin and the *Likud to power. The leading motifs of the Begin years were debilitating inflation under the banner of free enterprise and the morass of the war in Lebanon. More significant, however, was the disintegration of the country's socialist ethos and the rapid transformation of Israel into a Western-style consumer society with its inevitable by-products. Ironically, this process had been initiated not by the trauma of the Yom Kippur War but by the Six-Day War, which had served to open new psychological vistas and divert the country's economic energies from the common effort to the private plane.

Politically the Yom Kippur War initiated an ongoing peace process whose end was not in sight after 10 years of negotiations and two intifadas. Though it had yielded peace treaties with Egypt and Jordan and the general shape of a settlement with the Palestinians seemed to be understood by everyone, the situation in the Middle East seemed no less precarious than before, with global terrorism and the Iranian nuclear threat now part of the mix.

Outside Israel, Jewish communities showed mixed and even, at first glance, contradictory trends: a general downward movement of population levels as a result of assimilation, low birth rates, and immigration to Israel (a decline from 10.1 to 7.8 million between 1970 and 2005) and an upsurge of Jewish life in these very same communities. One might think of steady erosion at the outer edges of these communities while at the core a (false?) sense of security prevailed. In the United States, committed Jews seemed increasingly secure in their Jewish identities, synagogue-centered communal life flourished, and Jewish academic studies revealed a vitality unknown 35 years ago. Individually, Jews continued to distinguish themselves with remarkable achievements in hospitable environments.

What do these trends signify?

Perhaps it may be said that two illusions characterize our perception of the Jewish world at the outset of the new millennium. One is that the ultimate political and social direction of the State of Israel will be determined ideologically. The other is that the upsurge and vitality of Jewish life in various Diaspora communities will serve as a brake against continuing assimilation and forestall the ultimate disappearance of these communities as living Jewish organisms.

The perception of Israel as divided into two opposing political camps – right and left – whose rival ideologies – zealous nationalism and peace-loving humanism – are locked in a struggle to determine the face of Israel is naive to say the least. Not only are historical and political forces at work which will make all debate seem academic but the ideologies themselves are marginal to the mainstream of Israeli life, which has settled into a comfortable materialist phase whose values are those associated with middle classes everywhere. In the modern West, this middle class determines both a country's social order and political options. It is dedicated to personal freedom and the pursuit of happiness and it eschews national symbols and as-

pirations, as Spengler has put it. It is therefore not farfetched to suggest that the future of Israel – politically, socially, economically – will be determined by its center, a vocal majority increasingly worshiping at the shrine of private life.

In the United States, assimilation and extremely high rates of intermarriage will no doubt continue. In effect, half the Jews in the United States – the unaffiliated half – are moving toward total alienation from their Jewish roots. For the others, excluding the Orthodox population, it cannot be guaranteed that the present-day attractions of Jewish community life will exert the same influence in the next generation, and the next. On the contrary, it may be anticipated that a very natural dropout rate will establish itself here too, further diminishing the Jewish population. It is questionable whether a Judaism that consumes only a small part of an individual's life can generate the force and energy needed to ensure its survival.

These are issues for the long term – the ultimate character of the State of Israel, the ultimate fate of Diaspora Jewry – but they are vital questions for a people whose history is measured in millennia. To lose such a history would be tragic, to perpetuate it will require a great national effort. This is the challenge faced by the Jewish people at the start of the 21st century.

[Fred Skolnik (2nd ed.)]

For further information, consult the entries on State of *Israel and individual countries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BIBLIOGRAPHIES: Baron, Social, 3 (1937), 177–304; idem, in: JSOS, 2 (1940), 305–88, 481–605; Shunami, Bibl. index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A.J. Edelheit and H. Edelheit, *The Jewish World in Modern Times: A Selected, Annotated Bibliography* (1988); J.S. Gurock, *American Jewish History: A Bibliographical Guide* (1983); G.D. Hundert and G.C. Bacon, *The Jews in Poland and Russia: Bibliographical Essays* (1984); J. Kaplan, *2000 Books and More: An Annotated and Selected Bibliography of Jewish History and Thought* (1983). BIOGRAPHIES: Joan Comay, *Who's Who in Jewish History after the Period of the Old Testament* (1974). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Wigoder, *Dictionary of Jewish Biography* (1991). PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY: S. Dubnow, *Nationalism and History* (1958); F. Baer, *Galut* (Eng., 1947); idem, *Yisrael ba-Ammim* (1955); Dinur, Golah, 1 (1960), 5–50 (introd.); M. Kaznelson, *Probleme der juedischen Geschichte und Geschichtsphilosophie* (1929); Y. Kaufmann, *Golah ve-Nekhar*, 4 vols. (1929–32); H. Graetz, *Darkhei ha-Historyah ha-Yehudit*, ed. by S. Ettinger (1969); H.H. Ben-Sasson (ed.), in: *Toledot Am Yisrael*, 1 (1969), 11–30 (gen. introd.). GENERAL HISTORIES: S. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*. 2nd rev. & enl. ed. (1993), 18 volumes; Baron, Community; Graetz, Hist; M.L. Margolis and A. Marx, *A History of the Jewish People* (1927); C. Roth, *A Short History of the Jewish People* (1938); L. Finkelstein, *The Jews*, 3 vol. (1970–1971); A.L. Sachar, *A History of the Jews* (1953⁴); S. Grayzel, *A History of the Jews* (1953²); A. Eban, *My People: A History of the Jews* (1968); Dinur, Golah; Dubnow, Weltgesch; Graetz, Gesch. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** W.D. Davies and L. Finkelstein, (eds.), *Cambridge History of Judaism* (1984–1989, 12 volumes so far); *Zion*, quarterly (Heb., 1936–); H.H. Ben-Sasson, (ed.), *A History of the Jewish People* (1976); H.H. Ben-Sasson & S. Ettinger (eds.), *Jewish Society through the Ages* (1971); Michael A. Meyer (ed.), *Ideas of Jewish History* (1987); C. Raphael, *The Sephardi Story* (1991). ANCIENT PERIOD. Bright, Hist; Y. Kaufmann, Religion; Neusner, Babylonia; Noth, Hist Isr; Olmstead, Hist; de Vaux, Anc Isr; H. Orlinsky, *Ancient Israel* (1954); J. Pedersen, *Israel, Its Life and Culture*, 4 vols. (1959²); V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (1959); H.W. Robinson, *The History of Israel, Its Facts and Factors* (1964²); *World History of the Jewish People*, ser. 1 vol. 1 (1964); Alon, Toledot; Juster, Juifs; Y. Kaufmann, Toledot; Kittel, Gesch; Schuerer, Gesch; M. Noth, *Das System der zwoelf Staemme Israels* (1930); M. Avi-Yonah, *Bi-Ymei Roma u-Vizantiyon* (1946); idem, *Geschichte der Juden im Zeitalter des Talmuds* (1962); Y. Guttmann, *Ha-Sifrut ha-Yehudit ha-Hellenistit*, 2 vols. (1958–63); *Historyah shel Am Yisrael*, ser. 1 vol. 2, *Ha-Avot ve-ha-Shofetim* (1967). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Dimant et al. (eds.), *Bibliography on Works on Jewish History in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods: Publications of the Years 1981–1985* (1987); U. Rappaport (ed.), *Bibliography of Works on Jewish History in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods 1971–1975* (1976); M. More and U. Rappaport (eds.), *Bibliography of Works on Jewish History in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods 1976–1980* (1982); J.A. Fitzmeyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study*, revised edition (SBL Resources for Bible Study 20) (1990); B. Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus: The Jewish Struggle against the Seleucids* (1989); U. Baumann, *Rom und die Juden: Die römisch-jüdischen Beziehungen von Pompeius bis zum Tode des Herodes (63 v. Chr.–4 v. Chr.)* (1983); I. Ben-Shalom, *The School of Shammai and the Zealots' Struggle against Rome* (1993); E.J. Bickerman, *The Jews in the Greek Age* (1988); K. Bringmann, *Hellenistische Reform und Religionsverflogung in Judäa: Eine Untersuchung zur Jüdisch-hellenistischen Geschichte* (175–163 v. Chr.) (1983); S.J.D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* (1987); W.D. Davies and L. Finkelstein (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism, Introduction: The Persian Period* (vol. 1); *The Hellenistic Age* (vol. 2) (1984–1989); J. Efron, *Studies on the Hasmonean Period* (1987); L.H. Feldman, *Josephus and Modern Scholarship (1937–1980)* 1984; D.A. Fiensy, *The Social History of Palestine in the Herodian Period* (1991); D. Goodblatt, *The Monarchic Principle: Studies in Jewish Self-Government in Antiquity* (1994); M. Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea: The Origins of the Jewish Revolt against Rome A.D. 66–70* (1987); M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2 Jh.s v. Chr.* (1988); idem, *The "Hellenization" of Judaea in the First Century after Christ*, tr. by J. Bowden (1989); H.W. Hoehner, *Herod Antipas* (1972); A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Struggle for Equal Rights* (1985); idem, *Jews, Idumaeans, and Ancient Arabs* (1988); idem, *Jews and Hellenistic Cities in Ereẓ Israel* (1990); J.-P. Lémonon, *Pilate et le Gouvernement de la Judée: Textes et monuments* (1981); S. Mason, *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees: A Composition-Critical Study* (1991); J.S. McLaren, *Power and Politics in Palestine: The Jews and the Governing of their Land 100 BC–AD 70* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 63) (1991); D. Mendels, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism* (1992); J.J. Price, *Jerusalem under Siege: The Collapse of the Jewish State 66–70 CE* (1992); U. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, 3 vols. (revised ed., by G. Vermes et al.) (1973–87); D.R. Schwartz, *Agrippa I: The Last King of Judaea* (1990); H. Schwier, *Tempel und Tempelzerstörung: Untersuchungen zu den theologischen und idealogischen Faktoren im ersten jüdisch-römischen Krieg* (*66–74 n. Chr.*) (1989); S. Safrai et al. (eds.), *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural, and Religious Life and Institutions*, 2 vol. (Compendia Rerum Judaicarum ad Novum Testamentum) (1974–6); J. Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and Their Supporters: From Mattathias to the Death of John Hyrcanus I* (1990); E.M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule: from Pompey to Diocletian* (1981); M. Stern, *Studies in Jewish History: The Second*

Temple Period (in Hebrew; M. Amit et al eds.) (1991); idem, *Hasmonaean Judaea in the Hellenistic World: Chapters in Political History* (in Hebrew; ed. by D.R. Schwartz) (1995); L.L. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, 2 vols. (1992); J. van Seters, *In Search of History* (1993); A. Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East c. 3000–330 BC,* vol. 2 (1995), 417–72; V. Philips Long, *Israel's Past in Recent Research* (1999); S. Japhet, in: JBL, 98 (1979), 204–18; idem, *I & II Chronicles* (1993); L. Stage, in: BASOR, 260 (1985), 1–35; A. Rainey, in: JAOS, 107 (1987), 541–43; T. Thompson, *Early History of the Israelite People* (1992); E. Stern (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (1993); E. Meyers (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* (1997); S. Ahituv and E. Oren (eds.), *The Origin of Early Israel: Current Debate* (1998); N. Lemche, ABD, 3:526–45; W. Dever, ibid, 545–58; idem, in: NEA, 61 (1998), 39–52; idem, *Who Were the Early Israelites and Where Did They Come From?* (2003), incl. bibliography; T. Holland and E. Netzer, in: ABD, 3:723–40; I. Singer, in: ABD, 5:1059–61; B. Halpern, ABD, 5:1120–43; I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman (eds.), *From Nomadism to Monarchy* (1994); N. Na'aman, *ibid.*, 218–80; R. Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age* (1993); E. Bloch-Smith, in: JNES, 56 (review of Thompson; 1999), 65–7; idem and B. Nakhai, in: NEA, 60 (1999), 62–92; V.P. Long (ed.), *Israel's Past in Present Research* (1999); J. van Seters, *ibid.,* 170–80; Y. Amit, *Judges* (1999); I. Finkelstein and N. Silberman, *The Bible Unearthed* (2001) incl. bibliography; J. Day (ed.), *In Search of Pre-Exilic Israel* (2004); T. Levy, R. Adams et al., in: *Antiquity,* 320 (2004), 865–79; T. Ishida (ed.), *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon* (1982); J. Miller and J. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (1986); A. Rofé, in: J. Neusner et al. (eds.), *Judaic Perspectives on Ancient Israel* (1987), 117–51; M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (AB; 1988); D. Jamieson-Drake, *Scribes and Schools in Monarchic Judah* (1991); R. Althann, in: ABD, 3:1015–18); J. Soggin, *An Introduction to the History of Israel and Judah* (1993); S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993); H. Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III …* (1996); B. Halpern, in: BASOR, 296 (1994), 63–80; W. Schniedewind, in: BASOR, 302 (1996), 75–90; C. Ehrlich, *The Philistines in Transition* (1996); L. Handy (ed.), *The Age of Solomon* (1997); J. Miller, *ibid.*, 1–24; N. Na'aman, *ibid.*, 57–80; Y. Zakovitch et al. (eds.), *David King of Israel Alive and Enduring?* (1997); V. Philips Long (ed.), *Israel's Past in Present Research* (1999); M. Cogan, *I Kings* (AB; 2000); N. Fox, *In the Service of the King: Officialdom in Ancient Israel and Judah* (2000); J. Day (ed.), *In Search of Pre-Exilic Israel* (2004); N. Lemche, *Early Israel, Anthropological and Historical Studies on the Israelite Society before the Monarchy* (1985); R. Clements (ed.), *The World of Ancient Israel* (1989); N. Gottwald, in: ABD, 6:79–89, incl. bibliography; V. Matthews and D. Benjamin, *Social World of Ancient Israel 1250–587 BCE* (1993); P. McNutt, *Reconstructing the Society of Ancient Israel* (1999); W. Dever, *Who Were the Early Israelites …?* (2003), incl. bibliography. MIDDLE AGES: Roth, Dark Ages; I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1932[2]); J.R. Marcus, *The Jew in the Medieval World* (1938). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R. Chazan, *Medieval Jewish Life* (1976); K.R. Stow, *Alienated Minority: The Jews of Medieval Latin Europe* (1992); Mark R. Cohen, *Under Crescent and Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages* (1994); J. Katz, *Tradition and Crisis: Jewish Society at the End of the Middle Ages* (1993). NORTH AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST: **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** N.A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands in Modern Times: History and Source Book* (1991); A. Chouraqui, *Histoire des Juifs en Afrique du Nord* (1985); H.M. Haddad, *Jews of Arab and Islamic Countries: History, Problems, Solutions* (1984); H.Z. Hirschberg (ed.), *A History of the Jews in North Africa*, 2 vols. (1974–1981); S. Deshen and W.P. Zenner (eds.), *Jewish Societies in the Middle East: Community, Culture, and Authority* (1982); M.M. Laskier, *North African Jewry in the Twentieth Century: The Jews of Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria* (1994); R. Patai, *The Seed of Abraham: Jews and Arabs in Contact and Conflict* (1986); S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 6 vols. (1967–93). MODERN PERIOD. Elbogen, Century, p. 608; M. Raisin, *History of the Jews in Modern Times* (1949[2]); H.M. Sacher, *The Course of Modern Jewish History* (1958, rev. ed., 1990). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J.I. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550–1750* (1985); J. Katz, *Toward Modernity: The European Jewish Model* (1986); Ezra Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe between the World Wars* (1983); D.J. Elazar, *People and Polity: Organizational Dynamics of World Jewry* (1989); S. Almog, *Nationalism and Anti-Semitism in Modern Europe, 1815–1945* (1990); J. Frankel and S.J. Zipperstein (eds.), *Assimilation and Community: The Jews in Nineteenth Century Europe* (1991); E.L. Fackenheim, *The Jewish Return into History* (1978); M. Gilbert, *Atlas of Jewish History* (1992); E. Barnavi (ed.), *Historical Atlas of the Jewish People* (1992).

HIT, town on the Euphrates, approximately 90 mi. (144 km.) W. of Baghdad; site of the Mesopotamian city of Is. An old *Karaite community, dating back to the 10th century at least, existed in Hit. Persecution and ill-treatment by the authorities brought about a gradual reduction of its size and by the middle of the 19th century it numbered only 20 families. The community was headed by the *Mu'allim* ("teacher, sage") whose home also served as the religious school and house of prayer (after the decrepit synagogue that had existed in the town was abandoned in the second half of the 19th century). The community went to Israel shortly after the establishment of the State, settling in Beersheba.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Ben-Jacob, *Yehudei Bavel* (1965), 318–20.

[Abraham Haim]

HITAḤADUT (Heb. הִתְאַחֲדוּת; full name Mifleget ha-Avodah ha-Ẓiyyonit "Hitaḥadut"), a Socialist-Zionist party formed in 1920 by the union of the Palestine Workers' Party, *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir, with a majority of the *Ẓe'irei Zion groups in the Diaspora. Ẓe'irei Zion groups had been formed in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century by young Zionists who espoused the views of Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and intended to join that party upon their settlement in Ereẓ Israel. The program of Ẓe'irei Zion, announced at its second congress in Petrograd in 1917, postulated the necessity to establish a Jewish labor commonwealth in the Land of Israel and redirect the Jewish masses in the Diaspora to productive occupations. Ẓe'irei Zion groups were organized in other East European countries, as well as in Germany and Austria (in these last two, under the name Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir). Later they were also formed in the U.S., Argentina, and South Africa. At the World Conference of Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and the Ẓe'irei Zion in Prague (1920), most of the Ẓe'irei Zion groups united with Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir to form a Zionist party originally called the World Union of the Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and Ẓe'irei Zion. At the Third World Conference of the Hitaḥadut in Berlin in 1922, however, its name was changed to Mifleget ha-Avodah ha-Ẓiyyonit "Hitaḥadut" (United Zionist Labor Party, "Hitaḥadut"). A few of the Ẓe'irei Zion groups which espoused a more left-wing, class-oriented

ideology formed a separate league, which eventually merged with *Po'alei Zion.

Hitaḥadut, which was represented in the World Zionist Organization and its various bodies, devoted its energies primarily to fostering the *He-Ḥalutz (pioneering) movement in the Diaspora and stimulating immigration to Palestine. It functioned very effectively in both these spheres during the 1920s. It was also able to create an active pioneering movement in Soviet Russia, with a membership of thousands, despite the persecution of Zionism by the Soviet regime. In its Diaspora-oriented activities Hitaḥadut devoted its attention primarily to cultivating economically productive labor. The movement had representatives in the parliaments of several countries (Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Romania), in municipal councils, and in the governing bodies of Jewish communities. Unlike other Jewish socialist groups which supported Yiddish, Hitaḥadut championed the revival of Hebrew. It was one of the prime movers of the *Tarbut movement in Eastern Europe, and much of the teaching and administrative personnel of the Hebrew schools came from its ranks. Hitaḥadut also supported the founding of a special pioneering youth movement that crystallized in the late 1920s under the name *Gordonia. Hitaḥadut and Po'alei Zion usually appeared conjointly at Zionist Congresses, and when Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and *Aḥdut ha-Avodah in Palestine merged to form the Mifleget Po'alei Ereẓ Yisrael (*Mapai, 1930), the former two groups also amalgamated in 1932 at their world conference in Danzig, and formed the Iḥud Olami.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Schiller, *Principles of Labor Zionism* (1928); A. Tartakower, in: *Parteien und Stroemungen im Zionismus in Selbstdarstellungen* (1931); idem, in: B. Vlavianos and F. Gross (eds.), *Struggle for Tomorrow* (1954); A. Levinson, *Be-Reshit ha-Tenu'ah* (1947); C. Arlosoroff, *Der Juedische Volkssozialismus* (1919); idem, *Das Program der Hitachdut* (1923).

[Aryeh Tartakower]

°**HITLER, ADOLF** (1889–1945), chief of the German National Socialist Party from 1920 and chancellor of the Reich from 1933. Hitler was the man who planned the extermination of the Jews, took the total decision, created the required organizations, and followed passionately its implementation.

Early Years

Hitler was born into the family of an Austrian customs official. His father had worked his way up to a responsible position from exceptionally poor beginnings as an illegitimate child. This latter fact has led to speculation that Hitler's grandfather might have been Jewish, but since there were no Jews in the town where Hitler's grandmother worked, this story, however often repeated, has no basis in fact. While the boy Hitler clearly did not get on well with his father, primarily because he neither applied himself to his schoolwork nor aspired to a substantial career as his father had, he very much loved his mother. He was devastated when she died of cancer in spite of the efforts of her Jewish doctor to whom Hitler always remained extremely grateful for the care he had provided.

The boy did not do particularly well in school, in part because he preferred to play rather than study and in part because he simply would not study hard. As a youngster he moved to Vienna, living with a friend who was studying seriously while Hitler was denied entrance to the arts academy, refused to admit to this failure to his family, and lived on the pension from his deceased father and funds provided by family members. As his money ran out, he moved into cheaper housing and in part supported himself by painting local buildings and scenes for sale to tourists. During the years in Vienna he evidently began to absorb some of the racist and antisemitic ideas that would dominate his subsequent elaboration of and dedication to them. Perhaps equally important, he observed the electoral politics of the time. In doing so, he simultaneously developed an understanding of how to appeal to masses of people, a vehement aversion to democratic procedures, and a hatred of Slavic peoples. These people were represented in the Vienna of his time primarily by Czech families from Bohemia who had moved to the city for jobs.

In May 1913 Hitler left Vienna for Munich to escape service in the Austrian army; his obsessive hatred of the Hapsburg dynasty clearly goes back to an early date. Obliged to return, he was found physically incapable of military service. This did not keep him from volunteering for the Bavarian part of the German army in August 1914 and being accepted into it right after the outbreak of World War I. He served, primarily as a messenger, on the Western Front. Although he was decorated for bravery, he was promoted only to the rank of private first class. He experienced the end of the war in a hospital at Pasewalk because of a temporary blindness evidently caused by hysteria rather than gas as often claimed. He was cured of his blindness by hypnosis.

Emerging into a defeated Germany, Hitler was shattered by this event. It would affect his outlook on the world – and his conduct of World War II – thereafter. Convinced that the German army had not been defeated at the front, he would join those in the German government, military, and society at large who attributed the nation's defeat to a legendary "stab-in-the-back" by domestic enemies among whom Hitler, like many others, saw the Jews as a central element. Remaining for a time in the postwar German army – his first real home – he was assigned to speak to soldiers confused by the situation and then to observing political movements in the Munich area for the local military command. It was in this process of speaking and observing that Hitler increasingly formulated and systematized his view of the world. It was as an observer for the army that he came into contact in September 1919 with the small party that he would come to control completely in July 1921, and that took the name of National Socialist German Workers Party.

Race and Space

Hitler's view of the world, embodied in the book *Mein Kampf*, which he dictated in two installments after he was jailed briefly for leading an attempted coup in Munich in November 1923,

can be summarized as revolving around the concepts of race and space. Race is the key factor for understanding world history in the past, present, and future. In this view, history is the record of the struggle of different races for space on which to feed themselves, provide for their children, and conquer additional space as the latter needed it. Racial purity would strengthen while racial mixture would weaken each racial group in this struggle. The so-called Aryan race, to which the Germans allegedly belonged, was the most superior, and in the descending order of other races, the Jews were considered the most inferior. The latter were, however, especially dangerous because of their inclination both to infiltrate other races and societies and also to dominate them. They were therefore in his opinion the greatest threat to Germany's ability to reach its destiny. As Hitler explained to a cheering beer hall audience in April 1920, they had to be exterminated "root and branch." A racially aware and purified Germany with only one party led by the man who understood these ideas – namely himself – was guaranteed to win a series of wars, having come so close against a host of enemies the last time. In these wars victory in each would pave the way for victory in the succeeding one until the Germans dominated – and inhabited – the globe, a position to which their racial superiority entitled them. The inferiors would have to disappear because their racial nature could not be changed: the space on which they lived, not the inhabitants, would be Germanized.

Since the bulk of European territory lay in the East, that would be the first direction of German expansion. Hitler believed that this would be easy. In his racial concept of history, the Bolshevik revolution was a stroke of good fortune for Germany. He believed that it had led to the replacement of what had been the Germanic element that had held together the racially inferior Slavic peoples in the past, by Jews and other completely incompetent individuals. A Germany that had defeated Russia in the preceding war – while much of its army was fighting on the Western Front – could therefore count on an even easier victory in the next war against Russia.

In the first of the big wars Hitler anticipated, against France, Italy would be Germany's logical ally because the expansionist ambitions of that country under the leadership of Benito *Mussolini, whom Hitler greatly admired, would necessarily clash with French interests in Southeast Europe and the Mediterranean. Britain might also be a temporary ally, but Hitler would abandon this concept in 1934 at the latest. When the Nazi Party did very poorly in the German May 1928 parliamentary election, he attributed this to the unpopularity of his advocacy of an alliance with Italy. He dictated, but never published, another book in which he insisted on the correctness of his foreign policy views in very much greater detail than in *Mein Kampf* and also explicitly called for war with the United States. The new immigration legislation enacted in the United States in 1924, which was designed to restrict immigration and favored people from northern and western Europe over those from eastern and southern Europe, was seen by Hitler as making that country stronger over time – as it drew the racially best out of Europe – and hence it had to be confronted by Germany sooner rather than later.

The Prelude to the "Final Solution"

In the late 1920s Hitler allied his party with the other parties opposed to the Weimar Republic and attained an increasing audience and following. The way in which the world depression affected Germany helped to disillusion Germans about their government, but certainly did not oblige them to turn to the advocate of new wars after their experience of the last one. By 1930 Hitler's party received the largest share of the country's votes, and the coterie around President Paul von Hindenburg persuaded the latter to appoint him as chancellor on January 30, 1933.

In a few months Hitler succeeded in ending all constitutional freedoms and all other political parties in the country. The one-party dictatorship immediately began a vast rearmament program and other public works. In June 1934 he had his predecessor as chancellor along with numerous others murdered as a sign of his total control. In the following month, he had the chancellor of Austria murdered also, when that country did not join Germany as Hitler preferred. He accomplished this goal by an invasion in March 1938. The most violent persecution of Jews in Austria was initiated immediately after the country's annexation with the enthusiastic participation of substantial elements of the non-Jewish population.

Racial policies that included persecution of Jews and compulsory sterilization of those Germans believed likely to have defective children on the one hand and policies to promote marriage and large numbers of children by the "right" Germans on the other hand had been initiated in Germany in 1933. These measures were intensified in the following years. Jews were removed from government positions. Increasingly they were barred from such public facilities as theaters and swimming pools. Numerous restaurants and whole communities adopted the practice of putting up placards that Jews were not to enter. A steady series of new legal restrictions were imposed on the country's Jewish population, which had been less than one percent at the beginning of the Nazi dictatorship. Some Jews emigrated, but this was a slow and difficult process. In the years of the great worldwide depression countries were reluctant to admit immigrants whose assets had largely been stolen from them. Furthermore, since Jews had lived in Germany for centuries under restrictions of which the last had only been lifted in 1919, most did not realize that the restrictions now placed on them were steps toward a new aim rather than a return to a prior situation that Jews had not liked but under which they had long lived in the country.

In 1935, the German parliament was summoned to a special meeting in the city of Nuremberg to enact a group of laws that essentially deprived German Jews of all citizenship rights and also criminalized any sexual contact between Jews and non-Jews. Furthermore, those defined by the Nazis as "*Mischlinge*," that is, descendants of mixed Jewish-non-Jew-

ish couples, were subjected to special restrictions that became ever more stringent over the years of Nazi rule.

In 1938 Hitler intended to start his first war, that is the war against Czechoslovakia, but drew back at the last moment in the face of domestic doubts and Mussolini's urging. Regretting the Munich agreement that added substantial lands to Germany at the expense of Czechoslovakia but without the war that he would have preferred, Hitler determined to go to war against France and England in 1939. Since victorious wars would bring more Jews under German control, he authorized an escalation of persecution in the hope of driving as many Jews as possible out of the country before war started. On the same day that he called on the German media to prepare the public for war, he had the party unleash the pogrom of November 1938. Almost all synagogues in Germany were set on fire, some 30,000 Jewish men were taken to concentration camps, numerous stores and apartments of Jews were vandalized, and a substantial number of Jews were killed. In the following weeks, a dramatic new set of laws was decreed. Jews were heavily fined, barred from the public school system, and increasingly deprived of the opportunity to earn a living. The process of taking over Jewish businesses and homes, a process referred to as "aryanization" and already under way, was radically accelerated.

When Hitler threatened the killing of Europe's Jews if there were a new war in his speech to the German parliament on January 30, 1939, he had already decided that no one would deprive him of war that year. Since the Poles were unwilling to subordinate themselves to Germany while that country fought France and England, he ordered an attack on that country on September 1, 1939, after temporarily aligning Germany with the Soviet Union. With Britain and France declaring war two days later, Germany was in a new world war. With war now actually under way, Hitler authorized the first of the German systematic killing programs, that of the handicapped. This began in 1939–40 and would provide a way to experiment with and initiate the procedures and train some of the personnel for the subsequent mass killing of Jews.

The Extermination of European Jewry

The partition of Poland with the Soviet Union brought under German control a majority of Poland's more than three million Jews. While thousands of Jews were murdered in the initial weeks of the war, literally hundreds of thousands were uprooted from the portions of Poland that were annexed directly into Germany. Soon thereafter, in the so-called Government General, the rest of German-controlled Poland, the Jewish inhabitants who primarily lived in the cities were driven into ghettoes. In the ghettoes, conditions were deliberately made so terrible by the Germans that mortality from hunger and disease rapidly escalated. In Poland and subsequently in other parts of German-occupied Europe, large numbers of Jews were forced to work for the Germans, frequently under conditions designed to kill them in a very short time. Hitler's main role in these events was to point the direction of German policy. He left it to his associates and to the local German authorities to develop and argue over the details. Similarly he left it to German industrialists to make their profits out of exploiting slave laborers until these could no longer work when they were murdered and replaced by other slave laborers.

In the spring of 1940 the Germans conquered Denmark, Norway, the Low Countries, and France. In these newly occupied areas, the Germans immediately began the persecution of Jews, including those who had sought refuge there from Germany in prior years. The Germans also instituted a vast program of stealing the property of the Jewish population. Hitler failed to subdue England in the summer of 1940 and decided to invade the Soviet Union in the following year. It was in the context of preparations for that invasion that, according to the latest evidence, Hitler in February or March of 1941 directed that the Jews in the territory of the Soviet Union that he expected to defeat in a short campaign were to be killed. There are those scholars who argue that the decision to kill the Jews in the newly occupied areas was not arrived at until after the initial German victories. However, both the orientation on policy provided to Germany's Romanian ally before the invasion and the assignment of special units, the *Einsatzgruppen*, and large numbers of police battalions to the killing of Jews – on which they regularly reported from widely separated points in the summer of 1941 – support the views of those scholars who believe that a decision had been reached and communicated to the German police well before June 22, 1941, the date of the invasion.

The early stages of the campaign in the East certainly demonstrated that the mass killing of Jews by the special units and police battalions assigned to this task received the full support and frequent assistance from the German military rather than objections and resistance as had occasionally occurred in the initial stages of the occupation of Poland in 1939. There were also local pogroms very much encouraged by the Germans; and, especially in newly occupied Lithuania and parts of the Ukraine, many local inhabitants participated in the killing of their Jewish neighbors. The early great victories of the German military, furthermore, seemed to show that the campaign was going as well and as rapidly as Hitler and his military advisers had expected. It was in this context that in the second half of July 1941 Hitler decided that the killing of Jews could and should be extended to all areas of Europe under German control. When the campaign appeared to be resuming its rapid advance in October-November 1941, Hitler thought that the time had come to extend the killing program to the Middle East and to the rest of the world as he personally explained to the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem in late November. The military campaign against the Soviet Union did not proceed as Hitler anticipated, but the decision to kill all Jews that the Germans could reach stood. Although the Germans were kept out of the Middle East by the Red Army's defense of the Caucasus and the British army's defense of Egypt, the surrender of Italy in September 1943 opened to the Germans not only the Italian-controlled portions of Europe but also the

Dodecanese Islands, including Rhodes – areas that the Germans considered as being a part of Asia. The Jews from there were also murdered.

While Hitler was occasionally consulted about details of what has come to be called the Holocaust, he entrusted his faithful police chief Heinrich *Himmler with the implementation. There was considerable concern about the psychological burden of mass murder on the killers who spent their "working" time shooting Jews and were in some instances coming apart psychologically in spite – or because – of large rations of alcohol. It was for this reason that the creation of a group of special killing centers was initiated, beginning in the fall of 1941. Many of these were established in occupied Poland, though the most notorious, Auschwitz, was in a part of Poland annexed into Germany and destined to be a model German city in the regime's planning for the postwar world. In order to draw all German government agencies into the increasingly extensive killing program, a special conference, known by the location where it was held as the *Wannsee Conference, took place on January 20, 1942; but there is no evidence to show that Hitler was personally concerned.

In his public speeches during the war Hitler repeatedly referred back to his threat of January 30, 1939, misdating it to September 1, 1939, along with the assertion that those who had laughed at his prophecy then were no longer laughing. The deliberate misdating can surely be seen as an indication of the way that the war and the Holocaust were parts of the same process in his thinking. The public references to the ongoing murders can also be seen as a way of alerting the German public to what was happening with the implication that they had burned all their bridges behind them and should harness their efforts to the war lest defeat bring a similar fate to them.

The German dictator could rely on his subordinates to implement the basic policy, and this would remain true into the last days of the war. If a combination of true belief in the racial doctrines of the regimes combined with hopes for loot, decorations, promotions, and careers in a victorious Germany inspired the killers in the early stages of the Holocaust, relative safety from alternative and vastly more dangerous employment at the fighting front served to inspire them in the latter stages of the war. Hitler himself devoted most of his time during the war to the details of running military operations, the development and production of weapons, and the appointment and replacement of generals and admirals. Whatever the other pressures, needs, and eventually defeats of the Germans, the high-priority program of killing Jews went forward as Hitler wanted. Attempts by internal opponents to kill Hitler, culminating in the attempt on his life on July 20, 1944, failed, and the killing program continued as all German authorities recognized its centrality to their assignments.

As the Germans retreated, major efforts were made to conceal the evidence of the crimes that had been committed. Installations and records were destroyed and mass burials were exhumed and replaced by huge fires. There were also death marches as those Jewish and other workers who were considered possible slave laborers for the German war effort were driven into ever more crowded and miserable camps inside the shrinking perimeter of the Third Reich. Large numbers were killed in this process, at times because the weakened slaves were unable to keep up, at times simply to keep them from being liberated. When Red Army forces fought their way into Berlin, Hitler married his mistress of many years. In his last testament before committing suicide on April 30, 1945, he blamed the war and all disasters on the Jews and called on the German people to continue his racial policies in the future.

Arguments have at times been advanced that the absence of a written order for the systematic killing of Jews by Hitler shows that he did not personally order this to be done. There is, however, ample evidence of his personal role. The leader who insisted that he personally be consulted on the question of whether a particular German officer married to a woman one of whose grandparents was Jewish could be allowed to continue to command a company at the front was not uninvolved in a multi-year program to kill millions of Jews. On at least two occasions, in July and November 1941, he personally explained the killing program to foreign leaders. Others carried out the program and quarreled endlessly over details and jurisdiction, but there cannot be any doubt that they were acting to implement and simultaneously to profit from a policy established at the highest level.

Writings

Hitler wrote two books; both are available in English: *Mein Kampf*, translated by R. Manheim (1943); and *Hitler's Second Book: The Unpublished Sequel to Mein Kampf*, translated by Krista Smith, edited by Gerhard L. Weinberg (2003). For Hitler's speeches in English, the best source is *Hitler: Speeches and Proclamations 1932–1945; Commentary and Notes by Max Domarus*, published in four volumes by Bolchazy-Carducci (1990–2003). There are also the two volumes edited by N.H. Baynes, *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler, April 1922 – August 1939* (1942). Hitler's military directives may be found in H.R. Trevor-Roper (ed.), *Blitzkrieg to Defeat: Hitler's War Directives, 1939–1945* (1965). Stenographic reports on his military conferences are in *Hitler and His Generals: Military Conferences 1942–1945*, edited by H. Heiber and D.M. Glantz, introduction by G.L. Weinberg (2002). There are several editions in various languages of Hitler's wartime conversations but none without serious problems. Until a definitive edition appears, the currently available English language ones are both edited by H.R. Trevor-Roper, *Hitler's Table Talk 1941–1944* (1953), and *The Testament of Adolf Hitler: The Hitler-Bormann Documents* (1961).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Kershaw, *Hitler: 1889–1936 Hubris* and *Hitler 1936–1945 Nemesis* (1999, 2000); G.L. Weinberg, *The Foreign Policy of Hitler's Germany 1933–1936* and *1937–1939* (1970, 1980; one-vol. ed. with new intro., 2005); J. Thies, *Architekt der Weltherrschaft: Die "Endziele" Hitlers* (1976); N. Rich, *Hitler's War Aims*, 2 vols. (1973, 1974); H. Rauschning, *The Voice of Destruction* (1940); P. Gassert and D.S. Mattern, *The Hitler Library: A Bibliography* (2001); A. Joachimsthaler, *Korrektur einer Biographie: Adolf Hitler, 1908–1920* (1989) and *Hitlers*

Weg begann in Muenchen 1913–1923 (2000); B.Horstmann, *Hitler in Pasewalk: Die Gypnose und ihre Folgen* (2004).

[Gerhard L. Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

HITMAN, UZI (1952–2004), Israeli pop singer-songwriter. Like many of his contemporaries, Hitman started his musical career as a member of an army entertainment troupe. On his release from the IDF in 1973, he joined forces with singer Lior Yeini in a program of Hebrew versions of songs made famous by Greek vocalist Mikis Theodorakis. This was followed by a successful duet with Noga Shalem, singing "Little Bird." In 1974 Hitman achieved some measure of national prominence – though as a backup artist – when he supported star singer Ilanit in that year's National Song Contest, placing second. It was around this time that Hitman began to become known as a songwriter, writing compositions for such top performers of the time as Avi Toledano, Yizhar Cohen, and Dudu Zakai. The song he wrote for Zakai, "Why Don't the Grownups Learn from the Little Ones," won third place at the Children's Song Contest.

His first big break came in 1976, when he sang *Adon Olam* together with Oded Ben-Hur at that year's Ḥasidic Song Contest. The song was a smash hit, both in Israel and abroad, and became something of an anthem for Hitman. Later that year he started a fruitful long-term collaboration with singer Shimi Tavori. In 1978, Hitman produced another hit, *Ratziti she-Teda* (*Elohim Sheli*) ("I Wanted You To Know (My God)"), which was inspired by the historic visit to Israel of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and was an entry in that year's Children's Song Festival. By now, Hitman had made a name for himself as a major contributor of children's songs and, in the 1980s, he became a household name as presenter of the popular children's television program *Pretty Butterfly*.

In addition to his popularity in the junior market sector, in the 1980s Hitman varied his output, writing numerous songs for so-called Mediterranean singers, such as Zohar *Argov, Haim Moshe, and Margalit Tzanani. In 1985 Hitman's career took another turn when he teamed up with veteran singer Yigal Bashan and American-born singer-fiddler Jonathon Miller to perform *Kemo Ẓo'ani* ("Like A Gypsy") at the 1985 Pre-Eurovision Song Contest. The song became a hit and the threesome embarked on a series of successful national tours and television appearances. In 1989 and 1993 Hitman released two unsuccessful albums, although several well-received singles came out of them. Throughout the 1990s Hitman released several highly popular videotapes of children's songs, and wrote more hits for other artists, particularly *Kan* ("Here") for husband-wife duo Orna and Moshe Datz, which placed third in the 1991 Eurovision Song Contest.

In 2001 Hitman received a Life Achievement Award from ACUM (the organization responsible for protecting Israeli artists' rights) and in 2004 began work on a new album. Sadly, later that year Hitman died of a heart attack at the age of only 52. The following year, a double album of Hitman's compositions featuring such top artists as Ariel Zilber and Uri Harpaz, entitled *Akhshav ha-Tor le-Ahavah* ("Now's the Time for Love"), was completed and released.

[Barry Davis (2nd ed.)]

HITSCHMANN, EDWARD (1871–1957), Austrian psychiatrist. Born in Vienna, he became a member of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society in 1905, the year he was introduced to *Freud. In the early days Hitschmann was less convinced than some others of the incestuous roots of neurosis. While he wrote on many clinical problems and published his *Freuds Neurosenlehre* (1911; *Freud's Theories of the Neuroses*, 1913), he became interested in the psychoanalytic study of outstanding literary personalities. His first works in this field were on Schopenhauer whose saintliness he felt was a reaction against his sensuality, and Swedenborg whom he saw as suffering from religious paranoia as a result of the fulfillment of an infantile wish to surpass his father and of homosexuality. Hitschmann, like Freud, admired Goethe and in 1913 he wrote "Goethe als Vatersymbol." Hitschmenn felt that creation was evolved in two stages. The first was the moment of inspiration acknowledging something which had been in preparation a long time and the second phase was the elaboration. Creative power he felt was related to giving up daydreaming because of guilt feelings. His other works include psychoanalytic studies of Brahms, Schubert, Werfel, William James, Samuel Johnson, and James Boswell. Hitschmann founded the Vienna Psychoanalytic Clinic in 1922 and was its director until 1938. He left before the Nazis came to power, and after two years in London immigrated to Boston. In 1947 he wrote "New Varieties of Religious Experience." He saw belief as related to the overrated father of childhood. His *Great Men* appeared in 1956.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.L. Becker, in: F.G. Alexander et al. (eds.), *Psychoanalytic Pioneers* (1966), 160–8; A. Grinstein, *Index of Psychoanalytic Writings*, 2 (1957); 7 (1964).

[Louis Miller]

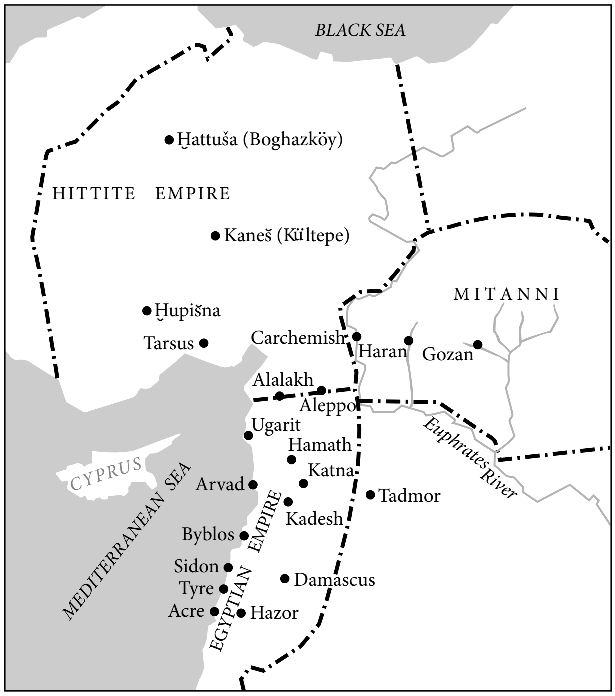
HITTITES, an ancient people of Anatolia. The name Hittites is taken from the biblical Hebrew *Ḥitti* (gentilic), plural *Ḥittim*, which stems from the form *Ḥatti* found as a geographic term in cuneiform texts, the vowel change resulting from a Hebrew phonetic law. The form *Ḥatti* is used in Akkadian. Since this name always occurs in combination with a noun, such as "country of *Ḥatti*," "king of *Ḥatti*," etc., it is uncertain whether the final-*i* is part of the stem or rather the Akkadian genitive ending that would make the nominative *Ḥattu*. The occurrence of a term *Ḥattum* in Old Assyrian texts (with the-*m* suffix of the Old Period) had been cited in support of the second alternative. The problem is, however, complicated by the fact that the same sources mention a place called *Ḥattuš*, whose relation to *Ḥattum* is not clear, and that in later periods the Hittites themselves used the form *Ḥatti* for both the country and its capital when they wrote Akkadian, but *Ḥattuša*, also in both usages, when writing Hittite, while an adjective, *Ḥattili*, was derived from the short form. In writing these names the Hittites often used the word sign for "silver," writing SILVER-*ti*

for Akkadian *Ḫatti*, SILVER-*ša* for Hittite *Ḫattuša*. It is worth noting that one of the Ugaritic words for "silver" Ugaritic *ḫtt* is an Anatolian loanword (Tropper, 111, 122). Conventionally the form *Ḫatti* is used by moderns.

Ḫatti was originally the name of the region comprising the large bend of the river Halys (Kizil Irmak) and of the city whose ruins are at the village of Boghazköy (c. 100 miles directly east of Ankara). The Hittites who ruled that country during most of the second millennium B.C.E. were invaders speaking an Indo-European language; when they arrived they found a population that spoke a different language, of agglutinative type, and this non-Indo-European tongue they called *Ḫattili* – "belonging to *Ḫatti*." Although both the name Hittite and the term *Ḫattili* are derived from the same geographic name, they refer to entirely different entities. To avoid confusion scholars call the old indigenous language "Hattic" or "Proto-Hattic," the people "Hattians" or "Proto-Hattians," while reserving the term "Hittite" for the Indo-European-speaking newcomers, who took over much of the civilization of the indigenous population in material culture and religion. The reason that Hattic texts have survived at all is that the Hittites still used them in the cult. Thus, there is cultural continuity, the Hattian element being an integral part of the civilization of the Hittites. The Indo-European language called Hittite by moderns was called Nesian by the Hittites themselves, the name being derived from that of Neša, one of their early capitals (see below).

History

It is not known when or from where the Indo-European-speaking Hittites came. The problem becomes even more complex if the other Indo-European languages of Anatolia are considered. The documents of the Assyrian merchant colonies (see *Asia Minor) give only partial answers to these questions. Among the proper names of local persons there are some that contain Indo-European Hittite elements; accordingly, some individuals, at least, belonging to the newcomers were present in Kaneš in the 19th century B.C.E. The Hittites derived their own kingdom from the kings of Kuššar, a town, according to Old Assyrian documents recently made available, situated in the mountainous region southeast of Kaneš. An important source for the early period is the inscription of a certain Anitta, king of Kuššar, found in the Hittite capital and written in Hittite (COS I, 183–85). In it the king relates that his father, Pithana, conquered the city of Neša but spared its people. When he subsequently speaks of his own deeds Anitta mentions Neša as his own city to which he brings captives and booty and where he builds temples. Thus, despite the title King of Kuššar, Neša seems to have been the royal residence. Both Pitḫana and Anitta are attested to in the Assyrian merchant documents found in the later settlement at Kaneš (see *Asia Minor) where they apparently ruled. According to some scholars Neša and Kaneš are the same city; this theory, if correct, would greatly contribute to an understanding of the historical situation.



The Hittite empire of the second millennium B.C.E. (c. 1800–1200). Based on the Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible, *Philadelphia, Pa., 1945.*

Anitta tells about a number of conquests, the most important being that of Ḫattuša, which he burned and whose site he cursed. Among the remains of Ḫattuša at Boghazköy, documents of the type representative of the later merchant colony were found in houses which had been destroyed by fire, perhaps indicative of the destruction by Anitta. Within the period of the later colony, Pitḫana and Anitta fall relatively late, perhaps in the middle of the 18th century B.C.E., or even later. Still, knowledge is lacking for the period between Anitta and the beginning of the Old Hittite Kingdom, whose founder was a certain Labarna, alternatively, Tabarna, king of Kuššar, indicating that the kingdom was still connected with that town. That Labarna founded a new dynasty seems likely because of the later tradition which carries historical accounts back to him, but no further; his name was taken by all later kings, so that it almost became a title (comparable to Roman "Caesar"). Labarna's conquests, learned of only from a later source, included Tuwanuwa (near Nighde) and Ḫupišna (Ereghli). Contemporary sources are for the first time available on his successor, who called himself Labarna (II) and King of Kuššar, but who was better known to posterity by his second name, Ḫattušili. This name is the gentilic derived from Ḫattuša, and, indeed, in his own inscriptions Ḫattuša figures as the capital. He moved there, apparently, despite the old curse. Labarna and his successors definitely were Indo-European-speaking Hittites; for Pitḫana and Anitta this is uncertain but not impossible. If one could reconstruct the course of events so that the Indo-European-speaking Hittites first held the eastern town of Kuššar and from there moved to Neša (= Kaneš?), then to

the region of Tyana (Nighde), and finally to Ḥatti, it would indicate that the last part of their movement was from East to West, which would favor the eastern route also for their entry into Anatolia. Hattušili I fought extensive wars, partly in Anatolia and partly in northern Syria. He boasts of having been the first to cross the Euphrates and of having destroyed Alalakh (Tell Atchana). As his successor Ḥattušili appointed an adopted son, Muršili (I), who continued the move toward the southeast by conquering the kingdom of Aleppo and even raiding Babylon, which marks the fall of the First Dynasty of Babylon, dated (in the "middle" chronology) 1595 B.C.E. This brings Labarna to about 1660.

Muršili was assassinated, and a period of dynastic struggle followed until King Telipinu (c. 1550) introduced strict rules for hereditary succession (COS I: 194–98). After him only the names of some rulers are known. About 1450 a new dynasty came to the throne, founding the so-called New Kingdom. After modest beginnings and serious setbacks, this kingdom rose to empire under King Šuppiluliuma (I) (c. 1370–45). Being a younger son, he usurped the throne, but his military and diplomatic success atoned for the usurpation. Having reconquered the lost territories in Anatolia, Šuppiluliuma moved against the kingdom of Mitanni in northern Mesopotamia, one of the great powers of the time. After an unsuccessful first attempt, he defeated Mitanni and conquered most of its Syrian territories as far south as Kadesh on the Orontes. At a later date he took advantage of dynastic struggles in Mitanni by helping one of the contenders and installing him as his vassal. In Syria the Hittites also threatened the Egyptian possessions; Hittite sources here supplement the information contained in the *el-Amarna letters. Thus a treaty concluded by Šuppiluliuma with Aziru, king of Amurru (COS II, 93–95), shows that the latter actually switched his allegiance from Egypt to Ḥatti despite the letters he wrote to the Pharaoh. Most characteristic of the Hittites' prestige is the request of the widow of Tutankhamen, who wrote to Šuppiluliuma asking for a Hittite prince whom she would marry and make king of Egypt. The plan failed because her opponents killed the Hittite prince when he arrived, and his father had to send an army to avenge him.

Šuppiluliuma's successors were, on the whole, able to maintain the empire. Muršili II (c. 1345–20) incorporated into the empire as vassals the Arzawa countries of southwestern Anatolia. Muwatalli fought the famous battle of Kadesh (1300 B.C.E.) against Ramses II of Egypt. Claimed as victory by both sides, the battle left the status of Hittite and Egyptian possession in Syria unchanged. Against the danger stemming from Assyria's rise to power, Ḥattušili III concluded a peace treaty with Ramses (1284 B.C.E.) and later (1271) gave him his daughter as wife. Friendly relations between the two powers continued from that time. Tudḫaliya IV (c. 1250) still held Syria, including Amurru; most of his military activity was in the west. During his reign one foreign power, Aḫḫiyawa, probably the Akhean kingdom of Mycenae and mentioned already by earlier kings, seemed to be aggressive in western Anatolia. Under Tudḫaliya's son, Arnuwanda, the situation in the west apparently further deteriorated. The last king, Šuppiluliuma II, tells of a naval victory over ships of Cyprus, but shortly thereafter the Hittite empire is destroyed. The end is marked by burnt levels in all sites and by the disappearance of written sources. However, it is not known how or by whom the destruction was brought about, or what role inner weakness may have played. The only information comes from the Egyptian records of Ramses III, which mention, in his eighth year (c. 1190), the attack of so-called Peoples of the Sea who are said to have overrun all the countries "from Ḥatti on."

The downfall is followed by a dark age at the end of which the map of Anatolia had been redrawn. Small states known as Late Hittite or Neo-Hittite, because of the inscriptions written in the so-called Hittite hieroglyphs found in the areas they occupied, extended far into Syria, Hamath on the Orontes being the southernmost. In contrast to the small states of Anatolia, some – but not all – of those in Syria were taken over by Arameans: Till Barsip on the Euphrates became Aramean Bit Adini about 950 B.C.E.; shortly after, the Aramean Gabbar founded a dynasty at Sam'al (Zinjirli), similarly the region around Arpad became the Aramean Bit Agusi about 890, while Hamath fell to the Arameans as late as about 820 B.C.E. In contrast, Carchemish on the Euphrates was ruled by "Late Hittites" (Luwians according to their language) until it became an Assyrian province in 717. The important point is that the Assyrians, who continually fought these small states until Sargon II finally incorporated them into his empire as provinces, continued to call the whole region Ḥatti, regardless of whether the people were Luwians or Arameans. Even more than a century after the last "Hittite" state had disappeared, the Babylonian chronicle introduces Nebuchadnezzar's first war against Jerusalem (598 B.C.E.) with the words "he went to Ḥatti." The name Ḥatti was now used in a vague sense for the entire Mediterranean littoral.

Hittites in the Bible

The Anatolian Hittites of the second pre-Christian millennium seem to have left no traces in the Hebrew Bible. Those books of the Bible that mention Hittites in connection with events of the monarchy clearly refer to the "late Hittites" of that same period: "Uriah the Hittite" under David (II Sam. 11:3; I Chron. 11:41); Solomon's Hittite wives (I Kings 11:1) and the horses sent by him to "all the kings of the Hittites and the kings of the Arameans" (I Kings 10:29; II Chron. 1:17; cf. also II Kings 7:6). In contrast to these passages are those that mention Hittites as part of the pre-Israelite population of Palestine (Gen. 15:20; 23; 26:34, et al., Ex. 3:8, et al.; Deut. 7:1; Josh. 3:10; 9:1; et al.; Judg. 3:5; I Kings 9:20 = II Chron. 8:7; Ezra 9:1; Neh. 9:8), especially of its mountainous part (Num. 13:29; Josh. 11:3). The Hittite empire of the second millennium never included Palestine. To explain these passages some scholars have adduced the so-called Khirbet Kerak ware, a kind of pottery similar to wares found in Anatolia and further east. If this pottery

really attests Anatolians in Palestine, they would be Hattians at best, and the time lapse from the Early Bronze Age to the conquest would be more than a millennium, a very long time for a name to be remembered. Others have adduced a Hittite source according to which, some time before Šuppiluliuma I, some Hittites migrated from Anatolia "into Egypt." If this means Egypt proper it has no bearing on the question (despite the convenient parallel it furnishes to the Children of Israel). Only if it is assumed that "Egypt" refers to Egyptian-held territory which happened to be Palestine can the phrase serve as an explanation for the mention of those early Hittites. Neither of these theories is convincing. It is rather that the writers of the Bible used the designations "Hittite" and "Canaanite," mostly pejoratively, for the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. Esau's Hittite wives (Gen. 26:34) are called Canaanites in Gen. 27:46. "The "Hittites" of David's time, Uriah (II Sam. 11:3, 17, 21) and Ahimelech (I Sam. 26:6), may have traced their descent to old pre-Israelite families. By the eighth century, *māt Ḥatti*, "Hittite land" in Neo-Assyrian sources, had acquired the sense of everything west of the Euphrates up to the Mediterranean. The phrase *ereẓ ha-ḥittim*, "the land of the Hittites" (Josh. 1:4) is a Hebrew reflex of this usage and is absent from the Septuagint to this verse.

[Hans G. Guterbock / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

Hittite Hieroglyphic Writing

What used to be called "Hieroglyphic Hittite" is now more accurately referred to as "Anatolian Hieroglyphic" (Hawkins, Melchert). The preserved hieroglyphic texts are actually written in Luwian, like Hittite, an Indo-European language. Although closely related to the Hittite language, Luwian is distinct. The term "hieroglyphic" used for Hittite writing was borrowed from the Egyptian terminology, and it simply implies that the Hittite writing, like the Egyptian, is pictographic. In no way does it imply that the Hittite hieroglyphic writing was borrowed from the Egyptian hieroglyphic or that it was in any way related to it.

The Hittite writing was in use from about 1500 to 700 B.C.E. in a large area extending from central Anatolia to northern Syria. Two main periods are distinguished: the earlier from 1500–1200 B.C.E., and the later from 1200 to 700 B.C.E. The language of the "Hittite hieroglyphic" inscriptions is related to the so-called "cuneiform Hittite" (or "Nesian"), so named because it is preserved in the cuneiform writing borrowed from Mesopotamia. Both of these languages and writings were used at the same time in the Hittite Empire, but while the use of cuneiform Hittite was limited to a small area around Boghazköy, the capital of the empire, and died out at the time of the empire's collapse around 1200 B.C.E., "hieroglyphic Hittite" (i.e., Luwian) was used throughout the empire, and remained in use up to about 700 B.C.E. The deciphering of Hittite hieroglyphic writing was achieved only in the 1930s through the combined efforts of P. Meriggi, I.J. Gelb, E.O. Forrer, H.T. Bossert, and B. Hrozný. In the years after the Second World War, a great advancement in the deciphering of Hittite writing and language resulted from the discovery of bilingual Hittite and Phoenician inscriptions at Karatepe in Cilicia.

Two formal types of writing existed. The first was a monumental type with signs faithfully imitating the forms of pictures. The second, a cursive type, developed from the monumental type, with forms of signs so divergent from the original pictures that it is often difficult – if not impossible – to recognize their original pictographic form.

Hittite writing, like such other ancient Oriental systems as the Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Chinese, represents word-syllabic type of writing. It consists of three classes of signs: logograms or word signs; syllabic signs, developed from the logograms by the rebus principle; and auxiliary marks and signs, such as punctuation marks and signs for determinatives, classifiers, or semantic indicators. In the use of logograms and auxiliary marks and signs, the Hittite system is identical or very similar to other word-syllabic systems. The normal Hittite syllabary consists of about 60 signs of the type *ta*, *ti*, *te*, *tu*, each representing a syllable beginning with a consonant and ending in a vowel. The writing does not indicate any distinction between voiced, voiceless, and aspirated consonants.

Nowhere but in the Aegean area in writings such as Linear B and Cypriote is there a syllabary identical to that of the Hittites. Accordingly, Hittite hieroglyphic writing can be assigned, together with Cretan writing and its derivatives, to the Aegean group of writings.

[Ignace J. Gelb]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Pritchard, Texts, 120–8, 207–11, 318–9, 346–61, 393–401, 497–518; H.G. Güterbock, in: V. Ferm (ed.), *Forgotten Religions* (1950); idem, in: EM, 3 (1958), 320–55; idem, *Mythologies of the Ancient World*, ed. by S.N. Kramer (1961), 141–79; O.R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (1961); E. Akurgal, *Art of the Hittites* (1962); CAH2, vols. 1–2. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. van Seters, in: VT, 21 (1972), 64–81; idem, *In Search of History* (1983), 100–126; J.D. Hawkins, in: *World Archaeology,* 17 (1986), 363–76 (with bibliography); idem, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions…Iron Age* (2000); idem, G. McMahon, in: BA 52 (1989), 62–77; idem, ABD, 3:228–31; I. Singer, apud S. Izre'el and I. Singer, *The General's Letter from Ugarit* (1990), 115–83; G.O. Gurney, *The Hittites* (1991); P. Houwink ten Cate, ABD, 3:219–25; R. Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age* (1993); H. Hoffner, apud M. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (1995), 213–54; idem, *Hittite Myths* (1998); idem, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 6:4068–73; S. Ahituv, *Joshua* (1995), 73; H.C. Melchert, in: P. Daniels (ed.) *The World's Writing Systems* (1996), 12–24; G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (1999); J. Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (2000).

°HITZIG, FERDINAND (1807–1875), German Protestant theologian and Bible critic. Hitzig was a student of W. *Gesenius in Halle and of G. *Ewald in Göttingen. Hitzig directed much energy against confessional orthodoxy, the religious reaction to critical study manifest in the works of *Hengstenberg. He taught at the universities of Heidelberg (1829–32; 1861–75), and Zurich (1833–61). In his day he was considered one of the leading modern Bible exegetes, noted for ingenious, often bold, textual and exegetical hypotheses. He was among the earliest modern critics who dated the composition of some of the psalms to the Hasmonean period. He enunciated

his critical principles at the beginning of his career in a work titled *Begriff der Kritik am Alten Testament praktisch erörtert* (1831). In the series *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament* he published his commentaries on the Prophets and Hagiographa: Isaiah (1833), Jeremiah (1841, 1866^2), Ezekiel (1847), the Minor Prophets (1838, 1881^4), Ecclesiastes (with W. Nowack, 1847, 1883^2), Proverbs (1847), Daniel (1850), Song of Songs (1855), Psalms (1863), and Job (1874). In 1869 his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, a history of the biblical period, appeared. *Vorlesungen über biblische Theologie und messianische Weissagungen des Alten Testaments* (1880), on biblical theology and the messianic concept in the Bible, was published posthumously. Other writings deal with the New Testament and Semitic linguistics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.J. Kneucker, in: F. Hitzig, *Vorlesungen über biblische Theologie…* (1880), 1–64; A. Kamphausen, in: *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 8 (1900), 157–62. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Rogerson, in: DBI 1, 510–11.

HITZIG, JULIUS EDUARD (1780–1849), German author, publisher, and criminologist; member of the prominent Itzig family of Berlin and Potsdam, grandson of Daniel *Itzig (1723–1799). His original name was Isaac Elias Itzig, but in 1799 he converted and changed his name to Hitzig – which prompted Heine to satirize him as "H. Itzig." Hitzig studied law, and between 1799 and 1807 served as a Prussian official in Warsaw and Berlin. During his Berlin period, he was a member of the romantic group known as the Nordsternbund, and published poems in the group's *Musenalmanach* of 1804. In 1808 he founded a publishing house which, among others, published Heinrich von Kleist's *Berliner Abendblaetter.* In 1814, after the defeat of Napoleon, he resumed his law career in the service of the Prussian government. In 1824 he founded the Literarische Mittwochsgesellschaft, which became a center for the later Romantics and for aspiring young writers. Hitzig wrote biographies of two romantic writers he had come to know in Warsaw, Zacharias Werner (1823) and E.T.A. Hoffmann (1823), and the definitive biography of his lifelong friend, Adalbert von Chamisso (1839), the creator of Peter Schlemihl. He himself was best remembered after his death for *Der neue Pitaval* (1842–47, and frequently reprinted), a collection in many volumes of crime and detective stories of all lands and ages, in which he collaborated with W. Haering. His son was the German architect Friedrich *Hitzig (1811–1881).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Dorsch, *Julius Eduard Hitzig. Literarisches Patriarchat und buergerliche Karriere. Eine dokumentarische Biographie zwischen Literatur, Buchhandel und Gericht der Jahre 1780–1815* (1994).

[Sol Liptzin]

HIVITES (Heb. חִוִּי), the sixth of the 11 peoples or tribes descended from the sons of Canaan (Gen. 10:17) and one of the seven nations residing in Canaan at the time of the Conquest (Ex. 3:8, 17; 13:5; 23:23, 28; 33:2; 34:11; Deut. 7:1; 20:17; Josh. 3:10; 9:1; 11:3; 12:8; 24:11; Judg. 3:35; I Kings 9:20 = II Chron. 8:7). Most of the references to the Hivites occur in Genesis and Joshua, among the least historical sections of the Bible. Yet it is likely that some such group was known to ancient Israel. In the stories set in the "patriarchal period" the Hivites dwelt at Shechem (Gen. 34:2). In accounts of the Conquest of Canaan they were associated with the four towns of Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kiriath-jearim (Josh. 9:17), and with the land of Mizpah at the foot of Mt. Hermon (Josh. 11:3). According to the Book of Joshua, the Hivites of the four towns were exempt from Israel's holy war against the seven nations by a solemn treaty (Josh. 9:19; see *Gibeonites). Those who lived in the land of Mizpah were likewise unaffected, insofar as the area below Mt. Hermon was the limit of Joshua's conquest (Josh. 11:17; Judg. 3:3).

The term Hivites is unattested in extra-biblical sources. The suggestion that the Hivites are the Greek Achaeans, known from the Iliad, who appear in Egyptian documents as *akioasha*, seems linguistically dubious. E.A. Speiser noted the absence of any reference to the *Hurrians (Horites), who played a major role in Israelite history, in the biblical lists of Canaanite nations. He called attention to Hurrian personal names associated with Shechem and with other areas whose inhabitants the Bible calls Hivites. He further noted the juxtaposition of the Hurrian Jebusites and the Hivites in all but two of the biblical references to the latter. Thus he concluded that Hivite was a biblical term for Hurrian. Speiser supported his identification of the biblical Hivites with the Hurrians by reference to Genesis 36:2, and 36:20, where the terms Hivite and Horite are apparently used interchangeably. In the former verse Zibeon is called a Hivite, in the latter, a Horite. Other examples of the apparent interchange of the terms Hivite and Horite may be found by comparing the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint. Thus in Genesis 34:2 and Joshua 9:7 the Septuagint reads Horites for the Hivite of the Masoretic Text. These alternations have been the subject of considerable discussion. Some claim that the differences between the Masoretic Text and Septuagint are the result of the former's attempt to harmonize the narratives with the list of Canaanite nations in Genesis 10. It is difficult, however, to draw any conclusions from variants in the Septuagint.

Both Grintz and Speiser suggested a close connection between Hurrians and Hivites. Grintz, therefore, explained the Gibeonites' claim to have come "from a far country" (Josh. 9:6, 9) in the light of the Hurrians' origin in the area north of Mesopotamia and east of Asia Minor. Speiser, who found the name *Ḫu-ú-ia* among Hurrian names in Mesopotamia, suggested that the latter name, which passed into Hebrew as Hivite, became the general Hebrew term for Hurrian because the term Horite had been preempted for the pre-Edomite population of Seir (Gen. 36:20). S. Ahituv connects the Hivites with the land Ḫume, known from Neo-Babylonian sources. The Hebrew form with *waw* is linguistically defensible.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (1906), 328–45; I.Z. Horowitz, *Ereẓ Yisrael u-Shekhenoteha* (1923); E.A. Speiser, in: AASOR, 13 (1933), 26–31; S. Loewenstamm, in: EM, 3 (1958), 45–47; Y.M. Grintz, *Moẓa'ei Dorot* (1969), 130–82, 290–308. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Ahituv, *Joshua* (1995), 93.

[Mayer Irwin Gruber]

ḤIWI AL-BALKHI (second half of ninth century, Ḥiwi, a misspelling of the Persian name Ḥayyawayh; al-Balkhi, of Balkh, in Khorasan, *Persia, now *Afghanistan), freethinker and radical Bible critic. Few details of Ḥiwi's life are known. His homeland was a meeting place of many religious streams – Rabbanite and *Karaite Judaism, Shi'ite *Islam in its various sectarian manifestations, Nestorian Christianity, Buddhism, and Zoroastrianism. It was the home of some of the greatest Islamic scientists and scholars of the first centuries of Islam. Ḥiwi was the author of a polemical work which contained 200 criticisms of the Bible. He belonged neither to the Rabbanites nor to the Karaites. In fact, both of these factions of Judaism condemned him. The work of Ḥiwi is no longer extant; its contents have to be reconstructed from the quotations by later Rabbanite and Karaite critics of his work. The language Ḥiwi wrote in is unknown, though it can be assumed he wrote in Arabic. From the polemical attacks against Ḥiwi, it can be ascertained that his main concern was to undermine the authority of the Bible. He censured the biblical concepts of God and the biblical commandments and stories. Modern scholars were only able to reconstruct approximately one-third of his 200 questions and criticisms. These questions can be subdivided into the following categories: God is unjust, without compassion, and favors evil; God is not omniscient; God is not omnipotent; God changes His mind, which is a sign that He is not consistent; God likes blood and sacrifices; the Bible is full of anthropomorphisms; God does not work miracles; the Bible admits the existence of many gods; the Bible contains contradictions; and many commandments and stories in the Bible lack reason. It is also evident that Ḥiwi did not believe in *creatio ex nihilo* and in free will. Ḥiwi, an eclectic, was not original in his ideas. Some of his criticisms can be traced to rabbinic sources, some to the works of the last defenders of Zoroastrianism, some to the works of Islamic heretics, and some to Christian heretics. The vehemence with which Ḥiwi was rebuked by Rabbanite and Karaite scholars alike testifies to the great influence of his writings upon his contemporaries and even later generations. *Saadiah Gaon, who succeeded in stemming the tide of Karaite Judaism in the Near East, felt – 60 years after the publication of Ḥiwi's work – the need to refute Ḥiwi's arguments in a special work, which he wrote in Hebrew rhyme. Fragments of Saadiah's refutation were preserved in the Cairo *Genizah* and were published by Israel Davidson in 1915. Two additional leafs were discovered and published by J.H. Schirmann in 1965. Ḥiwi's name would have been forgotten completely if Abraham *Ibn Ezra had not mentioned Ḥiwi's critical remarks in his commentary on the Pentateuch. Ḥiwi's name and work have been used in modern times for anti-religious propaganda by freethinkers, particularly in Soviet Russia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Davidson, *Saadia's Polemic Against Ḥiwi Al-Balkhi* (1915); J. Rosenthal, *Ḥiwi Al-Balkhi: A Comparative Study* (1949); M. Gil, *Ḥivi ha-Balkhi ha-Kofer me-Ḥurasan* (1965); J.H. Schirmann, *Shirim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah* (1965), 31–41; Fischel, in: HJ, 7 (1945), 29–50; M.S. Belenki (ed.), *Kritika Iudeyskoy Religii* (1962), 27–28, 399–403; Baron, Social 2, index.

[Judah M. Rosenthal]

ḤIYYA (also called **Rabbah**, "the Great"; end of the second century C.E.), *tanna* (BM 5a) during the transition period from the *tannaim* to the *amoraim*. Ḥiyya was born at Kafri, near Sura in Babylonia (Sanh. 5a). According to one talmudic tradition his family was descended from Shimei, the brother of David (Ket. 62b), but according to another from Shephatiah, the son of David's wife Abital (TJ, Ta'an. 4:2, 68a). After he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel from Babylonia (Ket. 5a), his father, Abba b. Aḥa, died (Pes. 4a) and because of his country of origin the sages referred to him as "the Babylonian" (Gen. R. 26:4). He frequented Judah ha-Nasi's company, studied in his *bet midrash* (Shab. 66b; Ḥul. 16a; et al.) as well as under him personally (Ned. 41a), asked questions of him (TJ, Git. 7:10, 49a; et al.), and transmitted halakhic statements in his name. Judah ha-Nasi authorized him to act as a *dayyan* (Sanh. 5a) and once sent him to sanctify the new month (RH 25a). He was the outstanding pupil of Judah ha-Nasi, and the Talmud gives a large number of queries addressed to him (TJ, Git. 7:10, 49a; BM 3:4., et al.). On one occasion Judah ha-Nasi was taken ill and forgot something which he had taught Ḥiyya, who reminded him of it (Ned. 41a). Ḥiyya also argued with his master on *halakhah* (TJ, Pe'ah 8:4) and there are even instances of Judah ha-Nasi asking questions of Ḥiyya (Hor. 11b). Judah ha-Nasi himself once said to a pupil of his, "Disregard my reply and adopt that of Ḥiyya" (Av. Zar. 36b). Much is told about their relationship. Although on occasions Judah ha-Nasi adopted a critical attitude toward him (see MK 16b, et al.), he held him in exceptionally great esteem calling him: "A great man, a holy man" (Gen. R. 33:3). Ḥiyya was regarded as second in learning only to Judah ha-Nasi and hence the sages wondered why Judah ha-Nasi had not on his deathbed designated him as the head of his *bet midrash*. Some explained it as due to Ḥiyya's being so extensively engaged in *mitzvot* and in spreading knowledge of the Torah, but others think he may have predeceased Judah ha-Nasi (Ket. 103b).

Ḥiyya had his own *bet midrash* which was famous chiefly for its preoccupation with *beraitot*. These are quoted frequently in the Talmud, many of them having been taught by Ḥiyya himself (Ber. 24a; BK 4b), who also transmitted to Oshaiah, his pupil, *beraitot* which the latter taught in his own *bet midrash*. The productions of these two schools in this field were regarded as the most authoritative and accurate, so that it was said that any *baraita* which did not emanate from them was a defective version and not to be cited in the *bet midrash* as a refutation (Ḥul. 14a–b). These *beraitot* included additional explanations to Judah ha-Nasi's Mishnah as well as halakhic material which Judah ha-Nasi had excluded from his compilation. In it Ḥiyya incorporated not only statements that were based on a ruling he had personally heard from Judah ha-Nasi (TJ, BM 5:7, 10c) but also some that were opposed to what Judah ha-Nasi had taught (Ket. 59b). Yet there was the well-known principle: "Since Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi has not taught this ruling, whence could Ḥiyya know it!" (Er. 92a; and parallel passages). A collection of *beraitot* on the *halakhot* of usury compiled in Ḥiyya's *bet midrash* is mentioned

in *Bava Meẓia* (62b, 65b). In the view of S. Zvi Kaplan Sherira *Gaon the Tosefta constitutes the collection of Ḥiyya's *beraitot* (see: *Tosefta).

Ḥiyya enjoyed the status of both a *tanna* and an *amora*, this dual capacity of his being reflected in a discussion in *Niddah* 26a. As a *tanna* he was permitted to disagree with other *tannaim* and hence his statements are quoted in *beraitot* (Shab. 20a; Ḥul. 27a; et al.), and by virtue of his status as an *amora* a large number of his halakhic pronouncements are cited in statements of *amoraim* to be found in all the tractates of the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. Among the sages with whom Ḥiyya discussed halakhic subjects, either agreeing with or opposing their views, mention may be made of Ishmael b. Yose (TJ, Er. 7:1), Yannai (TJ, Ber. 4:5), Simeon b. Rabbi (Er. 72a; et al.), and Bar Kappara (Yev. 32b; et al.). Little is known of Ḥiyya's personal life. His wife Judith, described as a harsh woman (Kid. 12b), bore him twin sons, *Judah and *Hezekiah, who were apparently born in Babylonia, became famous sages and immigrated with their father to Ereẓ Israel (Suk. 20a). They also had twin daughters, Pazi and Tavi (Yev. 65b–66a), one of whom died in her youth after being betrothed to Judah ha-Nasi's son.

The most distinguished of Ḥiyya's pupils was *Rav (see Ḥul. 110a; Ker. 21a; et al.), the son of his brother on his father's side and of his sister on his mother's side (cf. Rosenthal, 281ff.). Ḥiyya intervened with Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi on his behalf (Sanh. 5a). The relative intellectual stature of these three is described in the Talmud in the following: "Rabbi (Judah ha-Nasi) was the tallest man in his generation and Ḥiyya reached to his shoulder; Ḥiyya was the tallest man in his generation and Rav reached to his shoulder" (Nid. 24b). Rav also acted as Ḥiyya's interpreter (Yoma 20b), that is, one who at length and in a popular style expounded what the preacher or lecturer had indicated to him in brief. Some of Ḥiyya's other pupils were his nephew, Rabbah bar Ḥanah, Ze'iri (Shab. 156a), and Judah b. Kenosa (BK 81b). Ḥiyya devoted himself to spreading knowledge of and teaching the Torah. He would write out the five books of the Pentateuch, take them to towns which had no teachers for the young, and there teach them to the children. Judah ha-Nasi said of this, "How great are the deeds of Ḥiyya" (Ket. 103b; and parallel passages). Apparently his sons also participated in this work, as can be seen from Resh Lakish's remark reflecting the vast esteem that the early Ereẓ Israel *amoraim* had for Ḥiyya's achievements in this field: "When the Torah was forgotten from Israel, Ezra came up from Babylonia and established it. When [some of it] was again forgotten, Hillel the Babylonian came up and established it. When [some of it] was once more forgotten, Ḥiyya and his sons came up and established it" (Suk. 20a). The Talmud refers to Ḥiyya's diligent study of the Torah (TJ, Kel. 9:3) and his concern for orphans (BM 85b), his scrupulous consideration for the honor of others (Sanh. 11a), and his love of Ereẓ Israel (TJ, Shev. 4:7). He would pray: "May it be Thy will that Thy Torah may be our occupation, that our heart may not grieve nor our eyes be darkened" (Ber. 16b). When Ḥiyya and his sons led the congregation in worship, their prayer was immediately answered (BM 85b). It was due to their merit that in Ereẓ Israel "shooting stars and earthquakes, storms and thunder ceased, wine did not turn sour, nor was flax blighted" (Ḥul. 86a).

Ḥiyya discoursed in public on *halakhah* (see Ket. 34a) and *aggadah* (TJ, Sot. 1:4; et al.). His special method of exposition by the transposition of letters was known as "the *Atbaḥ* (אטב"ח) of R. Ḥiyya" (see Suk. 52b, and Rashi, ad loc.). Once, when seeing the first rays of dawn piercing the darkness, he said: "Even so is the redemption of Israel. At first it comes gradually, and the longer it continues, the greater it becomes" (TJ, Ber. 1:1). Yet Ḥiyya declared: "The Holy One blessed be He knows that Israel is unable to endure the cruel decrees of Edom [Rome], and therefore He exiled them to Babylonia" (Pes. 87b). Because of this he sought, against the wishes of Judah ha-Nasi, to obtain independence in teaching for the sages of Babylonia, so that they should not be subject to the central authority, then still in Ereẓ Israel (Sanh. 5a). Moreover, Rav, Ḥiyya's nephew and the founder of the academy at Sura, one of the pillars of Jewish life in Babylonia, had apparently emigrated there on the initiative and with the encouragement of his uncle. He maintained that the "Holy of Holies," to which, according to the sages, the worshiper is to direct his heart when praying, refers to the "Holy of Holies above," that is, Heaven. He interpreted the place-name Mount Moriah as the site "from which fear goes forth," and not, as Yannai held, "from which teaching goes forth to the world" (TJ, Ber. 4:5). These two sages' different interpretations of Jacob's dream in which he saw a ladder reaching to heaven (Gen. R. 68:12) is likewise related to these divergent approaches (cf. also Gen. R. 69:3). Ḥiyya's aggadic statements include remarks against imposing excessively restrictive measures: "You shall not make the fence higher than the essential object (the Torah), that it should not fall and destroy the shoots" (Gen. R. 19:3); and "Whoever rebelled against Divine justice did not emerge unscathed from under its hands" (Gen. R. 48:5). On the evil inclination he observed: "It is poor dough which the baker himself declares to be bad" (Gen. R. 34:10). Among his sayings is the statement originally made in connection with a halakhic problem: "The raven went to join the starling because it belongs to the same species" (*ibid.* 65:3). He was also the author of the saying: "Such is the punishment of a liar, that even if he tells the truth he is not listened to" (Sanh. 89b, and see Gen. R. 94:3). His extensive business dealings brought him into close touch with daily life. Thus it is known that he traded in silk (Gen. R. 77:2; cf. also BK 99b). His practical advice was: "A person should not put all his money in one corner" (Gen. R. 76:3). Legend embellished Ḥiyya's death (MK 28a). He was buried in a cave, in which his sons, Judah and Hezekiah were also interred on their death, one on each side of him (MK 25a). In the *aggadah* a graphic description is given of his great merit in the heavenly academy (see BM 85b; TJ, Kel. 9:3).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Tann.; Hyman, Toledot, 424–34; Ḥ. Albeck, *Meḥkarim ba-Beraita u-va-Tosefta* (1944), 27–43; idem, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 144–8; Epstein, Mishnah, 24–40; P. Minzberg,

Toledot R. Ḥiyya u-Vanav (1953); J. Liver, *Toledot Beit David* (1959), 26–32, 37–41; Z. Vilnay, *Maẓẓevot Kodesh be-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1963²), 366–8; I. Konovitz, *Ma'arakhot Tannaim*, 2 (1967), 47–106; E.S. Rosenthal, in: *Hanokh Yalon Jubilee Volume* (Hebrew) (1963), 281–337.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ḤIYYA BAR ABBA (TJ: **Bar Ba** or **Va**; third and the beginning of the fourth centuries C.E.), *amora*. Ḥiyya was born in Babylonia, of a priestly family (TJ, Ber. 3:1, 6a) but migrated to Ereẓ Israel (Shab. 105b; BB 107b) where he was able to attend upon such Palestinian *amoraim* of the first generation as Ḥanina (TJ, Hor. 3:4, 48b) and Joshua b. Levi (TJ, Shab. 1:1, 3a). He was the outstanding pupil of Johanan in whose name he transmitted many *halakhot* (Shab. 105b; Er. 54a, et al.). He was known for being exceptionally precise in transmitting the words of his teacher, and every 30 days revised what he had studied in his presence (Ber. 38b). He also studied under R. Eleazar. Ḥiyya was very poor and left Ereẓ Israel in order to gain a livelihood. On the recommendation of Eleazar he was appointed by Judah ha-Nasi II as his emissary to the Diaspora. In his letter of appointment Judah called him "a great man," to which another version adds: "wherein lies his greatness? – That he is not ashamed to say 'I have not heard'" (TJ, Ḥag. 1:8, 76d). His mission apparently brought him back to Babylonia for a time and he had discussions with its scholars (Ber. 15a, et al.). He also visited Syria (TJ, Meg. 3:1, 74a) and even reached Rome (TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 4:1, 54d). Wherever he came he introduced necessary **takkanot*, collected monies for the benefit of the yeshivah, and appointed heads of the community (TJ, Pe'ah, 8:7, 21a). In Ereẓ Israel too he paid visits to many localities, and evinced a lively concern with the spiritual situation in the various places, dealing with communal needs, and preaching to the congregations. He visited Gavla, south of the Dead Sea (Yev. 46a), Tiberias (TJ, Pes. 4:4, 31a), Sepphoris (TJ, Ta'an. 4:9, 69b), and Tyre, where he apparently stayed for some time (TJ, Av. Zar. 2:9, 42a, TJ, Ber. 3:1, 6a). He had many sons who were scholars: Abba, the best-known (Ber. 5a); Jeremiah (Lev. R. 23:8); Kahana (TJ, Shab. 1:7, 3d); and Nehemiah (TJ, Ber. 3:1, 6a). Ḥiyya was essentially a halakhist (Sot. 40a): "R. Abbahu and R. Ḥiyya b. Abba once came to a certain place. R. Abbahu expounded *aggadah* and R. Ḥiyya b. Abba *halakhah*. All the people deserted R. Ḥiyya and went to hear Abbahu. Ḥiyya was upset, but Abbahu said to him: 'I will tell you a parable. To what is the matter like? To two men, one of whom was selling precious stones and the other cheap ware. To whom will the people hurry? Is it not to the seller of the cheap ware?'" Nevertheless aggadic statements are found in his name. He expounded the verse (Jer. 16:11): "they have forsaken Me and not kept My law" – "Would they were to forsake Me, providing that they keep My law, for as a result of occupying themselves with it, its light will bring them back to the right path" (Lam. R., Proem 2, see also TJ, Ḥag. 1:7, 76c).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor; Frankel, Mevo, 81b–82b, 145b; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 236–7.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ḤIYYA BAR AVIN (in TJ, **Bar Bun**; beginning of the fourth century C.E.), Babylonian *amora*. Ḥiyya was the son of *Avin the Carpenter. He was a pupil of Huna (see Kid. 58a) and the *resh *kallah* at his yeshivah (see She'iltot, Berakhah 165). The teachings of Rav and Samuel, which he frequently transmits (Er. 81a; Ber. 30a; et al.), he received presumably from their pupil Huna. His halakhic discussions with his contemporary scholars are frequently cited in the Talmud. Later Ḥiyya migrated to Ereẓ Israel and studied in Tiberias in the yeshivah of Eleazar in whose name he sent instructions to Babylonia (Yev. 43a). In Ereẓ Israel he received many ancient traditions of earlier scholars. He held halakhic discussions with *Zera (Ber. 33b) and *Assi (Suk. 35a). He returned to Babylonia where he was held in the highest esteem. Rava referred to him as "the lion of the company" (Shab. 111b; et al.; some explain that the word *ḥavurah*, "company," was a name applied only to the yeshivah of Ereẓ Israel). Naḥman b. Isaac turned to him with his problems (Ber. 6a; et al.). After Ḥiyya's death, Rava transmitted to Ḥiyya's son the teachings he had received from him (Ket. 85b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 439–41; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 284f.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ḤIYYA ROFE (1550?–1618), rabbi of *Safed. Ḥiyya was born in Safed and studied in Solomon *Sagis' yeshivah there, where he distinguished himself already in his youth. Ḥayyim *Vital instructed him in *Kabbalah and he was ordained by Jacob *Berab II before 1599. He reestablished the yeshivah of *Tiberias in 1587 and headed it for a number of years. However, between 1590 and 1593 he again lived in Safed where he was regarded as one of its outstanding scholars. In 1607 he was living in *Jerusalem, but in about 1612 returned to Safed where he died. His opinions are quoted by contemporaries. Most of Ḥiyya's works have been lost. The little that has remained, novellae to various tractates of the Talmud and 27 responsa, were published by his son *Meir b. Ḥiyya Rofe, a *Hebron scholar, in the collection *Ma'aseh Ḥiyya* (Venice, 1652). It is a valuable source for the method of talmudic study employed by the scholars of Safed as well as for the quotations from many manuscripts of the Talmud which the author kept in the yeshivah of Safed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Benayahu, in: *Aresheth*, 2 (1960), 109–29; idem, in: *Sefer Yovel le-Yiẓḥak Baer* (1960), 257–63.

HIZBOLLAH (Arab. "Party of God"), Lebanese Shiite-Muslim movement and militia based mainly in the southern suburbs of Beirut, in Balbek in the Biqa, and in South Lebanon. It was founded during the *Lebanon War of 1982, emerging out of a loose coalition of radical Shiite groups. Inspired by the Islamic Revolution in *Iran and originally aspiring to set up a similar Islamic state in Lebanon as an alternative to the existing multicultural state, it abandoned this goal in the early 1990s and ostensibly became part of the Lebanese political system, participating in parliamentary elections and maintaining a bloc of around 10 parliamentary representatives. Never disarmed by the weak Lebanese government and sponsored by Iran, it

became a virtual state within a state, launching violent attacks against American and Israeli targets. Under its charismatic leader Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah (1953–) and as the self-proclaimed champion of Arab resistance to the Israeli occupation, it began stockpiling thousands of Iranian- and Syrian-supplied rockets and building an extensive tactical infrastructure during a six-year lull in hostilities during the 2000s, until the illusion of tranquility was shattered in summer 2006. For a summary of the renewed hostilities, see *Israel, State of: Historical Survey; for a detailed review of Israel's war against terrorism, see *Israel, State of: Israel Defense Forces ("The War against Terrorism"). See also *Lebanon; *Lebanon War.

ḤLADIK, ABRAHAM (first half of 13th century), Bohemian scholar. The name Ḥladik, still found to this day as a family name in Prague, is evidence that Abraham came from Bohemia, and he is sometimes referred to as Abraham of Bohemia. His name is frequently mentioned in *minhagim books and in 13th-century commentaries on the prayers. He was in contact with *Abraham b. Azriel, though the nature of their literary dependence is still unclear. It seems that Ḥladik abridged some of Abraham b. Azriel's commentaries to *piyyutim*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.E. Urbach (ed.), *Arugat ha-Bosem*, 4 (1963), 123–5.

[Isaac Ze'ev Kahane]

HLOHOVEC (Hung. **Galgóc**; Ger. **Freistadtl**, **Freistadt**; in popular Slovak **Fraštak**), town in W. Slovakia, until 1992 Czechoslovak Republic, then Slovak Republic. The first Jews appeared in Hlohovec with the Romans. During the 9th-century Great Moravian Empire, Jews may have lived in the location of present Hlohovec. Since then, Germans who settled in the area bore hatred toward Jews, and in the 13th century Jews had to wear red markings on their clothes. After refusing to convert to Christianity, the Jews of the Hungarian kingdom were expelled in 1360. Before then, they could live in any part of the town. Upon their return four years after the expulsion, they were relegated to one "Jewish" street. In 1514 they were expelled again, during the peasant revolt. Hlohovec was located next to an important bridge over the river Váh; from the 15th to the 18th century, Jews collected the tax for crossing the bridge on behalf of the royal treasury.

In 1529, when Jews were being burned in the neighboring town of *Trnava, the Jews crossed the bridge and settled in Hlohovec. Most of the Jewish inhabitants of Hlohovec hailed from Moravia. They sold wine, grain, salt, and silverware, and some were glaziers. Another source of income was supplying food to soldiers of the imperial army fighting the Turks. They continued to act as military suppliers in the 17th and 18th centuries. Jewish businessmen from Hlohovec attended the fair in Leipzig, Germany. Hlohovec had a well-established Jewish community. In 1735/38 there were 128 Jews; in 1746 there were 133. Rabbi Mordechai Deutsch, a well-known Talmudic scholar, founded a yeshivah, serving as principal until his death in 1772. The Hlohovec Jews enjoyed the goodwill of the Erdoedy noble family, which owned the land. In 1750 the community erected its first synagogue.

In 1830/5 there were 556 Jews; in 1880, some 1,079 Jews lived in Hlohovec; and on the eve of the deportations in 1940, there were 727.

The *talmud torah* was opened in 1828, and a school in the German language operated from 1858 to 1862. In 1865 a new school opened its doors. A synagogue was constructed in 1830 and enlarged in 1890. A new edifice was erected in 1900. Following the Hungarian Jewish congress of 1868, a split occurred in the congregation. The majority chose Status Quo Ante, and the Orthodox minority established its own congregation. They shared the *ḥevra kaddisha*, the Torah scrolls, and the cemetery. The Orthodox community opened a school, as well as other religious institutions. In 1880 the two congregations united as Orthodox.

During the Hungarian commonwealth of 1848/49, many Jews enlisted with the Magyar troops. During World War I, 200 men were recruited into the army. After the war, the Zionist movement and the Jewish party appeared on the Jewish street. Party members were elected to the municipal council. Rabbi Moshe Schwarz headed a Torah va-Avodah yeshivah, where students received vocational training and engaged in rabbinic study.

In September 1938 Slovakia proclaimed autonomy, and on March 14, 1939, independence under the Third Reich. Persecution of Jews was among the state's main tasks, culminating in the deportation of Jews to camps in Poland. In April 1942, the Jews of Hlohovec and the vicinity were deported; very few returned. The authorities continued to persecute the remaining Jews, reducing the number of streets where they could live and expropriating Jewish public buildings. During the Slovak anti-Nazi uprising in August–October 1944, some fled the city and others were sent to extermination camps.

In 1947, only 27 Jews lived in Hlohovec. In 1949 there were 125. In 1968 a handful of Jews remained in the city, the rest having emigrated in 1948/49. They had a small prayer house, and services were conducted by Moshe Glueck, "the Ẓaddik of Hlohovec." In his capacity as caretaker of the local cemeteries, he discovered the 1772 grave of Sarele van Geldern, believed to be the forebear of German poet Heinrich Heine.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.E. Rosenfeld, *Ḥavvat Y.A.R.* (1906), preface; *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon*, s.v. *Galgóc*; MHJ, 5 pt. 1 (1959), 106, 131, 220, 222, 305, 311, 313, 314, 355; 7 (1963), 167; 8 (1965), 194, 196; 9 (1966), nos. 386, 429; S. Scheiber, *Héber kódex maradványok magyarországi kötéstáblákban* (1969), 33–40. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E. Bàrkàny-L. Dojč, *Židovské náboženské obce na Slovensku*, (1991), 194–99.

[Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

HOBSBAWM, ERIC JOHN (**Ernest**; 1917–), British historian. Born in Alexandria, Egypt, Hobsbawm came to Britain in the early 1930s and was educated at Cambridge before becoming professor of economic history at Birkbeck College, University of London. Widely regarded as one of the most distinguished historians of his time, Hobsbawm is interna-

tionally known both for his works on labor history and social agitation, such as *Primitive Rebels* (1959), and for his magisterial four-volume account of modern European history – *The Age of Revolution* (1962), *The Age of Capital* (1975), *The Age of Empire* (1987), and *The Age of Extremes* (1994) – as well as for his survey of British economic history, *Industry and Empire* (1968). Always on the left politically, Hobsbawm remained an unorthodox supporter of the British Communist Party long after many other intellectuals had left it. More recently, he became known for his critiques of the British Labour Party. In 2002 Hobsbawm produced a widely noted autobiography, *Interesting Times: A Twentieth-Century Life.* He also wrote jazz criticism under the pseudonym of Francis Newton. In 1998 he was made a Companion of Honour (C.H.), a rare distinction for a historian.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

HOBSON, LAURA Z. (**Zametkin**; 1900–1986), U.S. author. The daughter of the Yiddish writer Michael Zametkin, she worked for the *New York Evening Post* and later became copy chief for *Time, Inc.* She published short stories and novels from the mid-1930s, her best-known work being the novel *Gentleman's Agreement* (1947), a study of antisemitism in America. Her later novels include *The Other Father* (1950) and *The Celebrity* (1951). In *First Papers* (1964) she returned to the problems of the Jew in a non-Jewish environment. Her autobiography, *Laura Z: A Life,* was published in 1983.

HOCHEIMER, HENRY (1818–1912), U.S. rabbi. Hocheimer was born in Ansbach, Bavaria, of a well-known rabbinical family. From 1844 to 1849 he assisted his father as rabbi of Ichenhausen, but had to leave Germany in 1849 because of his political activities. On arriving in the United States he became rabbi of the Reform Baltimore Hebrew Congregation. Ten years later he took office with the Fell's Point (Md.) Hebrew Friendship Congregation, where he remained until his retirement in 1892. Hocheimer published several articles and pamphlets and enjoyed a reputation as a scholar and a wit, but he took little part in public life. His son LEWIS HOCHEIMER (1853–1929) was a noted Baltimore attorney and community leader, and the author of *Hocheimer's Criminal Law* (1899).

[Sefton D. Temkin]

°**HOCHHUTH, ROLF** (1931–), German playwright. Hochhuth, a Protestant, was a publisher's reader between 1955 and 1963 and was able to undertake, at the Vatican and elsewhere, the massive documentation needed for his controversial drama, *Der Stellvertreter* (*The Deputy*, 1964). This was produced in Berlin in February 1963 and appeared in print at the same time. The play immediately aroused a storm of protest in Catholic circles owing to its uncompromising condemnation of Pope Pius XII for his failure to condemn Hitler's Jewish policies. The two tragic heroes of Hochhuth's drama are Lieutenant Kurt *Gerstein, a dedicated Lutheran who infiltrated the Waffen-SS and tried to awaken world conscience to the Holocaust, and Father Riccardo Fontana, a Jesuit priest whose revolt against the silence of Pius XII eventually leads him to assume the role of "representative" of the Pope at Auschwitz. The character of Fontana is fictitious but in part inspired by the heroic Provost Bernhard *Lichtenberg of Cologne, whom the Nazis executed. Both the play and the appended documentation draw the conclusion that Pius XII sacrificed morality to the short-term financial and political interests of the Church. *Der Stellvertreter* appeared in England as *The Representative* and in the U.S. as *The Deputy* (published with Hochhuth's accompanying documentation, 1964). It provoked widespread reaction and was the subject of great controversy, bringing Pope *Paul VI to the defense of Pius XII. The 2002 film *Amen* was based on it.

Hochhuth continued to write controversial plays after he moved to Switzerland in 1963 and became resident playwright at the Basle Stadttheater. His 1978 play *A Love in Germany* focused on the governor of Wuerttemberg, Hans Filbinger, and his past as a military judge in World War II. The play stirred a debate which resulted in Filbinger's resignation. His play *McKinsey Is Coming*, which discusses modern social justice and criticizes big business, was read by some critics as an exculpation of left-wing terrorism, a charge denied by Hochhuth. An earlier play, *Soldiers, Necrology on Geneva* (1967), which depicts the British bomb attacks in World War II as crimes and portrays Winston Churchill as a war criminal, resulted in his friendship with the extreme right-wing British historian David *Irving, who was later accused of Holocaust denial. When Hochhuth defended Irving in a public remark in 2005, he came under heavy attack in the German press. Hochhuth later retracted his statement, claiming he was not familiar with Irving's extreme theses, and publicly apologized.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.R. Bentley (ed.), *Storm over "The Deputy"* (1964). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** P.M. Ellsberg, "An Interview with Rolf Hochhuth," in: C.F. Delzell (ed.), *The Papacy and Totalitarianism between the Two World Wars* (1974); T. Brechenbacher, "Der Dichter als Fallensteller – Hochhuths 'Stellvertreter' und die Ohnmacht des Faktischen," in: M. Wolffsohn and T. Brechenbacher (eds.), *Geschichte als Falle* (2001), 217–57; H.J. Cargas, "Hochhuth's 'The Deputy' – One Generation Later," in: *Shofar*, 5, 1 (1986), 30–42; U. Altermatt, "Die Hochhuth Debatte in der katholischen Schweiz," in: S. Käppeli (ed.), *Lesarten des juedisch-christlichen Dialogs* (2002), 19–32.

[Godfrey Edmond Silverman / Michael Brenner (2nd ed.)]

HOCHMAN, JULIUS (1892–1970), U.S. labor leader. Hochman was born in Bessarabia, the son of a tailor. At the age of 11 he was apprenticed to a tailor. Two years later he participated in an unsuccessful strike and decided to become a socialist. Immigrating to America at 15, Hochman worked as a skirt- and dressmaker in New York, and attended evening high school, the Rand School of Social Science, and Brookwood Labor College. In his early twenties Hochman became an effective International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union organizer of the Chicago, Boston, Toronto, and Montreal dress markets, and in 1925 was elected a vice president of the ILGWU. During the ensuing intra-union conflict between the left and

right, Hochman sided with the anticommunist Sigman group. His most important service to the union was in formulating programs for the stabilization of the garment industry. In 1929, appointed manager of the newly constituted New York Dress Joint Board, he was able to effect many of his ideas including piece-rate and time studies, which cemented labor-management cooperation aimed at increasing industrial efficiency. Hochman devoted his efforts to maintain New York as the nation's dominant dressmaking center. In 1941, through an agreement with dress manufacturers, he accomplished some of his most cherished objectives: obligatory standards of efficiency, an industry-wide planning program, and the establishment of the New York Dress Institute to make New York the world's fashion center. He wrote *Why This Strike* (1936) and *Industry Planning Through Collective Bargaining* (1941).

[Melvyn Dubofsky]

HOCHSCHILD, MAURICIO (1881–1965), engineer and mining magnate. Born in Biblis, Germany, Hochschild studied mining engineering, joined his uncle's metal trading firm, and was sent to Australia in 1907. In 1912, he left the firm and went to Chile, where he established his own company. During World War I he worked in Germany and Austria and afterward returned to Chile. In 1920 Hochschild went to Bolivia, where, after engaging in the purchase of ores for several years, he ultimately established one of the great Bolivian mining companies. When the Bolivian mines were nationalized, after the 1952 Revolution, Hochschild's company continued to operate throughout Chile, Peru, and Argentina and also purchased products from the nationalized mines in Bolivia. Though estranged from Judaism, Hochschild helped to bring Jewish refugees from Europe to Bolivia during the 1930s and employed some of them in his companies. He established an agricultural settlement for Jewish immigrants near Coroico, spending almost $1,000,000 on the project, which ultimately failed. While generously assisting thousands of Jews individually he refused to be identified with Jewish institutional life.

[Netanel Lorch]

HOCHSCHULE FUER DIE WISSENSCHAFT DES JUDENTUMS, center for the scientific study of Judaism and rabbinical seminary in Berlin. From the first half of the 19th century, leaders of the movement for modern scholarly study of the Jewish past, notably Leopold *Zunz and Abraham *Geiger, had argued for the establishment of a faculty for Judaica at a German university. As German institutions were reluctant to respond to such an idea, the plan was formulated in 1867 to found an independent, university-level center for Jewish studies in Berlin. According to its statutes, the exclusive purpose was to be the "preservation, advancement, and dissemination" of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* ("scientific study of Judaism"). The institution opened in 1872 with four teachers, Abraham Geiger, Hermann *Steinthal, David *Cassel, and Israel *Lewy, and 10 students in the most inadequate rented quarters. Tuition was free and students were accepted from all countries. Although the original intent was to serve pure scholarship, the school soon developed principally, but not exclusively, into a seminary for training rabbis and religious school teachers to serve a broad spectrum of German Jewry. Despite the best efforts of its trustees, headed by Moritz *Lazarus, the financial status of the Hochschule remained highly precarious during the first decades of its existence. From 1891 the institution was constrained to accept financial aid from the Berlin community. Only after the turn of the century did its position improve, allowing for the endowment of faculty chairs and the construction of its own building near the Berlin university. In 1907 the Hochschule was also able to begin publication of a series of scholarly studies by faculty and outside scholars to supplement the articles that usually appeared bound with the yearly institutional reports. Inflation after World War I and the depression of the 1920s brought new and extreme difficulties for the school. With the name Hochschule ("College") the founders had wanted to indicate the school's high academic level. However in 1883, during a period of intense antisemitism, the government degraded its title to Lehranstalt ("Institute"). After World War I the name was again Hochschule only to be reduced again to Lehranstalt by the Nazi government in 1934. The later faculty of the school included some of the most renowned Jewish scholars, men of both liberal and traditional views on religion. Among them were Ismar *Elbogen, Eduard *Baneth, Chanoch *Albeck, Julius Guttmann, and Leo *Baeck.

The regular student body grew slowly at first, reaching 61 before World War I. Aside from candidates for Jewish professional positions, the Hochschule attracted young scholars from abroad, Jewish students from various faculties of the university, Christian students of Judaica, and auditors from the community. After some fluctuation student enrollment reached its peak of 155 in 1932 and included 27 women. From the beginning, women were allowed to audit courses and, after 1907, were formally admitted as part-time students to the teacher training program but remained barred from rabbinic ordination. During the Nazi period the Hochschule served as a focus for the vast effort of adult education undertaken by the Jewish community to provide spiritual resistance against increasing oppression. Unlike the Breslau Theological Seminary and the Orthodox Berlin Rabbinerseminar, the Hochschule was permitted to remain open even after the *Kristallnacht pogrom of November 9, 1938. Plans to transfer the institution to Cambridge failed to materialize owing to the outbreak of World War II. Instruction at the Hochschule under the leadership of Leo Baeck continued for about a dozen students until all Jewish educational institutions were finally closed on July 19, 1942 and its valuable collection was confiscated.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Fuchs, in: YLBI, 12 (1967), 3–31. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** C. Hoffmann and D. Schwartz, in: YLBI, 36 (1991), 267–304; M. Awerbuch, in: *Geschichtswissenschaft in Berlin im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Persönlichkeiten und Institutionen* (1992).

[Michael A. Meyer]

HOCHWAELDER, FRITZ (1911–1986), Austrian dramatist. Hochwälder was born in Vienna. Being only a mediocre pupil, he left school to join his father in the upholsterer's trade and began to write in his off hours. Two of his early plays were performed in small theaters in Vienna. Unable to obtain an exit visa after the Anschluss, he crossed the border into Switzerland illegally in August 1938. His parents, who remained behind, were victims of the concentration camps.

As an illegal immigrant in Switzerland he was forbidden to work and this gave him the time to devote to writing. In the summer of 1942 he wrote *Das heilige Experiment* (*The Strong Are Lonely*), published in 1947, which was his greatest commercial success as well as being considered a modern European classic. It dealt with the utopian Jesuit community in Paraguay during the 18th century and its ideological conflicts. First performed in 1943, it was only after the war that the play received international recognition. He also wrote *Der Flüchtling* (*The Fugitive*; 1955), which was made into a motion picture, *Der oeffentliche Anklaeger* (1954), and *1003* (1964), an experimental play in the spirit of Pirandello. He wrote for radio and television; his television play *Der Befehl* (*The Order*; 1967) was commissioned by Austrian television to be shown by Eurovision. His work was significantly influenced by the Viennese Volkstheater, and the themes which are found throughout his work are the conflict between conscience and power, guilt and responsibility, and humanitarianism and selfishness.

Although he was granted the highest honors by the Austrian government, he chose to remain in Switzerland.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Bortenschlager, *Der Dramatiker Fritz Hochwaelder* (1979); F.N. Mennemeier and F. Trapp, *Deutsche Exildramatik 1933–1945* (1980); A.J. Harper, "Tradition and Experiment in the Drama of. Fritz Hochwaelde," in: idem, *Time and Change. Essays on German and European Literature* (1982); H. Wuertz (ed.), *Fritz Hochwaelder* (exhibition catalog of the Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek and of the oesterreichisches Kulturzentrum im Palais Palffy, 1991); R.P. Baker, *A Question of Conscience. The Dramas of Fritz Hochwaelder* (2001).

HOCK, SIMON (**Sinai**; 1815–1887), historian and journalist. A Prague businessman, Hock collected a vast body of material on old Jewish Prague, published in part in his friend Koppelmann *Lieben's *Gal-Ed* (1858), and mainly after Hock's death by David *Kaufmann, as *Mishpeḥot Prag* (1892). Writing anonymously because of the censorship, in the 1840s Hock was correspondent of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* and the *Orient*, and during the 1848 revolutions reported for the *Oesterreichisches Centralorgan* on the anti-Jewish outbreaks connected with these uprisings. In a number of his articles he demanded that the Prague community be made more democratic. Especially interesting is the degree of Jewish national consciousness he displayed. Hock vigorously opposed radical reform, mainly as exemplified by Mendel *Hess and his *Israelit des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, claiming that from the champions of Reform would emerge a hierarchy suppressing freedom of religious practice such as Judaism had never known. He contributed articles on Jewish scholarship to I.H. *Weiss' *Beit Talmud* and other periodicals, and was among the founders of the *Afikei Yehudah association (1869). His unpublished correspondence is preserved in the Central Jewish Museum, Prague.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Kaufmann, in: S. Hock, *Mishpeḥot Prag* (1892), 1–36 (Ger.); B. Wachstein, in: *Jewish Studies in Memory of G.A. Kohut* (1935), 25–40 (Heb. section); J. Shatzky, in: S.W. Baron (ed.), *Freedom and Reason* (1951), 413–37; S.W. Baron, in: JSOS, 14 (1952), 140–4; O. Muneles, in: *Judaica Bohemiae*, 1 (1965), 69–74; idem, *Starý židovský hřbitov v Praze* (1955), 94–99; Y. Tury, *Mehumah u-Mevukhah be-Mahpekhat 1848* (1968), index.

HODESS, JACOB (1885–1961), Zionist journalist. Born in Vanuta, Lithuania, Hodess moved to London at the age of 13. He started on his journalistic career at a young age, writing in Hebrew, Yiddish, and English. From 1911 to 1939 he was a member of the editorial staff of the *Jewish Chronicle* and also edited various periodicals in English and Yiddish, the most important of which was the Zionist weekly *New Judaea*, which he edited from 1924 to 1949. He settled in Israel in 1949 and became editor of the English-language quarterly *Zion*. He was also a contributor to the general British press and was the author of a booklet on Perez *Smolenskin (Eng., 1925). Hodess wrote a study on the Anglo-Jewish press (in *YIVO-Bleter*, vol. 43, 1966), which also contains reminiscences of his own work in the field.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Eban, in: *Davar* (March 20, 1961).

[Getzel Kressel]

HOD HA-SHARON (Heb. הוֹד הַשָּׁרוֹן; "Splendor of the Sharon"), semi-urban community with municipal council status, in central Israel, created by the amalgamation of four villages: Magdi'el, founded in 1924 by immigrants from Russia, Poland, and Lithuania, and shortly after joined by a group from Holland; Ramatayim, founded in 1925 by immigrants from Poland; Hadar, founded in 1927 by middle-class immigrants from Eastern Europe; and Ramat Hadar, founded in 1938 by middle-class immigrants from Germany who were shortly after joined by a group of Italian Jews. After 1948 a large number of newcomers were absorbed in all four villages, the majority originating from Yemen and Iraq. In 1951, Ramatayim and Hadar were united into "Hadar Ramatayim," to which Ramat Hadar was joined in 1963, while the fusion with Magdi'el in 1964 created Hod ha-Sharon, which in 1969 had 12,500 inhabitants. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 27,200 and by 2000 it had grown to 38,600, with the municipal area covering 9.5 sq. mi. (24.5 sq. km.). Hod ha-Sharon's economy in 1969 was still predominantly agricultural, with 55% of its labor force working in farming. Citrus groves were prominent. About 20% of the employed worked in local industries and workshops. Commerce and services subsequently grew alongside the agricultural economy. In 1990 Hod ha-Sharon received municipal status. The Sha'arei Mishpat law college is located in the city.

WEBSITE: www.hod-hasharon.muni.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HODMEZOVASARHELY (Hung. **Hódmezövásárhely**), city in S. Hungary. Jews first settled on the estate of the family of Count Károlyi within the boundaries of the city in 1748 but were expelled in 1770 because of the objections raised by the Greek Orthodox Church. In 1810 they began to organize themselves as a religious group but a regular community was not established until 1829; 28 Jewish families were registered in the area in 1838. A synagogue was built in 1857, a school having already been opened in 1845. The Jewish population numbered 56 in 1840, 1,312 in 1869, 1,658 in 1880, and 1,151 in 1930. In 1868, the community joined the Neologists. Among the most prominent rabbis of Hodmezovasarhely were Abraham Gruenhut (also known by the name A. Krol, officiated 1830–66); L. Seltmann, a noted author who wrote on life in the yeshivot (1879–1932); Meir Weiss (1933–37), later professor of Bible Studies at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem; and Aaron Silberstein, the last rabbi of the Holocaust period (1938–44), who published a monograph on the community. The Jews in Hodmezovasarhely mainly engaged in small trade, but there were also some wealthy merchants and even some industrialists.

Holocaust Period

Their economy was ruined in 1938 as a result of the first anti-Jewish restrictions. From 1940 the men were conscripted for labor battalions, and after the German occupation, on June 16, 1944, they were transferred to the ghetto in *Szeged. From there, 378 of them were deported to *Auschwitz and 500 to *Wiener-Neustadt, and other places in Austria, where members of the same family were not separated. About 400 Jews returned after the war, and there were 430 in 1948. The Jewish population decreased to 259 in 1955 and to 80 in 1969.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Silberstein, *Hódmezövásárhelyi zsidóko* (1943); A. Gervai, in: BJCE.

[Baruch Yaron / Alexander Scheiber]

HODONIN (Czech **Hodonín**; Ger. **Goeding**), town in S. Moravia, Czech Republic. In 1648 the Jewish community is mentioned as having existed "for many years." It had two cemeteries in 1682, and by 1688 the Jewish quarter on an island in the Morava (March) river comprised 30 houses and a synagogue. Jews owned vineyards and wine cellars. In 1773 the community numbered 415. *Maria Theresa, herself the local lord, expelled the Jews in 1774, and 20 of them founded the community of Kostelec near *Kyjov. Later *Joseph II permitted 13 families to resettle in Hodonin. There were 109 Jews living in the town in 1836, 215 in 1853, 433 in 1869, 976 in 1900, and 797 in 1921. In 1930 the community numbered 670 (4.5% of the total population). Under Nazi rule it was constituted as a district community (1939). The Jews were sent to Kyjov and then Theresienstadt in 1942 and from there to extermination camps while the synagogue equipment was transferred to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague. In 1970 there was a small community in Hodonin affiliated to Kyjov. Virtually no Jews remained by the end of the century. The Austrian liberal politician, Joseph *Redlich, was a native of Hodonin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Treixler, in: H. Gold (ed.), *Die Juden und Judengemeinden Maehrens* (1929), 211–24; idem, in: *Zeitschrift fuer die Geschichte der Juden in der Tschechoslovakei*, 1 (1930/31), 160–70; 2 (1931/32), 106–9; 5 (1938), 28–36; Donath, in: E. Rychnovsky (ed.), *Thomas G. Masaryk and the Jews* (1941), 125–47; I. Halpern, *Takkanot Medinat Mehrin* (1951), index.

[Meir Lamed]

HOECHHEIMER, MOSES BEN ḤAYYIM COHEN (c. 1750–1835), rabbi and Hebrew grammarian, known by his Hebrew pseudonym Hekhim (Heb. הֶעְכִים). Born at Hoechheim (Franconia, Germany), Hoechheimer served as *dayyan* in Fuerth and in 1793 became rabbi of Ansbach where he remained until his death. He was in contact with such leading rabbinical authorities of his time as Ezekiel *Landau of Prague and *Meshullam Zalman b. Solomon of Fuerth, who quoted his opinions in their responsa. He wrote a textbook on Hebrew grammar, *Safah Berurah* (Fuerth, 1790) with tables of conjugations, and published David *Kimḥi's work *Mikhlol*, with annotations by Elijah *Levita and a commentary by Hoechheimer himself (*ibid.*, 1793). Many of his poems have been printed in Hebrew periodicals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuerst, Bibliotheca, 1 (1863), 367, s.v. *Mos. Hechim*; Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 1791–92, no. 6448; Steinschneider, Handbuch, 60, no. 827, s.v. *Hechim (Hechingen), Moses*; 73, no. 1049, s.v. *Kimḥi, David b. Josef*; Loewenstein, in: JJLG, 8 (1910), 113–5.

[Joseph Elijah Heller]

°**HOELSCHER, GUSTAV** (1877–1955), German Bible scholar, born in Norden (Ostfriesland). He was professor in Halle (1915), Giessen (1920) and Marburg (1921) He was appointed to Bonn in 1929 but suspended in 1933 because of his anti-Nazi stance. He began to teach at Heidelberg in 1935, where, initially, his classes were boycotted. He remained at Bonn until 1949, and died at Heidelberg in 1955. Apart from the period of the Second Temple, to which he devoted a series of works, he dealt comprehensively with many subjects in the fields of biblical studies, even with metrics. His work *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion* (1922) is a short critical exposition of the history of the Israelite and Jewish religion. As a literary critic in the mold of J. Wellhausen, Hoelscher utilized the dating of sources in reconstructing the religious history of Israel. He dated Deuteronomy to the sixth century B.C.E. (in ZAW, 40, 1922), and concluded that large parts of the Book of Ezekiel are secondary (*Hesekiel, der Dichter und das Buch*, 1924). He traced the J and E sources of the Pentateuch up to and including the Books of Kings (*Geschichtsschreibung in Israel*, 1952). In a comprehensive exposition of the prophetic figures and traditions (*Die Propheten*, 1914) he located, following W. Wundt, the ecstatic phenomenon within the broader context of the history and psychology of religion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Falkenstein, in: *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1955–56), 24–26. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** C. Begg, in: DBI, 1, 515–16.

[Rudolf Smend / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

HOENIGSBERG (**Kapp**), Bohemian-Austrian family originating from Kuttenplan (Chodova Plana), Bohemia. LOEBEL (Leib, Loew) HOENIG amassed wealth as an army supplier in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48) and during the Seven Years' War (1756–63); in 1752 he and his sons leased the Prague tobacco monopoly concession for 10 years. Loebel obtained permission to build a synagogue in Kuttenplan in 1756. His eldest and most talented son, ISRAEL HOENIG (1724–1808), organized a consortium to lease the tobacco monopoly concession of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Lower and Upper Austria for 10 years (1765–74) for 900,000 florins annually, an immense sum at the time. Since consumers, the treasury, and the empress Maria Theresa were all highly satisfied with his services, he was also offered the tobacco concessions for the crown lands (1770), as well as Galicia and Lodomeria, and awarded the right to travel or settle anywhere in Bohemia and Moravia (1764). Israel generally employed Jews as his subcontractors. In 1774 another 10-year contract was signed (1,600,000 florins) for all Austrian lands. While Maria Theresa spurned repeated proposals that the state should acquire control of Israel's firm, Joseph II eventually transferred the tobacco concession to governmental control (1784), continuing to employ Israel and his brother as directors; Israel thereby became the first Jew to be an Austrian official. On Sept. 2, 1789 he became the first Austrian Jew to be raised to the nobility with a hereditary title; as Israel Hoenig Edler von Hoenigsberg he was permitted to acquire an estate in Lower Austria. Leopold II and Francis I confirmed his possession of this estate after four years of continuous negotiation, since Jews were not allowed to own land in Austria and Israel had refused to enter his estate in the records under the name of a Christian sponsor.

Israel had six sons and one daughter. MAXIMILIAN (1754–1832) was one of the founders of the Vienna Jewish community and its representative for 38 years; another son, ENOCH (1744–1815), was the great-grandfather of Isidor *Bush (Busch). Enoch's son LEOPOLD (Loew) fell under the influence of his father-in-law, Jonas Beer Wehle, leader of the *Frankists in Prague. On Nov. 9, 1800, he complained to the Prague police, accusing the rabbis of religious coercion and requesting protection. His fanatically anti-rabbinic 32-page protest was an open attempt to weaken and break rabbinical and communal authority. The majority of Israel's descendants were converted to Christianity.

Israel's brother and partner, AARON MOSES (1730–1787), had 10 children, six of whom were ennobled as Edler von Hoenigshofen in 1791. After the death of their mother in 1796 all were baptized; this line eventually died out. Another brother, ADAM ALBERT (1745–1811), became Von Hoenigstein in 1784, three years after his baptism (the name was later changed to Henikstein). MARIANNE, Israel's only sister, was grandmother of the poet L.A. *Frankl. SOLIMAN VON HOENIGSBERG (1804–1864) was secretary of the Prague Jewish community at the beginning of the 19th century and in 1848 published a pamphlet titled *Zur Judenfrage*.

The coat of arms of all three lines bore tobacco leaves and golden bees (*Honig* is German for honey). The lines intermarried and maintained business connections.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Schnee, *Die Hoffinanz und der moderne Staat*, 4 (1963), 321–5, 5 (1965), 231; L. Kompert, in: I. Busch (ed.), *Kalender und Jahrbuch fuer Israeliten*, 6 (1848), 117–44; W. Žáček, in: JGGJČ, 9 (1938), 343–410; M. Hainisch, in: *Vierteljahresschrift fuer Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 8 (1910), 394–444; P.F. Peixotto, in: *Menorah*, 9 (1890), 123 f.; B. Wachstein, *Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Wien*, 2 vols. (1912–17), index; A.F. Pribram, *Urkunden und Akten*…, 2 vols. (1918), index; I. Taglicht, *Nachlaesse der Wiener Juden* (1934²), index; M. Grunwald, *Vienna* (1936), index; A. Schapirnik, in: H. Gold (ed.), *Juden und Judengemeinden Boehmens*… (1934), 335–7; H. Gold (ed.), *Juden und Judengemeinden Maehrens* (1929), 150; O. Muneles, *Bibliographical Survey of Jewish Prague* (1952), index.

[Henry Wasserman]

HOENIGSWALD, RICHARD (1875–1947), German philosopher of Jewish origin. Hoenigswald received doctorates in medicine at Vienna (1902) and philosophy at Halle. In 1919 he was appointed professor of philosophy at Breslau and at Munich in 1930. After the Nazis came to power, he emigrated to the U.S. Hoenigswald belonged to the second generation of the neo-Kantian school. His philosophical development began in a controversy with Alois Riehl, who sought to introduce a realistic strain into Kantian philosophy by attributing existence to the "Ding an sich," in opposition to the Marburg school of Hermann *Cohen. His view is close to that of Cohen: "the given" is a condition of the object itself and, hence, it is impossible to speak about a "Ding an sich" outside of the "I." The "I" and the object exist only in mutual relationship. There is, at the outset, an affinity between the form and the content of thought. Hoenigswald's point of view acquired particular significance in the controversy with "psychologism," which attempted to subsume all philosophy under psychology and to abolish philosophy as an independent discipline. Hoenigswald endeavored to demonstrate the philosophical presuppositions upon which psychology itself rests by seeking to prove that all psychological experience is potentially rationalistic, since all experience is, basically speaking, thought. Hoenigswald made important contributions to the history of philosophy, which he regarded primarily as the history of philosophical problems. His book *Erkenntnistheoretisches zur Schoepfungsgeschichte der Genesis* (1932) attempts to show the specific aspects of the theory of cognition that distinguish the Genesis creation story from other narratives of this kind. His other important works are *Prinzipienfragen der Denkpsychologie* (1913), *Die Skepsis in Philosophie und Wissenschaft* (1914), *Die Grundlagen der Denkpsychologie* (1921; 1925²), *Die Philosophie von der Renaissance bis Kant* (1923), *Geschichte der Erkenntnistheorie* (1933), and *Philosophie und Sprache* (1937).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Petzelt, in: *Jahrbuch der Charakterologie*, 4 (1927), 65–95; S. Marck, in: *Archiv fuer Philosophie*, 3 (1949), 144–64; G. Wolandt, in: *Zeitschrift fuer philosophische Forschung*, 12 (1958), 188–217.

[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

HOENLEIN, MALCOLM (1944–), executive vice chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations. Hoenlein was born in Philadelphia, received his B.A. from Temple University and his M.A. in international relations from the University of Pennsylvania. In 1971 Hoenlein came to New York to become the first head of the Greater New York Conference on Soviet Jewry, an organization established to coordinate all activities in the New York area on behalf of the cause of Soviet Jews. Working with all the New York Jewish organizations, Hoenlein planned and executed numerous protests and rallies throughout the New York area, including the annual "Solidarity Sunday" demonstration. In 1976 Hoenlein became the first executive director of the Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater New York (NYJCRC), which became a powerful coordinating voice for the Jewish community of New York.

Upon the death of Yehuda Hellman in 1986, Hoenlein was asked to become the head of the Presidents' Conference (or the *Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, the umbrella body for 52 national Jewish organizations). As executive vice chairman, he developed the organization into the key address and contact for the voice of American Jews. The organization addressed all the major issues of the day, both within the United States, in Israel, and throughout the world from the perspective of how they affected American Jews. Hoenlein met with leaders in the United States and Israel and traveled with the lay chairs of the organization to meet with heads of state, political leaders, and Jewish leaders all around the globe.

For Hoenlein, maintaining consensus within the Presidents' Conference was a challenge which he generally mastered, although he was frequently tested by numerous constituent organizations from the right to the left and from all religious persuasions. Some of the biggest confrontations with which Hoenlein had to contend concerned defining American Jewry's role vis-à-vis the State of Israel and the government of Israel. In particular the Presidents' Conference has had numerous debates as to the extent to which the organization could or should take issue with Israeli government policy. Despite being often perceived by some of the member organizations as being too supportive of rightist Israeli governments and less so of others, no organization or leader has ever argued that Hoenlein's perceived enthusiasm was not based on his clear belief of what was best for Israel and for American Jews. Hoenlein was the recipient of numerous awards and honors from national and international Jewish organizations. Hoenlein was also the first senior professional of any major, national Jewish organization to be a *kippah*-wearing Orthodox Jew. He was a frequent writer and contributor to both the general and the Jewish media.

[Gilbert N. Kahn (2nd ed.)]

HOESCHEL (Joshua) BEN SAUL (d. 1749), German rabbi, named after his grandfather, *Joshua Hoeschel b. Jacob. He was the son-in-law of Naphtali Hirsch Mirels, *dayyan* in Berlin. Hoeschel is not known to have written any works, but was held in high esteem by his contemporaries as a talmudic authority. Among those who expressed regard for him was Solomon b. Aaron, the Karaite author of *Appiryon Asah* (1866). Of historical interest are two letters addressed to him: one from the kabbalist, Benjamin b. Eliezer of Reggio (wrongly assumed by many to have been addressed to Hoeschel b. Joseph of Cracow), and the other from Jekuthiel Gordon of Vilna. He died in Vilna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Emden, *Torat ha-Kena'ot* (1860), 92; S.J. Fuenn, *Kiryah Ne'emanah* (1915²), 115; Fuenn, Keneset, 300; Ḥ.N. Dembitzer, *Kelilat Yofi*, 2 (1893), 75b–76a; Kaufmann, in: MGWJ, 41 (1897), 700–8.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

°HOESS, RUDOLF FRANZ FERDINAND (1900–1947), Nazi commandant of the *Auschwitz extermination camp. Born in Baden-Baden in southwest Germany, Hoess was an only son, the eldest of three children of a prosperous merchant's clerk and a housewife. In high school he trained for the priesthood, yet his father's death and the outset of war changed these plans. In 1916, he joined the army. Wounded three times, he was twice awarded the Iron Cross. He joined the East Prussian Free Corps (Freikorps) and took part in the suppression of disturbances in Latvia and in quelling workers who were staging a revolt in the Ruhr in 1920. A reunion of the Freikorps in early 1922 introduced him to Adolf Hitler for the first time. Hoess immediately joined the Nazi Party and renounced his affiliation with the Catholic Church. When France and Belgium entered and occupied the Upper Rhine region in January 1923, and extremist German elements responded with terror, Hoess participated in the assassination of Freikorpsman Walter Kadow on the estate of the man who was later to serve as Hitler's secretary, Martin *Bormann. Hoess was captured and sentenced to 10 years in prison. He was released in 1928 as part of the general amnesty. When Hitler came to power, Hoess joined the SS guard battalion at Dachau, serving under Camp Inspector (and future SS-*Gruppenfuehrer*) Theodor Eicke. Hoess's rise was rapid: first sergeant in March 1936, second lieutenant in September 1936, first lieutenant in September 1938, and captain in November 1938.

In 1939, he was named director of the concentration camp at *Sachsenhausen. In 1940, Hoess headed the commission charged to decide how to use the Polish army barracks at Auschwitz. His recommendations prompted Heinrich *Himmler's order on April 27, 1940, that established KL Auschwitz, which was planned to house about 10,000 prisoners. Hoess seized the opportunity to display his organizational talents, and was appointed commandant of the new camp on May 1, 1940. He tackled the tasks at hand with a passion, impressing Himmler with his skills. In March 1941 Himmler instructed Hoess to expand Auschwitz to hold the 30,000 prisoners expected to arrive in the course of the anticipated war with the Soviet Union. In addition, Himmler ordered that a camp for 100,000 prisoners of war be set up in nearby Brzezinka (KL

Auschwitz-Birkenau) and that a labor force of 10,000 prisoners be placed at the disposal of I.G. Farben to construct a chemical works.

When Hitler limited Himmler's grand plans for Auschwitz in 1941, Auschwitz was assigned a special role in the plan to kill European Jews, euphemistically termed the "final solution of the Jewish question." In his autobiography, Hoess maintained that he first learned of the plan, and the designation of Auschwitz as the hub of the Holocaust, in the summer of 1941. Accordingly, he modified his plans for Birkenau, and began implementing installations of mass extermination. An experiment was conducted at Auschwitz on September 3, 1941, using the prussic (hydrocyanic) acid gas known commercially as Zyklon-B. Six hundred Soviet POWs and 250 camp prisoners were gassed in the cellars of Block 11 with Hoess personally viewing the experiment.

During the lethal six months from July to December of 1942, Auschwitz served as a killing center. The killing process and the treasures looted from the victims led to widespread reports of corruption. Seven hundred SS men from various camps were either discharged from active service or put under arrest.

In Auschwitz, an investigation uncovered massive corruption; willful, unauthorized killing of prisoners (authorized killing by gas, hanging, and execution was permissible – indeed rewarded) and a special fund through which monies were funneled for officer-corps banquets. As a result, Hoess was reassigned – kicked upstairs – as chief of Department DI, the Central Office within SS-WVHA, in January 1944, where he coordinated all undertakings within the entire camp system. He controlled the activities of camp commandants and could submit proposals for personnel changes in the camps. Hoess's length of service and loyalty to the Nazi cause was rewarded by a mere mild punishment, which on paper looked like a promotion.

After the planned deportation of several hundred thousand Jews from Hungary to Auschwitz in May 1944, Hoess arranged for his successor at Auschwitz, Arthur Liebenhenschel, to be appointed commandant of the Lublin/Majdanek camp. Hoess then returned to Auschwitz, where he assumed the command of the SS garrison for several months. As such, the commandants of all the Auschwitz camps (KL Auschwitz I, II, and III) answered directly and formally to him. Thus, he presided over the murder of Hungarian Jews.

After the collapse of the Nazi regime, Hoess eluded capture for nine months. He was imprisoned in former army barracks at Heide, and then transferred to the main British center for interrogations of the most wanted war criminals. Surprisingly, Hoess was candid in his testimony, giving precise though passive answers. He corrected figures, when he knew them, and statements that he judged to be untrue.

Hoess neither protected anyone nor evaded his own responsibility. Instead, he viewed his deeds as a technical challenge, a triumph of coping with unprecedented circumstances. In prison after conviction, he wrote his memoirs.

His last words once again acknowledged his responsibility for all that occurred in Auschwitz. He did not appeal for leniency. He only asked for permission to send a farewell letter to his family and to return his wedding ring to his wife. On the morning of April 16, 1947, several dozen yards from his former villa near Crematorium I in the main camp, Rudolf Hoess was hanged.

He left behind a legacy of obedience to the Nazi cause and initiative in the implementation of the final solution. He left behind more than a million people murdered by gas and a memoir, which is remarkable for its detail and its detachment.

His description of the killing process is precise, detailed, ice cold:

> The extermination process in Auschwitz took place as follows: Jews selected for gassing were taken as quietly as possible to the crematories. The men were already separated from the women. In the undressing chamber, prisoners of the *Sonderkommandos, who were specially chosen for this purpose, would tell them in their own language that they were going to be bathed and deloused, and that they must leave their clothing neatly together, and, above all, remember where they put them, so that they would be able to find them again quickly after the delousing. The Sonderkommando had the greatest interest in seeing that the operation proceeded smoothly and quickly. After undressing, the Jews went into the gas chamber, which was furnished with showers and water pipes and gave a realistic impression of a bathhouse.
>
> The women went in first with their children, followed by the men, who were always fewer in number. This part of the operation nearly always went smoothly since the Sonderkommando would always calm those who showed any anxiety or perhaps even had some clue as to their fate. As an additional precaution, the Sonderkommando and an SS soldier always stayed in the chamber until the very last moment.
>
> The door would be screwed shut and the waiting disinfection squads would immediately pour the gas [crystals] into the vents in the ceiling of the gas chamber down an air shaft which went to the floor. This ensured the rapid distribution of the gas. The process could be observed through the peep hole in the door. Those who were standing next to the air shaft were killed immediately. I can state that about one-third died immediately. The remainder staggered about and began to scream and struggle for air. The screaming, however, soon changed to gasping and in a few moments everyone lay still. After twenty minutes at the most no movement could be detected. The time required for the gas to take effect varied according to weather conditions and depended on whether it was damp or dry, cold or warm. It also depended on the quality of the gas, which was never exactly the same, and on the composition of the transports, which might contain a high proportion of healthy Jews, or the old and sick, or children. The victims became unconscious after a few minutes, according to the distance from the air shaft. Those who screamed and those who were old, sick, or weak, or the small children died quicker than those who were healthy or young.
>
> The door was opened a half an hour after the gas was thrown in and the ventilation system was turned on. Work was immediately started to remove the corpses. There was no

noticeable change in the bodies and no sign of convulsions or discoloration. Only after the bodies had been left lying for some time – several hours – did the usual death stains appear where they were laid. Seldom did it occur that they were soiled with feces. There were no signs of wounds of any kind. The faces were not contorted.

The Sonderkommando now set about removing the gold teeth and cutting the hair from the women. After this, the bodies were taken up by an elevator and laid in front of the ovens, which had meanwhile been fired up. Depending on the size of the bodies, up to three corpses could be put in through one oven door at the same time. The time required for cremation also depended on the number of bodies in each retort, but on average it took twenty minutes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Tennenbaum, *Race and Reich* (1956), 373–98; G.M. Gilbert, *Nuremberg Diary* (1947), index; United Nations War Crimes Commission, *Law Reports of Trials of War Criminals*, 7 (1948); IMT, *Trial of the Major War Criminals*, 24 (1949), index; G. Reitlinger, *Final Solution* (1953), index; R. Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jew* (2003³), 939–43, index; S. Paskuly (2nd ed.), *R. Hoess, Commandant at Auschwitz*, intro. Primo Levi (1995).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

°**HO FENG-SHAN** (1901–1997), Chinese diplomat in World War II; Righteous Among the Nations. In 1938, Ho served as the Chinese consul-general in Vienna. When Austria was annexed to Nazi Germany in March 1938, the 185,000 Jews there were subjected to a severe reign of terror, and for them to leave the country the Nazis required an entry visa or a boat ticket to another country. However, at the *Evian Conference, in April 1938, the nations of the world refused to budge from their restrictive immigration policies. In contrast to other diplomats, Ho Feng-Shan issued visas to China to all who requested it, even to persons who wished to travel elsewhere but needed to show a visa to be able to leave Nazi Germany. Many of those helped by Ho did indeed reach Shanghai, either by boat from Italy or overland via the Soviet Union. Many others availed themselves of the visa to reach other destinations, such as Palestine, Cuba, the Philippines, and elsewhere. Eric Goldstaub, one of the lucky recipients, who reached Canada, stated that he received a Chinese visa in July 1938 for his entire large family after "I spent days, weeks and months visiting one foreign consulate or embassy after the other trying to obtain visas for myself, my parents and our near relatives numbering some 20 people." Lilith-Sylvia Doron, in Israel, related that she met Ho by chance, as both watched Hitler's entry into Vienna on March 10, 1938, which was accompanied by physical attacks against the city's Jews. "Ho, who knew my family, accompanied me home. He claimed that thanks to his diplomatic status they would not dare harm us as long as he remained in our home. Ho continued to visit our home on a permanent basis to protect us from the Nazis." When Lilith's brother Karl was arrested and taken to the Dachau camp, he was released thanks to a visa from the Chinese consulate. The rush for visas assumed panic proportions during and immediately after *Kristallnacht,* in November 1938, when thousands of Jews were thrown into concentration camps and could only be released if their relatives produced visas or tickets for travel to other destinations. Gerda Gottfried Kraus, who reached Canada, testified that after *Kristallnacht,* her husband stood in a long line to be admitted into the Chinese consulate. Seeing a car approaching the Consulate's gates, he thrust his application form through the car's window. "Apparently, the consul-general received it, because [my husband] then got a call and received the visas." Ho refused to abide by the instructions of his superior, the Chinese ambassador in Berlin, Chen Jie, who forbade him to issue visas on such a large scale, estimated to run into the hundreds, perhaps even thousands. Again, it is worth remembering that although visas were not required for entrance to Shanghai, such a document was a prerequisite for Jews wishing to leave Nazi Germany. It is believed that the "demerit" which was entered into Ho's personal file in 1939 at the Chinese Foreign Ministry was linked to his insubordinate behavior on the issue of the visas toward his immediate superior, the ambassador in Berlin. After a long diplomatic career, Ho retired in 1973. It was only after his death that the story of his help to Jews was made public, through evidence submitted by survivors who benefited from Ho's aid. In 2000, Ho Feng-Shan was declared by Yad Vashem one of the Righteous Among the Nations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Yad Vashem Archives M31–8688.

[Mordecai Paldiel (2nd ed.)]

°**HOFER, ANDREAS** (1767–1810), leader of the Tyrolean-Vorarlberg insurrection in 1809 against the Bavarian rule established by Napoleon. Hofer's insurrection and subsequent execution (glorified in a popular song) were an important part of the arsenal of German ultranationalism in Austria, whose protagonists carefully overlooked the considerable Jewish involvement in the revolt. Viennese Jewish bankers, particularly the *Arnstein and Eskeles firm, financed the revolt by circulating the *Tiroler Aufstandwechsel* (promissory notes), and the British government's subsidies to the insurrectionists were paid through these banks. One of the leading propagators of the uprising was Fanny von Arnstein, whose salon in Vienna was the headquarters of Hofer's co-insurrectionist, the Catholic priest Speckbacher; there he met the Prussian prime minister Karl August von *Hardenberg and also Jacob Salomon *Bartholdy, who joined the revolt, was wounded in the fighting, and later wrote its history (*Der Krieg der Tyroler Landsleute im Jahre 1809*, 1814). However the insurgents also attacked the Jews; they plundered five Jewish families in Innsbruck in 1809, and though the *Hohenems community had donated a large sum of money to them, ever larger sums were extorted on the threat of a repetition of the Innsbruck action. When Hofer was brought before the French military court, the Mantua lawyer Joachim Bassevi (1777–1868), later the dean of Milan lawyers, was appointed counsel for the defense. In spite of his efforts, Hofer was executed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Taenzer, *Geschichte der Juden in Tirol und Vorarlberg* (1905), 176; D. Sedan, *Ha-Namer vi-Ydido ha-Me-*

namnem (1951), 114–9; H. Spiel, *Fanny von Arnstein* (1962), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** H.G. Sella, *Die Juden Tirols: ihr Leben und Schicksal* (1979).

[Meir Lamed]

HOFF, HANS (1897–1969), Austrian psychiatrist. Born in Vienna Hoff was a student of Julius Wagner-Jauregg and later an associate of Otto Poetrl who was an early practitioner of insulin shock treatment in schizophrenia. Hoff's early medical work was in the field of encephalitis and malaria. He moved into psychiatry with studies of the brain function in vision and brain tumors. He left Austria in 1938, going first to the Royal Medical School in Baghdad and then to the United States. From 1945 to 1947 he worked as a neurologist at Presbyterian Hospital in New York and taught at Columbia University. He returned to the University of Vienna in 1949 where he was appointed to the chair of neurology. In addition he became the director of the Vienna neuropsychiatric hospital. Hoff conducted studies of anti-depressant agents and of insulin and drug therapy for schizophrenia. He disagreed with metaphysical concepts in psychiatry as well as with many Freudian theses. He did not, however, see drugs as a cure for mental illness but as a means of enabling the psychiatrist to communicate with the patient. In 1958–59 Hoff was the president of the World Federation for Mental Health. His address to its annual meeting in 1958, "Home and Identity," was concerned with refugees, the threat to their identity, and its restoration. He drew on his own experiences as a refugee. His major works were published after World War II. They include *Psychotherapy* (1949); *Organic Basis of Psychoses* (1950); *Die Zeit und ihre Neurose* (1956); *Psychosomatics* (1959); and *Manual of Treatment of Neurology and Psychiatry* (1966).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Grinstein, *Index of Psychoanalytic Writings*, 2 (1957) and 7 (1964). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** H.D. Kraemer, *Hans Hoff – Leben und Werk* (1975).

[Louis Miller]

HOFFER, WILLI (1897–1967), Austrian psychiatrist. Born in Vienna, Hoffer participated in a private seminar with Freud and became a member of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. In 1938 he moved to London. He edited the International Journal of Psycho-Analysis for seven years and was a director of the Sigmund Freud archives and a consultant to the Hampstead children's clinic directed by Anna *Freud from its inception in 1952. At his death he was the president of the British Psychoanalytic Society. Hoffer's writings deal mainly with children, dating from his first paper on the latency periods following on the resolution of the oedipal phase, and its disturbances. He was concerned especially with the earliest development of the ego and the differentiation of self from non-self in the infant through the mouth-hand relation, as in "Mouth, hand and ego-integration" (in R.S. Eissler et al. (eds.), *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, 3–4 (1949), 49–56). Other papers of his appeared in the same collection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (Oct. 30, 1967), 45. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** NDB, vol. 22, 597.

[Louis Miller]

HOFFER, YEḤIEL (1906–1972), Yiddish writer. Born in Warsaw and trained as a physician, Hoffer first wrote poetry in Polish. After spending the war in Russia and three years in Paris, where he published a volume of Yiddish poems, he immigrated to Israel in 1951. Several of his novels and short story collections, *A Hoyf oyf Pokorne* ("A Court in Pokorne," 2 vols., 1959, Heb. 1968), *A Hoyf oyf Muranov* ("A Court in Muranov," 2 vols., 1962, Heb. 1977), *Reb Zalman* (1960), *Amol* ("Once," 1963), *Reb Tankhum* (1966, Heb. 1968), vividly depict Jewish Warsaw, especially the ḥasidic courts. He also published a novel about life in a Soviet camp (1969, Heb. 1972). His literary essays were collected in *Mit Yenem un mit Zikh* ("With the Others and with Myself," 2 vols., 1964, 1976), and his poetry in a bilingual Yiddish-Hebrew posthumous volume (1976).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Sadan, *Avnei Miftan*, 2 (1970), 247–64; I. Yonasovitsh, in: *Di Goldene Keyt*, 82 (1974), 150–60; B. Kagan, Leksikon (1986), 210–2.

HOFFMAN, CHARLES ISAIAH (1864–1945), U.S. lawyer, Conservative rabbi, and journalist. Hoffman was born in Philadelphia. While a practicing lawyer, Hoffman was the first editor and publisher of the *Jewish Exponent*, one of the earliest and most important Anglo-Jewish weeklies, which represented a traditional religious view. He also worked with the Association for Jewish Immigrants and the Baron de Hirsch Fund, which helped settle new immigrants in agricultural colonies in New Jersey. After 15 years of law practice, Hoffman studied for the rabbinate and was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1904. After a short period in Indianapolis, he became rabbi of Ohev Shalom Synagogue in Newark, a position he held for over 40 years. Hoffman was one of the founders of the Rabbinical Assembly and the United Synagogue, which he served as secretary for 25 years. He was a disciple and close friend of Solomon Schechter and helped edit some of his writings. His son ISIDORE B. HOFFMAN (1898–1981), a graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminary, served from 1934 as counselor to Jewish students at Columbia University.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.D. Hoffman, in: AJHSQ, 55 (1965/66), 212–34.

[Jack Reimer]

HOFFMAN, DUSTIN (1937–), U.S. actor. Born in Los Angeles, California, his role in *The Graduate* (1967), his first motion picture performance, was considered the year's most significant screen debut. Hoffman was nominated for a Best Actor Academy Award for *The Graduate,* as well as for subsequent films *Midnight Cowboy* (1969), *Lenny* (as Lenny Bruce, 1974), *Tootsie* (1982), and *Wag the Dog* (1997). Hoffman won Best Actor Oscars, as well as Golden Globe Awards, for his performances in *Kramer vs. Kramer* (1979) and *Rain Man* (1988). His other films include *Little Big Man* (1970), *Straw Dogs* (1971), *Papillon* (1973), *All the President's Men* (as Carl Bernstein, 1976), *Marathon Man* (1976), *Straight Time* (1978), *Agatha* (1979), *Ishtar* (1987), *Family Business* (1989), *Billy Bathgate* (as Dutch Schultz, 1991), *Hook* (1991), *Hero* (1992), *Out-*

break (1995), *Sphere* (1998), *Moonlight Mile* (2002), *Finding Neverland* (2004), *I Heart Huckabees* (2004), *Meet the Fockers* (2004), and *The Lost City* (as Meyer Lansky, 2005).

Among his many other awards and nominations, Hoffman won an Emmy and a Golden Globe Award for Best Lead Actor for his portrayal of Willy Loman in the 1985 TV movie *Death of a Salesman*. In 1997 he won the Golden Globe's Cecil B. DeMille Award for his outstanding contribution to the entertainment field.

Hoffman was entered into *The Guinness Book of World Records* under the heading "Greatest Age Span Portrayed by a Movie Actor" for his role in *Little Big Man,* where he played the character Jack Crabb from age 17 to age 121.

Also successful on the Broadway stage, Hoffman performed in such plays as *The Subject Was Roses* (1964), *Jimmy Shine* (1969), *Death of a Salesman* (1984), and *The Merchant of Venice* (as Shylock, 1990), for which he was nominated for a Tony Award for Best Actor.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Bergan, *Dustin Hoffman* (1991); M. Freedland, Dustin: *A Biography of Dustin Hoffman* (1989); P. Agan, *Hoffman vs Hoffman: The Actor and the Man* (1987); D. Brode, *The Films of Dustin Hoffman* (1983).

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HOFFMAN, JACOB (1881–1956). German Orthodox rabbi. Born in Papa, Hungary, Hoffman studied in the Pressburg (Bratislava) Yeshivah and at the University of Vienna, where he received his doctorate in 1919. After serving in the Montefiore Synagogue in Vienna (1906–8) and in Kostelets (Moravia) (1908–12), he was appointed in 1912 chief rabbi of Radauti and district, in Bukovina, where he remained until 1922. In 1923 Hoffman was appointed chief rabbi of Frankfurt on the Main, succeeding R. Nehemiah *Nobel. There he founded a unique yeshivah which combined rabbinic and secular studies and attracted students from all over Germany and beyond. On Hitler's rise to power he was appointed as the sole Orthodox member of the Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland. In 1937 he was imprisoned by the Nazis and subsequently expelled from Germany. He emigrated to the U.S., where he was appointed rabbi of the Ohab Zedek Congregation, New York, remaining there until he resigned in 1953. In 1954 he settled in Israel, where he died.

While still a student, Hoffman was a delegate to the founding World Conference of the Mizrachi held in 1904, and was prominently connected with the movement all his life. He published two manuscripts by a disciple of Naḥmanides consisting of commentaries on the tractates *Ta'anit* (1951) and *Beẓah* (1956).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Hoffman, *Perush Talmid ha-Ramban le-Massekhet Beẓah* (1956), Foreword.

HOFFMAN, JEFFREY (1944–), U.S. astronaut. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Hoffman received his B.A. from Amherst College in 1966, a Ph.D. in astrophysics from Harvard University in 1971, and a master's degree in materials science from Rice University in 1988. He worked at the Center for Space Research at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) as project scientist in charge of an orbiting hard X-ray and gamma ray experiment (1975–78).

Selected by NASA in 1978, Hoffman became an astronaut in 1979. He participated in five space missions – on the space shuttles *Discovery* (1985); the *Columbia* (1990); the *Atlantis* (1992); the *Endeavor* (1993); and again on the *Columbia*, on a 16-day mission (1996). On his first mission he made a four-hour space walk in an attempt to rescue a malfunctioning communications satellite; on the fourth mission he repaired the faulty Hubble Space Telescope; on his final mission, Hoffman became the first astronaut to log 1,000 hours aboard the space shuttle. With the completion of his fifth space flight, Hoffman had logged more than 1,211 hours and 21.5 million miles in space. Among his many honors, Hoffman was awarded the NASA Distinguished Service Medal in 1994 and 1997.

A dedicated Jew, Hoffman took into space a Scroll of the Law (a mezuzah) and a silver Torah pointer. On his fourth flight, he celebrated Hanukkah in orbit with a menorah and a dreidel.

He left the astronaut program in 1997 to become NASA's European representative in Paris, where he served until 2001. He then began to teach at MIT, where he became a professor in the Department of Aeronautics and Astronautics, teaching courses on space operations and design. He also engaged in several research projects using the International Space Station.

Hoffman was a member of the International Academy of Astronautics, the International Astronomical Union, and the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, and codirector of the Massachusetts Space Grant Alliance.

In 1985, on his first space flight, Hoffman kept a personal audio diary on a tape recorder. It became a book titled *Astronaut's Journal* (1986).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HOFFMAN, JULIUS JENNINGS (1895–1983), U.S. federal district court judge. Hoffman was born in Chicago, Illinois. He attended Northwestern University, earning a Ph.B. in 1912 and a J.D. in 1915, when he was admitted to the Illinois bar. Hoffman worked as associate and partner at law firms and as a general counsel for the Brunswick Company. In 1947, Hoffman was elected judge of the Superior Court of Cook County. In 1953, President Dwight D. Eisenhower nominated him to the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Illinois in Chicago. He served in this court until his death in 1983.

During his long career as a trial judge, he presided over many important cases, including the suit to compel the desegregation of the public schools of Chicago and the deportation suit against Frank Walus, a Polish American in Chicago, falsely accused of being a Gestapo collaborator known as the "Butcher of Kielce."

Hoffman's reputation for wit and urbanity suffered

greatly in the case for which he is best remembered, the Chicago Seven Trial, in which several radicals were accused of conspiring to incite confrontations between the police and approximately 10,000 protestors against the Vietnam War, which occurred during the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in August 1968.

Mayor Richard J. Daley was determined not to allow war protesters to mar his efforts to showcase his city at the time of the convention. Daley's administration banned demonstrators from sleeping in Grant Park, near the site of the convention, and ordered the Chicago Police to enforce a curfew. Each night during the convention the police entered the park and used tear gas on the demonstrators who ignored the curfew.

Eventually seven political activists were indicted under the Anti-Riot Act: Rennie Davis, David Dellinger, John Froines, Tom Hayden, Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, and Lee Weiner.

All the actors in the courtroom drama insured that the political tensions of the era spilled over into the courtroom, but the "Battle of the Hoffmans" (Julius and Abbie) was the most prominent of these clashes. Abbie promised that the trial was "going to be a combination Scopes trial, revolution in the streets, Woodstock Festival and People's Park, all rolled into one." For his part, Judge Hoffman frequently manifested his distaste for the defendants and their attorneys. Hoffman refused to allow many defense witnesses to testify (singers, artists, and activists).

Although the jury acquitted two of the defendants, Judge Hoffman sentenced all seven to five years in prison and a fine of $5,000 each. Judge Hoffman also held all of the seven defendants and both of their attorneys in contempt of court and imposed criminal sanctions for disrespectful behavior, but these sanctions were overturned.

On November 21, 1972, all of the conspiracy convictions were also overturned because the court was found to have refused to allow sufficient scrutiny of the bias of potential jurors, committed several procedural errors, and manifested a "deprecatory and often antagonistic attitude toward the defense." Ironically, Judge Hoffman's judicial demeanor demonstrated the kernel of truth in Abbie Hoffman's view that the terms "legal and illegal" are "political, and often arbitrary, categories."

Hoffman continued to preside over cases until his death from natural causes in 1983.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Clavir and J. Spitzer, eds. *The Conspiracy Trial* (1970); *Contempt: Transcript of Contempt Citations,* with foreword by Ramsey Clark (1970); J. Epstein, *The Great Conspiracy Trial: An Essay on Law, Liberty and the Constitution* (1970); J.A. Lukas, *The Barnyard Epithet and Other Obscenities: Notes on the Chicago Conspiracy Trial* (1970); R. Pierson, *Riots Chicago Style* (1984); J. Shultz, *Motion Will Be Denied: A New Report on the Chicago Conspiracy Trial* (1972, 2000²).

[Edward McGlynn Gaffney, Jr. (2nd ed.)]

HOFFMAN, LAWRENCE A. (1942–), scholar. Born in Kitchener, Ontario, Canada, Hoffman became a leading scholar, teacher, and spokesperson for the North American Reform Movement, with influence extending well beyond the movement. He received his B.A. from the University of Toronto in 1964. He was ordained by Hebrew Union College in 1969. He completed his Ph.D. there in 1973, before he joined the faculty of Hebrew Union College in New York, eventually being named the first Barbara and Stephen Friedman Professor of Liturgy, Worship and Ritual. From 1984 to 1987, he also directed the college's School of Sacred Music.

For 30 years, Hoffman combined research, classroom teaching, and a passion for the spiritual renewal of North American Judaism. He wrote or edited 26 books, including *The Canonization of the Synagogue Service* (1979), the classic account of how the *siddur* and *maḥzor* came into being. His pioneer work applying ritual studies to prayer (*Beyond the Text* (1987)) was hailed as a paradigm shift for Christians and for Jews. Rather than study liturgy as text, he directed attention to the ritualization of that text as acted out in "the sacred drama" of worship. *Covenant of Blood: Circumcision and Gender in Rabbinic Judaism* (1995) combines a history of circumcision and an account of its symbolic meaning through the ages. As an early leader in spiritual worship renewal, he wrote *The Art of Public Prayer: Not for Clergy Only* (revised ed. 1999). Hoffman's non-technical writings include *The Journey Home* (2003), a study in Jewish spirituality derived from Jewish texts; *The Way into Jewish Prayer* (2000), and a revised version of *What Is a Jew?* (1993), probably the most widely read introduction to Judaism. His ongoing series, *My People's Prayer Book* (nine volumes published since 1997) provides liturgical commentary by modern scholars across the gamut of Jewish thought and practice. His articles, both popular and scholarly, have appeared in eight languages and on four continents, and include contributions to such encyclopedias and journals as *The Macmillan Encyclopedia of Religion*, *The Oxford Dictionary of Religion*, *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies*, *The Encyclopedia of Judaism*, *Worship*, *Studio Liturgica*, and *The Fordham Law Review*. He syndicates a regular column commenting on *parashat ha-shavu'a*.

He is the first Jewish member and past-president of the North American Academy of Liturgy, the professional and academic organization for liturgists, and a recipient of their prestigious Berakhah Award for lifetime achievement in his field. Hoffman emerged as a leader in synagogue transformation by co-founding Synagogue 2000 (now 3000): a Transdenominational Institute for the Synagogue of the 21st Century. A beloved mentor and teacher, Hoffman is widely credited with influencing two generations of synagogue leadership to transform synagogues into "sacred communities" and "moral and spiritual centers for the new century."

[Ronald Wolfson (2nd ed.)]

HOFFMAN, PHILIP E. (1908–1993), U.S. attorney, business executive, and Jewish leader. Hoffman was born in New York and graduated from Yale Law School in 1932, where he was a member of the editorial board of the *Yale Law Review.* During World War II he served as assistant general counsel

of the War Production Board in Washington, D.C. (1942–45). Subsequently he was appointed hearing commissioner of the National Production Authority (1950–52) and chairman of the Jewelry Industrial Coordination Commission (1954–57). Hoffman was a partner in the law firm of Hoffman and Tuck and chairman of the diversified U.S. Realty and Investment Co. in Newark, New Jersey.

He began his career in Jewish affairs by serving as the youngest chairman of the United Jewish Appeal in Essex County, N.J. He became president of the Essex County Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, and then chairman of the Executive Board, Board of Governors, and Domestic Affairs Committee, and in 1968 was elected president. In this capacity, he traveled extensively to the countries of Eastern Europe, Western Europe, and the Middle East, including numerous trips to Israel. In 1964 he met with Pope Paul VI to discuss Jewish-Catholic relations, and in 1966 he met with Catholic scholars in Europe to discuss the removal of prejudiced references to Jews from religious textbooks. In 1972 President Nixon appointed Hoffman to the post of U.S. representative to the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations. He was the recipient of numerous human relations awards.

[Julian J. Landau]

HOFFMANN, CAMILL (1878–1944), Czech poet, anthologist, and translator who wrote in German. A member of *Hofmannsthal's circle, Hoffmann wrote neo-Romantic and impressionistic verse and was considered an important lyric poet. In 1902 he collaborated with Stefan *Zweig in the translation and publication of an anthology of Baudelaire's works entitled *Gedichte in Vers und Prosa*, and he also published translations of Balzac and Charles-Louis Philippe. Hoffmann's first original collection of verse, *Adagio stiller Abende* (1902), was followed by *Die Vase* (1911) and *Glocken meiner Heimat* (1936). He was literary editor of the Viennese periodical *Die Zeit* and of the *Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten*. In 1912 he published a comprehensive anthology of Austrian poetry entitled *Deutsche Lyrik aus Oesterreich seit Grillparzer*. Hoffmann was a close friend of the Czechoslovak president, Thomas Masaryk, whose writings he translated into German. From 1920 until 1938 he was counselor at the Czech embassy in Berlin and head of its press bureau. Hoffmann was deported from Czechoslovakia by the Nazi regime and died in Auschwitz.

[Harry Zohn]

HOFFMANN, DAVID ẒEVI (1843–1921), rabbi and biblical and talmudic scholar. Hoffmann was born in Verbo (Slovakia) and studied at Hungarian yeshivot, as well as at the *Hildesheimer Seminary in Eisenstadt. He later studied in the universities of Vienna, Berlin, and Tuebingen. In 1873, when Hildesheimer established his Rabbinical Seminary in Berlin, he invited Hoffman to lecture on the Talmud and the *posekim*, and later also on the Pentateuch. After Hildesheimer's death in 1899, Hoffmann was appointed rector of the Seminary. He was member and later chairman of the *bet din* of the Adass Yisroel congregation in Berlin. Toward the end of his life he was regarded as the supreme halakhic authority of German Orthodox Jewry and was inundated by questions in *halakhah* from most of the German rabbis. In 1918, on his 75th birthday, he was awarded the title professor by the German government. Hoffmann was reserved by nature, but nevertheless he taught publicly and voiced his opinion on public matters. He was a member of the executive of Agudat Israel, but at the same time spoke on behalf of Zionism, although fearing the reaction of extremists he hesitated to publish his opinions.

His responsa, collected in the three volumes of *Melammed le-Ho'il*, are distinguished by a concern with contemporary conditions, and a tendency to leniency, wherever possible, in matters of *halakhah*, though he was a violent opponent of reform. Hoffman always based his lenient stance on firm halakhic ground, using such concepts as an emergency situation (*sha'at ha-deḥak*), potential financial loss, custom, and the prevention of a desecration of God's name. However, he knew how to be strict as well, prohibiting smoking in the synagogue and maintaining the Torah prohibition against a kohen having physical contact with a corpse. His responsa reflect the challenges of Jewish life in the late 19th century. Hoffmann dealt with such issues as being hospitalized in a non-Jewish hospital where only non-kosher food is served; taking prescription medicine that contains blood; and taking an oath before a gentile court with an uncovered head. Faced with the choice between maintaining the strict Halakhah or keeping Jews within the fold, Hoffmann chose the latter course of action.

In several of his works as, for example, in his apologetic book on the Shulḥan Arukh, he directed a polemic against antisemites – non-Jews and apostates – who criticized halakhic law. His biblical investigations, too, were directed against biblical criticism. These writings, which occupied him for many years, were viewed by Hoffmann as "a holy undertaking… an obligatory battle to answer decisively these new critics who come as oppressors to violate the holy Torah." In his work opposing Wellhausen, Hoffmann rejected the theories of "sources," but he did not formulate an original method of biblical investigation, relying on the basic assumption of "Torah from heaven." In his commentaries to Leviticus and Deuteronomy he relied on rabbinic homiletical and exegetical interpretations for an understanding of these books, as well as offering his own innovative ideas, often based on comparisons between biblical Hebrew and other Semitic languages. While his approach to biblical investigation was essentially the result of the conditions of his time and place, they have stood the test of time and are still studied.

On the other hand, Hoffmann advocated talmudic criticism as long as it does not negate the *halakhah*, and this aroused the anger of several rabbis, among them S.R. *Hirsch. Hoffman was the first among German Orthodox Jews who investigated and interpreted the Talmud by means of a critical method in German. Most of his talmudic studies, written in German, deal with tannaitic literature. In his investigation of the *Mishnah he concluded that there existed a "First

Mishnah," which was edited before the destruction of the Second Temple, and on which later *tannaim* were divided in their opinions. In his investigation of halakhic Midrashim, which is his most important work, he established the relation of different anonymous *beraitot* in halakhic Midrashim to two different schools, and formulated a system of dividing all halakhic Midrashim into two types: those originating in the school of R. Ishmael and those of the school of R. Akiva. He thus explained the differences in various Midrashim in terminology, in the names of *tannaim* mentioned, and in methods of interpretation. Though some later scholars strongly questioned his conclusions (see Ch. *Albeck), it is to Hoffmann's credit that he was the first to discuss the problem in all its manifestations, that he recognized the existence of the division of Midrashim and described the evidence of this division, and that he laid the foundation for further research on the tannaitic Midrashim. Hoffmann even attempted – especially by way of selections from the *Midrash ha-Gadol* – to reconstruct halakhic Midrashim which had been lost (*Mekhilta de-R. Simeon b. Yoḥai* and *Midrash Tanna'im*). It was proven, however, from manuscripts discovered later, that his method was not always sufficiently scientifically based. In 1876–93 Hoffmann edited, together with A. *Berliner, the *Magazin fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums*, and in 1884–95 he edited the monthly *Israelitische Monatsschrift*. Hoffmann's area of interest and knowledge was comprehensive and also included Semitic and classical philology and even mathematics. He was a prolific and diligent scholar. In addition to his great works he wrote hundreds of articles which made a significant contribution to the development of the philological research into the Talmud. A Festschrift was published in his honor on the occasion of his 70th birthday, which opens with a bibliography of his writings compiled by L. Fischer (*Festschrift zum… Hoffmann's*, 1914).

Despite his greatness, Hoffmann was humble and modest. His outstanding qualities were manifest both in the scientific world and public life, and in his private life. Those who knew him considered him as one of the spiritual heirs and successors of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz.

His major books are *Mar Samuel* (1873); *Die erste Mischna und die Controversen der Tannaim* (1882, 1913²; Heb. *Ha-Mishnah ha-Rishonah u-Felugta de-Tanna'ei*, 1914); *Der Schulchan-Aruch und die Rabbinen ueber das Verhaeltniss der Juden zu Andersglaeubigen* (1885, expanded 1895²); *Zur Einleitung in die halachischen Midraschim* (1887; Heb. *Le-Ḥeker Midreshei ha-Tanna'im*, 1928); *Die Mischna-Ordnung Nisikin uebersetzt und erklaert mit Einleitung* (1893–97, 1899²); *Die wichtigsten Instanzen gegen die Graf-Wellhausensche Hypothese* (2 vols., 1903/1916); *Die Mechilta des R. Simon b. Jochai* (1905); *Das Buch Leviticus uebersetzt und erklaert* (2 vols., 1905/06); *Midrash Tannaim zum Deuteronomium* (2 vols., 1900/09); *Midrasch ha-gadol zum Buche Exodus* (2 vols., up to "Jethro," 1914/21); *Das Buch Deuteronomium uebersetzt und erklaert* (2 vols., 1913/22; *Melammed Leho'il* (responsa, 3 vols., 1926–32).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wohlgemuth, in: *Jeschurun*, 9 (1922), 1; L. Ginzberg, *Students, Scholars and Saints* (1928), 252–62; A. Marx, *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore* (1934), 369–76; idem, *Essays in Jewish Biography* (1947), 185–222, 296–7; Y. Wolfsberg, in: *Sinai*, 14 (1944), 74ff.; idem, in: L. Jung (ed.), *Guardians of Our Heritage* (1958), index; idem, *Deyokna'ot* (1962), 40ff. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D.H. Gordis, in: *Modern Judaism*, 10:1 (1990), 85–103; R. Levine, in: *Journal of Reform Judaism*, 30:1 (1983), 49–56; M. Shapiro, in: *Torah U-Madda Journal*, 6 (1995–96), 129–37; idem, in: *Tradition*, 33:3 (1999), 88–93; D.H. Ellenson, in: HUCA, 53 (1983), 357–80; J.M. Brown, in: *Modern Challenge to Halakha* (1969), 1–38; Y. Markowitz, *Rabbi David Zvi Hoffmann ve-Hashkafato* (1978).

[Moshe David Herr / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

HOFFMANN, JACOB (1891–1943), *Revisionist leader. Born in Yelizavetgrad (now Kirovograd), Russia, Hoffmann was the Zionist disciple of V. *Tiomkin, who resided in that city. He studied medicine at the universities of Berne and Dorpat. In his student days he was active in the student organization, *He-Ḥaver. He served as a medical officer in the Czarist army in World War I and was one of the few Jews to be awarded a military distinction. In 1920 Hoffmann settled in Riga, Latvia, where in 1923 he was instrumental in founding the Zionist students' association, Ḥashmonai, the union of Zionist activists (1923), which in fact became the first branch of the Revisionist movement; and the first group of *Betar (Berit Trumpeldor). He worked on behalf of the *Jewish National Fund in Latvia and was one of the founders of *Dos Folk*, a Yiddish newspaper, and of the Ha-Ko'aḥ sports organization. At Vladimir *Jabotinsky's invitation, he moved to Paris and headed the organizational department of the Revisionist movement. In 1934 he settled in Palestine.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Remba, *Ke-Fi she-Hikkartim* (1959), 231–41; *Yahadut Latvia* (1953), 426–8.

[Getzel Kressel]

HOFFMANN, ROALD (1937–), chemist, Nobel Prize winner. Born in Zolochev, Poland, Hoffmann immigrated to the United States in 1949. After receiving a bachelor's degree from Columbia University in 1958, he attended Harvard University, where he was awarded an M.A. in 1960 and a doctorate in chemical physics in 1962. He has been associated with Cornell University since 1965: associate professor 1965–1968, professor of chemistry from 1968, and Frank H.T. Rhodes Professor of Humane Letters from 1996. He is the recipient of many awards, among them the American Chemical Society's Pure Chemistry Award for fundamental research in pure chemistry in 1969, the Arthur C. Cope Award for outstanding achievements in organic chemistry in 1973, and the Pauling Award in 1974. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 1981. His research focused on molecular orbital calculations of electronic structures of molecules and theoretical studies of transition states of organic and inorganic reactions. Hoffmann is a member of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences and numerous other societies. He also writes poetry (four published collections), plays, and essays (including *Old Wine,*

New Flasks: Reflections on Science and Jewish Tradition, with Shira Leibowitz–Schmidt).

HOFFMANN, YOEL (1937–), Hebrew novelist. Hoffmann was born in Hungary and came to Ereẓ Israel when he was a year old. He studied Japanese and philosophy, spent two years in a Buddhist monastery, and earned his doctorate in Japan. A professor of Japanese and Far Eastern philosophy at Haifa University, Hoffmann published *The Idea of Self: East and West: A Comparison between Buddhist Philosophy and the Philosophy of David Hume* (1980). Hoffmann also translated and edited collections of Japanese poetry and haiku, including *The Sound of the One Hand* (1975; German: 1978), *Radical Zen* (1978), *Japanese Death Dreams* (1986; German: 2000), *Rein in Samsara* (333 Zen-stories which appeared in German, 2002). Hoffmann began to write fiction in his late forties and in 1988 published his first Hebrew book: *Sefer Yosef* (*Katschen and the Book of Joseph*, 1998) with four prose texts. One of them is the novella *"Keẓkhen,"* which tells of a boy who following the early death of his mother is brought up by family members and later fails to integrate among kibbutz children. At the end of his voyage, Keẓkhen decides to follow his German-speaking father, who is considered to be mentally ill. This choice marks metaphorically the boy's rejection of the ubiquitous conventions and the notion of a monolithic Israeli identity in favor of his own genuine individuality and his inner world.

While in the early prose texts a certain plot-line and development can be discerned, the later texts display Hoffmann's idiosyncratic narrative techniques and unique style. The reader is confronted with a perplexing, untraditional, enigmatic prose: "novels" which are comprised of short texts, unpaginated though numbered prose miniatures in Hebrew that are interlaced with writing in various European languages, mainly German. Hoffmann creates a linguistic polyphony, unprecedented and bizarre, a mirror to a world of immigrants who came to Israel and yet are closely tied to their European roots. Typically, *Bernhart* (1989; English, 1989) depicts the world of German-Jews (yeckes) in Israel, torn between European reminiscences and sights and Israeli reality, between major historical events and the private experiences of daily life. Anecdotes and recollections, observations and deliberations, at times humorous, at times melancholy or earnest make up a prose texture that poses a challenge to readers. Hoffmann, no doubt one of the most original and exciting contemporary Hebrew writers, albeit still the preserve of insiders and cognoscenti, has also published the following books: *Kristus shel Dagim* (1991; *The Christ of Fish*, 1999); *Guttapershah* (1993), the story of two yeckes, Hugo and Franz, and a baby, real or imaginary, hanging between them; *Ma Shelomekh, Dolores?* (1995), a narrative tableau of an ordinary day in the life of a woman living in Ramat Gan; *Ha-Lev Hu Katmandu* (2000; *The Heart is Katmandu,* 2001); *Efraim* (2003), tracing the separation of a woman and a man who falls in love with another woman in Haifa; and *Ha-Shunra ve-ha-Schmetterling* (2003; *The Shunra and the Schmetterling*, 2004), in which Hoffmann recollects moments, smells, sounds and characters from his childhood in Ramat Gan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Gingold-Gilboa, in: *Yedioth Ahronot* (December 25, 1987); S. Sandbank, in: *Haaretz* (January 22, 1988); A. Navot, in: *Maariv* (February 5, 1988); Y. Oppenheimer, in: *Davar* (February, 26, 1988); H. Hoffman, in: *Yedioth Ahronot* (July 7, 1989); A. Hirschfeld, in: *Haaretz* (March 31, 1989); A. Melamed, in: *Yedioth Ahronot* (March 15, 1991); F. Chefez, in: *Yedioth Ahronot* (March 22, 1991); G. Hazan-Rokem, in: *Davar* (July 12, 1991); A. Weisman, in: *Davar* (July 7, 1991); G. Shaked, *"Afelah taḥat ha-Shemesh,"* in: *Politikah,* 40 (September 1991), 42–48; N.R. Sharf Gold, "Bernhardt's Journey: The Challenges of Yoel Hoffmann's Writing," in: *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, 1 (1993/94), 271–287; O. Bartana, *"Mesapper Yekeh, Tel Aviv Polanit ve-Filosofyah Budhistit,"* in: *Moznayim*, 65:7–8 (1991), 39–42; B. Gur, in: *Haaretz* (November 12, 1993); O. Bartana, in: *Al ha-Mishmar* (January 14, 1994); D. Gurevitz, *Postmodernism* (1997), 262–86; H. Herzig, *Ha-Kol ha-Omer Ani* (1998), 305–86; Z. Shavitsky, "Yoel Hoffmann's The Book of Joseph, Bernhard and Christ of Fish: An alternative Perpective on a Migrant Community," in: *Australian Journal of Jewish Studies*, 13 (1999), 151–169; Y. Schwarz, in: *Haaretz* (May 26, 2000); A. Holtzman, in: *Yedioth Ahronot* (March 31, 2000); L. Yudkin, "Fill the Gap: The Space Sage, Yoel Hoffmann," in: *Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures,* 3:1 (2000), 77–85; R. Albek-Gidron, *"Al ha-Ofen she-bo Meḥayyekhim im Dolores,"* in: *Zafon,* 6 (2000), 33–48; S. Lan, in: *Sefarim, Haaretz* (June 11, 2003); D. Burstein, in: *Haaretz* (April 11, 2004); R. Albek-Gidron, *"Ma-Hi ha-Moledet she-bah Meddaberim Hofmanit?,"* in: *Zafon*, 7 (2004), 67–76; Y. Schwartz, "*'Ha-beiẓah she-Hitḥappesah,'* "*'Be-Februar Kedai Liknot Pilim': Dan Pagis, Yoel Hoffmann, Modernism u-Postmodernism*," in: *Zafon*, 7 (2004), 277–293; T. Clarino, "'Kristus shel dagim': postmodernismo e Buddhismo Zen nella Prosa di Yoel Hoffmann," in: *Annali di Ca' Foscari* 43:3 (2004), 25–42.

[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

HOFMANN, ISAAC LOEW (1759–1849), Austrian financier; leader of the Vienna Jewish community. Orphaned at the age of 13, he studied Talmud in Prague and then was employed as tutor and bookkeeper in the house of J.B. Koenigswart (*Koenigswarter). Subsequently he married his employer's granddaughter and became manager of the business on its transfer to Vienna in 1788. In 1798 Hofmann established the manufacture of silk in Austria, thereby freeing the country from her dependence on Italian imports; for this purpose he was permitted to acquire an estate in Lower Austria. He also was instrumental in the development of a potash industry. In 1830 he unsuccessfully petitioned Francis I for a title, but under Ferdinand I, in 1835, he was knighted as Edler von Hofmannsthal. His coat of arms depicted a silkworm, a mulberry leaf, a poorbox, and the decalogue. Hofmann was very active in the Vienna Jewish community (from 1806). He was especially concerned with charitable institutions and the school system. He was one of the founders of the Vienna Temple, and deeply opposed extreme Reform tendencies within the community. On the Vienna board of deputies, Hofmann represented the conservative viewpoint and was influenced by Mordecai *Banet. He opposed I.N. *Mannheimer's reforms, and invited the Orthodox rabbi Lazar *Horowitz to Vienna. Hofmann's son Augustus, the father of the Aus-

trian poet, Hugo von *Hofmannsthal, became a convert to Roman Catholicism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AZDJ, 3 (1839), 105–06; *Dr. Bloch's Wochenschrift*, 28 (1911), 265–67; H. Schnee, *Die Hoffinanz und der moderne Staat*, 4 (1963), 335; M. Grunwald, *Vienna* (1936), index.

HOFMANNSTHAL, HUGO VON (1874–1929), Austrian poet and playwright; one of the outstanding exponents of Viennese impressionism and symbolism. He was a great-grandson of Isaac Loew *Hofmann but his grandfather and father both converted to Roman Catholicism. While the poet never denied his Jewish ancestry and in his early years even reflected on the meaning of being "Jewish" – as unpublished documents prove – the preoccupation with Judaism hardly entered his oeuvre. Hence there are only a few vague hints of it in his verse, such as the lines: "I cannot rid my eyelids of the weariness of forgotten races" ("Ganz vergessener Voelker Muedigkeit kann ich nicht abtun von meinen Lidern"). Hofmannsthal matured early and was still a schoolboy when he became the protégé of Arthur *Schnitzler, who introduced him to Theodor *Herzl as a promising writer for the newspaper *Neue Freie Presse*. Melancholy and solitary by nature, and revolted by the decadence of Viennese society, Hofmannsthal turned for solace to the great writers of the past, and many of his most important works are adaptations of Greek, English, and Spanish dramas. One of the most successful was *Jedermann* (1911), a modern version of the medieval English mystery play *Everyman*, commissioned by Max Reinhardt for the Salzburg Festival. Several of his plays were turned into operas by Richard Strauss, notably *Elektra* (1909) and *Der Rosenkavalier* (1911). *Der Turm* (1925–7), a tragedy inspired by one of Grillparzer's plays, introduces a Jewish character, Simon, who speaks in a typical Yiddish dialect.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.A. Koch, *Hugo von Hofmannsthal* (2004); T.A. Kovach, *A Companion to the Works of Hugo von Hofmannsthal* (2002); M. Kane, "From Ghetto to Nation. Hofmannsthal's Poetic of Assimilation," in: Fuchs and Krobb (ed.), *Ghetto Writing* (1999), 140–55; A.E. Gillman, "Hofmannsthal's Jewish Pantomime," in: DVJS, 71 (1997), 437–60; J. Rieckmann, "Zwischen Bewusstsein und Verdrängung: Hofmannsthals juedisches Erbe," in: DVJS, 67 (1993), 466–83.

[Sol Liptzin / Philipp Theisohn (2nd ed.)]

HOFSTADTER, RICHARD (1916–1970), U.S. historian. Hofstadter was born in Buffalo, New York. After teaching at the University of Maryland he joined the faculty of Columbia University in 1946 and was named professor in 1952. His *American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (1948) synthesized the critical views of classic figures, rejecting Theodore Roosevelt, for example, as paranoid. *The Age of Reform from Bryan to FDR* (1955), which won a Pulitzer Prize, saw reformers as looking back to an archaic Jeffersonian ideal unsuited to modern needs. *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (1963) also won several awards. *The Paranoid Style in American Politics* (1965) emphasized right-wing failings. Hofstadter was a coauthor of *The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States* (1953), and *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (1955).

[Louis Filler]

HOFSTADTER, ROBERT (1915–1990), U.S. physicist and Nobel Prize winner. Born in New York, Hofstadter earned his master's and doctorate degrees at Princeton; he also taught there and at City College, New York, where he had taken his B.S. degree. During World War II he worked as a physicist for the National Bureau of Standards, where he helped develop the proximity fuse device, an anti-aircraft weapon that detonated a shell when it detected objects approaching on the radar. In 1950 Hofstadter moved to Stanford University, California, where he was to remain until his retirement in 1985, at which time he held the position of Max H. Stein Professor Emeritus of Physics. He headed the High Energy Physics Laboratory at Stanford from 1967 to 1974.

Hofstadter was awarded a Nobel Prize in physics in 1961, together with Rudolph Moessbauer, for his investigation of the structure of atomic nuclei and nucleons and for his work on introducing order into the multiplicity of subatomic particles. He used the atom smasher at Stanford University to study how high-energy electrons were scattered by atomic nuclei. From this he obtained an insight into the structure of the nucleus. He deduced the possible existence of two powerful sub-particles – the rho-meson and the omega-meson, which were subsequently detected.

Hofstadter received the Townsend Harris medal from City College in 1961, while Brandeis University created the Robert Hofstadter Physics Library in his honor in 1968. He also enjoyed many honorary degrees and fellowships and was governor of the Israel Institute of Technology and the Weizmann Institute of Science. He wrote or edited many scientific papers and books. After his retirement, he remained active in scientific research, helping construct a gamma ray observatory and conducting research into techniques for exploring heart functions using radioactive substances as an alternative to intrusive devices such as catheters.

[Maurice Goldsmith / Rohan Saxena (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.E. Greene et al. (eds.), *Mc-Graw-Hill Modern Men of Science* (1966), 239–40; *Current Biography*, 23 (Oct. 1962), 35–37.

HOFSTEIN, DAVID (1889–1952), Yiddish poet. Born in the Ukraine, he had a traditional Jewish education and began to write in Yiddish, Hebrew, Russian, and Ukrainian. However, after the 1917 Revolution he wrote only in Yiddish, contributing to various publications. He was coeditor of the Moscow journal *Shtrom*, the last organ of free Jewish expression in Russia. The Communist Revolution of 1917 aroused Hofstein's enthusiasm. The poems in which he acclaimed the achievements of the Revolution established his popularity as one of the Kiev triumvirate of Yiddish poets, along with Leib *Kvitko and Perez *Markish. His elegies for Jewish communities devastated by counterrevolutionary pogromists appeared in 1922,

with illustrations by Marc Chagall. Exercising his newfound freedom, in 1924 he protested the banning of Hebrew and the persecution of Hebrew writers, but discovered that his protest made him suspect. He therefore left Russia, immigrating first to Germany and from there in 1925 to Palestine. In Palestine he wrote both in Hebrew and Yiddish. In 1924–25 he published in Yiddish the dramatic poem "Sha'ul – Der Letster Meylekh fun Yisroel" ("Shaul – the Last King of Israel") and an expressionistic drama *Meshiekhs Tsaytn* ("Messianic Times"). He returned to Kiev in 1926, where he soon found himself compelled to follow the Communist Party line faithfully, to praise Soviet achievements, and to describe Birobidzhan as the Promised Land where Jewish genius would flourish. His works there evidence the conflict between his sorrow over the disintegration of Jewish society and his pride in the salvation offered by the Soviet regime. When, in 1948, Israel came into existence with the support of the U.S.S.R., Hofstein hailed the new state with genuine enthusiasm; but, with the change in the Soviet attitude toward Israel, he was arrested and transported to Moscow, where the secret police fabricated the "conspiracy of the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee." He was shot on August 12, 1952, together with other leaders of the committee, including his fellow writers Dovid *Bergelson, Perez *Markish, Leib *Kvitko, and Itsik *Fefer. After the death of Stalin, Hofstein was rehabilitated as a victim of Stalinist repression. His selected works, which had appeared shortly before his arrest in 1948, reappeared in a Russian translation in 1958.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, Leksikon, 1 (1926), 778–82; LNYL, 3 (1960), 59–62; S. Niger, *Yidishe Shrayber in Sovyet Rusland* (1958), 49–55; E.H. Jeshurin, *Dovid Hofsteyn, Izi Kharik, Itsik Fefer: Bibliografye* (1962). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Hofstein, *Lider un Poemes* (1977); Ch. Shmeruk (ed.), *A Shpigl oyf a Shteyn* (1987), 221-75, 741-4; G. Estraikh, *In Harness* (2005), index.

[Sol Liptzin / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

HOGA, STANISLAV (1791–1860), Hebrew translator. Born in Kazimierz (near Lublin) and educated in a ḥasidic home, Hoga served as an interpreter to Napoleon's army stationed in Poland and subsequently became a mediator on behalf of the Jews with the authorities. In 1817, he moved to Warsaw where he became the secretary of the "Jewish Committee" of the Warsaw Municipality. The post enabled him to convey valuable information in this capacity to the Warsaw Jewish leaders concerning edicts which were to be issued. In 1825, he converted to Christianity but continued to aid the Jews, and in a comprehensive essay, written in Polish, he refuted antisemitic claims. In 1833, he disappeared from Warsaw, later appeared in London where he worked as a missionary, and in 1839 translated into Hebrew A. MacCaul's conversionist missionary work *Netivot Olam* (1910[6]) followed by other works such as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (2 vols., 1844). He also translated Christian prayers, other proselytizing literature, and was one of the editors of a Hebrew edition of the New Testament (1838) and published an English grammar in the Hebrew language (1840). In 1845, he returned to Judaism and published a number of articles on Jewish values and ethics. In his last years he patented a number of inventions, but nevertheless died in penury.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B.L. Abrahams, in: JHSET, 15 (1946), 121–49 (bio-bibliography); A.N. Frenk, *Meshumodim in Poyln*, 1 (1923), 38–110.

[Getzel Kressel]

ḤOGLAH (Heb. חָגְלָה), moshav in central Israel, in the Ḥefer Plain, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, founded in 1933 by experienced agricultural workers. Citriculture, dairy cattle, poultry, flowers, subtropical orchards, and plant nurseries constituted the moshav's main farming branches. In 1969, its population numbered 189, rising to 280 in 2002. Recently the moshav became a partner in a joint venture with Kibbutz Ein Ha-Ḥoresh and *Mekorot to sell water from private wells to the Israeli Water Authority. The name Ḥoglah refers to the Ḥefer Plain, the biblical Hoglah being the granddaughter of Hepher (Num. 26:33; Josh. 17:3).

[Efraim Orni]

HOHENAU, town in N.W. Lower Austria, near the Czechoslovak border. Documents dating from 1620 make the first mention of Jews in Hohenau and the existence of a synagogue was recorded in 1638. Between 1652 and 1666 six Jewish families lived in the town. With the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna in 1670, the Hohenau community also ceased to exist. It was reestablished after 1861, and a cemetery was consecrated in 1879. With the establishment of a sugar refinery the whole town prospered; the Jewish founder later served as mayor. When the cemetery was desecrated in 1933, the Catholic priest took his congregation to hold a service there. In 1934, 70 Jews lived in Hohenau; they were forced to move to Vienna in 1938 because of the town's proximity to the border, and 26 members of the community later died in Nazi extermination camps. Only one Jew returned to Hohenau after World War II.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Moses, *Die Juden in Níederoesterreich* (1935), index; Nakler-Dasche, in: *Zeitschrift fuer die Geschichte der Juden*, 2 (1965), 145–8.

[M.La.]

HOHENEMS, town in Vorarlberg, Austria. In 1617 a ducal charter of privileges put a dozen Jewish families who had fled to Hohenems from Burgau on an equal footing with the Christian burghers in most respects. As tax, they were obliged to pay 10 gulden and two well-fed geese annually. By the middle of the 17th century the community had increased to around 30 families. Temporary expulsion (1676–88), increased taxation, and restrictive legislation characterized the late 17th and early 18th century. Eight years after Hohenems had passed to Austrian rule (1765), there were 227 Jews (10% of the total population) living in 24 houses, concentrated in one street, constituting a separate municipal body. A government edict promising protection for the Jews was issued in 1769. Under Bavarian rule (1805–14) the community was ordered to incorporate with the township (1813). The order was renewed

by *Francis I (1817) but never enforced. Until 1848 there was frequent strife between the Jewish community and the township over the question of taxation. Since they were prohibited from doing business in Vorarlberg province, Hohenems Jews became successful merchants in Switzerland and Italy. During the period from 1849 to 1878 the Jewish community was reconstituted as a municipality with its own mayor.

Under Rabbi J.L. Ullmann, a *ḥevra kaddisha* was founded (1760), and a synagogue opened (1772). Because of his attempt to introduce reforms, R. Abraham *Kohn (1833–44) was forced to leave Hohenems for Lemberg. The community possessed its own elementary school (1784), *mikveh*, and slaughter house, and boasted of 22 charitable and cultural foundations. In the middle of the 19th century many Hohenems Jews emigrated to the U.S. By 1860 the community had diminished by half. After the constitution of 1867 allowed Jews to settle freely in Austria, the community declined rapidly in number, from 455 in 1866 and 221 in 1869 to 165 in 1878. By 1939 only 10 Jews remained in Hohenems. The synagogue was severely damaged in 1938, and in 1940 the remaining Jews were deported to Vienna. The cemetery, consecrated in 1617, was cared for by the St. Gallen community after World War II. After the war, Stefan *Zweig was buried beside his mother in the local cemetery after committing suicide near Rio de Janeiro in 1942. Among Hohenems' more prominent citizens was Solomon *Sulzer, the Vienna *ḥazzan*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Taenzer, *Die Geschichte der Juden in Tirol und Vorarlberg*, 2 (1905).

HOHENZOLLERN, former Prussian province in S. Germany. The history of the Jews of Hohenzollern is largely the history of the three main communities: Hechingen, Haigerloch, and Dettensee. The former two were autonomous bodies with separate mayors and officials up to 1871 and 1837 respectively, when emancipation was granted.

Hechingen

There was a small Jewish settlement in Hechingen in the early 16th century, and a house was bought for use as a synagogue by the community of 10 families in 1546. In 1592 the burghers refused to conduct any commercial or financial transactions with Jews, who therefore left the town. There is no trace of Jewish settlement in the town during the next century. In 1701 Prince Frederick William I gave letters of protection lasting 10 years to six Jewish families in the neighboring villages; soon there were Jews living in the city as well. By 1737 there were 30 households, and a synagogue was built in 1761 which existed until 1870. From the end of the 18th century, the *Kaulla family of court financiers helped to improve the condition of the Jews. In 1803 they erected a *bet midrash* which remained in existence until 1850. Hechingen had 809 Jews (one-quarter of the total population) in 1842; the number declined to 331 in 1885 and 101 in 1931. The community was prosperous and owned most of the local industries. On the night of Nov. 9, 1938, the synagogue was demolished; 32 Jews from Hechingen were deported and murdered during World War II.

Dettensee

In 1720 the first Jews were admitted into Dettensee. The 23 Jewish families, mainly livestock dealers, were compelled in 1764 to live in only three buildings which housed the synagogue and schoolroom as well. In 1800 they were forced by the townspeople to quarter horses even though none of them owned stables. Repeated protests and requests for some amelioration of living conditions were of no avail. The number of families was restricted; younger sons had no option but to leave. Eleven out of 23 families lived on charity in 1807. However, a synagogue was opened in 1820 and a cemetery consecrated in 1830. At that time there were 173 Jews in the village; by 1890 the number had declined to 100 largely through emigration, and in 1932 only two were left.

Haigerloch

Jews lived at Haigerloch in early medieval times but in 1348 they were all burned during the *Black Death persecutions. Only in the latter half of the 16th century were a number of Jews readmitted to the town. Repeated protests by the burghers against Jewish moneylenders, peddlers, and beggars induced Duke Joseph to restrict the number of tolerated Jewish families in 1745 and to prohibit them from marrying in 1749; the latter order was subsequently rescinded. In 1752 the whole community escaped at night when forced to be present at Christian services. Only those prepared to attend church four times a year were allowed to remain. Twenty Jewish families lived in a special quarter, the "Haag," in 1780. The community numbered 323 in 1844 and 213 in 1933, and conducted an active religious and cultural life. They played a significant role in the industrial and commercial development of the city. On Nov. 10, 1938, the synagogue, school, and communal center were demolished; windows were smashed in shops and homes, and the men arrested and interned in *Dachau. Exactly a year later, Haigerloch Jews were again arrested. During the war Jews from Wuerttemberg were transferred to Haigerloch and at least 192 were deported.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Sauer, *Die juedischen Gemeinden in Wuerttemberg und Hohenzollern* (1966).

°HOLBACH, PAUL HENRI DIETRICH, BARON D' (1723–1789), French philosopher, encyclopedist, and publicist, of German origin. He was the most radical critic of Jews and Judaism among the French rationalists and encyclopedists of his generation. As a disciple of the English *Deists, who condemned revealed religion, d'Holbach criticized Judaism as being the most particularist of all religions. According to him the Christian religion had wielded a most destructive influence over mankind for 1,800 years. His attack on Judaism as a faith and as a human society was based on the view that, beside being the corrupt origin of the Christian religion, it was also a corrupted faith and sect in itself. D'Holbach dealt with Judaism in a number of his works, two of which are de-

voted to this subject (see below). Others are interspersed with references to them.

According to d'Holbach, Moses was the worst and most harmful of the religious legislators. He established and consolidated the rule of the priests, and imposed many trivial precepts on the Jews with the sole objective of erecting a barrier between them and the rest of mankind. Moses indoctrinated the Jews with hatred of mankind, parasitism, and exploitation. The God of the Jews is the prototype of a fearful, cruel, and avenging god. From the fate of the seven Canaanite nations, d'Holbach infers that the God of the Jews is a bloodthirsty deity who justifies the Jewish proclivity toward genocide. The Patriarchs are described by d'Holbach as sensual men who do not honor their promises; and the Prophets as the principal initiators and propagators of religious fanaticism in the world. Religious persecution is based on the doctrines of the Prophets of Israel and the abolition of the influence of these doctrines will encourage religious tolerance. D'Holbach pays special attention to the messianic belief held by the Jews, which he regards as the principal cause of their hatred of other peoples. D'Holbach considered this belief to border on insanity because "how can logical people hope for an empire and at one and the same time the end of the world?" At times, however, d'Holbach and his colleagues adopted an inverted strategy, and attacked the arguments of the rabbis in order to disprove the supposed biblical prophecies on the advent of Jesus. His writings, and the names under which they were written, include *Tableaux des Saints: Part 1, Les Saints du Judaïsme ou de l'Ancient Testament* (1770); "J.B. de Mirabaud," *Opinions des Anciens sur les Juifs* (1769); "A. Collins," *L'Esprit du Judaïsme, ou Examen raisonné de la loi de Moïse, et de son influence sur la religion chrétienne* (1770); "M. Boulanger," *Le Christianisme dévoilé* (1756, 1766[2]), and "M. Boulanger," *L'Antiquité dévoilée par ses usages* (1766).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Ettinger, in: *Zion*, 29 (1964), 182–207; A. Hertzberg, *The French Enlightenment and the Jews* (1968), index.

[Baruch Mevorah]

HOLBROOKE, RICHARD (1941–), U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and State Department official. Holbrooke was born in New York City. His parents were German-Jewish refugees who had immigrated to the United States. A graduate of Brown University (1962), he entered the Foreign Service. He served in Vietnam for three years; returning to the United States, he was assigned to the White House staff, where he served until 1967. He then returned to the State Department where he was a staff member at the Paris Peace Talks and then went on to head the Peace Corps in Africa (1970–72).

When he left the Foreign Service, he became a permanent member of the foreign policy establishment in the United States. From 1972 to 1977 he was managing editor of the influential American journal *Foreign Affairs* and was simultaneously director of publications for the Carnegie Endowment for Peace. With the Democrats back in power, he returned to government to serve as assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs. After the Carter administration, Holbrooke went into investment banking; he was a managing director at Lehman Brothers.

In 1993, he was named by President Clinton as United States ambassador to Germany during the post-unification period and when the capital of Germany was moving from Bonn to Berlin. He returned to Washington to serve as assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs, a position from which he could apply pressure from within the State Department on American policy toward Bosnia. He tried his hand at shuttle diplomacy, Kissinger style, and pushed for bombing. The Pentagon was reluctant to commit American troops and to demonstrate American military power. He was asked by President Clinton to conduct the Dayton Accords, negotiating an end to the slaughter in Bosnia. He kept the delegates in Dayton, Ohio, in less than opulent conditions at an Air Force base and pressured them, alternating between brutal frankness and flattery, never deceiving himself as to the character of those with whom he was negotiating, including Slobodon Milosevic. A reviewer of his book wrote: "He can be vain, pompous and ridiculous, but he managed to carry off, almost by sheer force of personality, an accomplishment that eluded governments, world leaders and multilateral organizations for four years. He ended the war in Bosnia."

Frustrated and passed over for secretary of state (the position went to Madeline Albright), he again left government service. In 1997 he was named special envoy to Cyprus where he tried to settle the dispute between Greece and Turkey. He was recalled to government service when President Clinton nominated Holbrooke as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. He served the remainder of Clinton's terms until 2001 and was active in the Gore campaign for president; his name was raised in both 2000 and 2004 as a potential secretary of state in a Democratic administration. He is married to Kati Marton, a Hungarian-born writer.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

HOLDHEIM, SAMUEL (1806–1860), leader of *Reform Judaism in Germany. Born in Kempno near Poznan, Holdheim received a talmudic education, but began to study German and secular subjects after marrying a woman with a modern education, daughter of a Poznan rabbi. The marriage was unsuccessful and after his divorce he moved to Prague where he began to study philosophy at the university. In 1836 Holdheim was appointed rabbi in Frankfurt on the Oder. He preached in German, and in his sermons advocated educational reform which would adjust the younger generation to innovations in tradition. In 1840 he was appointed rabbi of the province of *Mecklenburg–Schwerin where he began to introduce slight reforms in the service, such as reading the Torah without cantillation. He was also instrumental in founding a modern religious school in 1841. In 1843 he published *Ueber die Autonomie der Rabbinen und das Prinzip der juedischen Ehe* in which he expressed the principles of his reform ideology. At the rabbinical conferences (*synods) in Brunswick (1844),

Frankfurt on the Main (1845), and Breslau (1846), Holdheim emerged as a representative of the extremist trend in the Reform movement. In 1847 he was asked to serve as rabbi of the new Reform congregation founded in Berlin where he officiated until his death. In Berlin he introduced radical reforms in the ritual. Services were conducted on both Saturdays and Sundays and after a while on Sundays only. After his death, his opponents, headed by M.J. *Sachs, unsuccessfully contested his burial in the part of the cemetery reserved for rabbis. His eulogy was delivered by Abraham *Geiger.

Holdheim's principal thesis was the separation of the religious and ethical content of Judaism (which should be binding) from the political-national content (which should not be binding), since Jews are citizens of the countries in which they are living. The Sabbath, for instance, is included in the religious category, while the prohibition on mixed marriages is of a political-national nature, and hence no longer binding. However, Holdheim fails to make a clear distinction between the two areas in his writings; in any case he was also ready to compromise in the religious sphere if the need arose in the country in which the Jews were to be integrated. Holdheim argued that just as during the period of the Temple the performance of sacrifices in the Temple took precedence over observance of the Sabbath, so in modern times the civic duties of clerks, teachers, physicians, and lawyers also take precedence. He publicly defended the right of uncircumcised children to be considered as proper Jews (*Uber die Beschneidung*, 1844). In *Ma'amar ha-Ishut al Tekhunat ha-Rabbanim ve-ha-Kara'im* (1861), a historical work written in Hebrew and published posthumously, Holdheim attempts, inter alia, to refute Geiger's opinion on the nature of the controversy between the Pharisees and the Sadducees and defends the traditional thesis that the principle in dispute was whether interpretation of the Scripture should be based on the primary meaning (Sadducees) as opposed to midrashic exegesis (Pharisees).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Philipson, *The Reform Movement in Judaism* (1967²), index; M.M. Kaplan, *The Greater Judaism in the Making* (1960), 227–31; W.G. Plaut, *The Rise of Reform Judaism* (1963), index; J.J. Petuchowski, *Prayerbook Reform in Europe* (1968), index; I.H. Ritter, *Geschichte der juedischen Reformation*, 3 (1865); Graetz, Gesch, 11, 512 ff.; M. Wiener, *Juedische Religion im Zeitalter der Emanzipation* (1933), 87–101; S. Bernfeld, *Toledot ha-Reformaẓyon ha-Datit be-Yisrael* (1923), 165–81.

[Jacob S. Levinger]

HOLDHEIM, THEODORE (1923–1985), Israeli composer. He immigrated to Israel in 1933 following the Nazi takeover. He joined the socialist youth movement Hashomer Hatza'ir, and from 1943 he was a member of kibbutz Beit Alpha in the Valley of Jezre'el. He studied piano with Buch and composition under I. *Edel, Sh. *Rosowsky, H. *Jacobi, and A.U. *Boskovitch. In 1952–54 he studied composition in Juilliard and then pursued a degree in physics and chemistry at the Hebrew University. He devoted himself to training music and science teachers at the School of Education of the Hebrew University. His deep communal involvement inspired him to contribute functional music for kibbutz festivities, such as incidental music, choruses, and arrangements. He also directed the kibbutz choir and instrumental ensembles.

Holdheim was ideologically opposed to avant-garde music and insisted on writing communicative and easily accessible music. His style was based on meticulous development of tiny motifs into large formal structures, under the influence of Bach, Brahms, Debussy, and Hindemith, into which he infused traditional Jewish and folk Israeli motifs. In 1978 he won the Libersohn Prize. His works include the opera *Continua*, and chamber and piano works.

[Jehoash Hirshberg (2nd ed.)]

HOLESOV (Czech **Holešov**; Ger. **Holleschau**), town in Moravia, Czech Republic. A Jew was mentioned in the town in 1391. A community was founded in the first half of the 16th century; its only relic is the breastplate of a Torah scroll of 1549, as the synagogue and all archives were destroyed in a fire. The synagogue was rebuilt in 1560. There were 50 Jewish houses in Holesov in 1629, and the oldest known tombstone dates from 1647. At the Holesov synod of 1653 the 311 **takkanot* of Moravian Jewry were emended. The community was at its height under the leadership of R. *Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Cohen (1662–68). In connection with Maria Theresa's plan to expel the Jews from Moravia (1742), the synagogue and its silver were seized and the notables arrested. Persecution, the Familiants Law and anti-Jewish measures forced many a Holesov Jew to seek new homes, and a good number of them settled in Upper Hungary (Slovakia of today). Among other places of settlement, they founded in 1720 the congregation of *Liptovsky Mikulas. For 10 years they continued to belong to the mother town, and used to go there for the High Holidays. In 1774, when a Christian maidservant was found murdered in a Jewish house, the Catholic clergy saved the household from the mob by surrounding the building with altars. There were 194 Jewish families (1,032 persons) living in 49 houses in Holesov in 1794, as against 554 Christian families (2,973 persons) dwelling in 256 houses. In the 19th century Holesov was one of Moravia's **politische Gemeinden*, the local lord serving as the mayor. In 1869 the community numbered 1,764 and in 1893 a new synagogue was built. As a result of antisemitic riots in 1899 many Jewish families left the town. During disturbances on Dec. 4, 1918, all but three Jewish shops were plundered and two Jews were killed. From 1,200 Jewish inhabitants in 1914, the community declined to 273 (4% of the total population) in 1930. Under the Nazi occupation, 200 Jewish families were deported from Holesov to extermination camps. The synagogue appurtenances were transferred to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague.

After World War II a small community was reestablished, affiliated to the *Kyjov community. The Jewish quarter was restored, including the cemetery and the old synagogue, which from 1964 housed a museum of Moravian Jewry, a branch of the Jewish State Museum in Prague. Community records, *ḥevra kaddisha* statutes, and other documents covering the

years from 1653 to 1914 were preserved in the National Library in Jerusalem and in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Johanan b. Isaac, rabbi of the Hambro Synagogue of the London Ashkenazi community at the beginning of the 18th century, was a native of Holesov, as was Gerson *Wolf, the historian.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Freimann, in: H. Gold (ed.) *Die Juden und Judengemeinden Maehrens in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (1929), 233–40; idem, *Kobez al Jad* (1936), 111–34; R. Iltis, *Die aussaeen in Traenen…* (1959), 59–63; I. Halpern, *Takkanot Medinat Mehrin* (1952), 103–4; *Madrikh la-Arkhiyyonim ha-Historiyyim be-Yisrael* (1966), 129 nos. 173–8.

[Meir Lamed / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

HOLINESS CODE, the name designating the collection of laws in Leviticus 17–26, which – according to the classical documentary hypothesis – constitutes a particular division within the so-called Priestly Source (P). One of the characteristics of the Holiness Code is the demand that Israel be holy and thereby imitate the Lord their God. Some dozen times and in several different formulations it contains the call: "You shall be holy for I the Lord your God am holy" (likewise: "Sanctify yourselves and be holy," or "You shall be holy to me, for I am the Lord who sanctifies you," and the like). The idea that it is obligatory for Israel to consecrate itself to God is found also in a few other places in the Pentateuch (Ex. 19:6; 22:30; Deut. 14:2, 21), but the above-mentioned call, in its typical form, occurs only in this collection, distinguishing it from the other parts of the Pentateuch. Therefore, A. Klosterman who first observed the singularity of this code, as well as its relation to Ezekiel, in 1877, gave it the epithet *Heiligkeitsgesetz* (Holiness Code) and the symbol H was assigned to it.

Characteristic Features

The singularity of H is discernible also in its structure and style. Except for the fact that it does not have a special heading, its structure is parallel to that of the *Book of the Covenant (Ex. 20:21–23:33) and the collection of laws of *Deuteronomy (Deut. 12–28). Like these two codes, H opens with a discussion of the proper place for making sacrifices and the legitimate form of eating meat (Lev. 17), and ends with admonitions and warnings to Israel to observe the laws contained therein (Lev. 26:3–45). The conclusion of H (Lev. 26:46) is similar to that of the Deuteronomic code (Deut. 28:69). This conclusion is repeated with minor variations in Leviticus 27:34, and it appears indeed that Leviticus 27 is a kind of appendix to the Holiness Code. The style of H is generally close to that of P, though it has certain features of its own. The style of the book of Ezekiel is close to that of P and of H, but its connection with H is much stronger than to the other parts of P. Ezekiel often enumerates a number of laws in the same order as the lists of H and the similarities in Ezekiel to the admonitions at the end of H are numerous. Characteristic of H are several phrases that do not occur, or occur only rarely, in the other parts of P, and which appear again, some of them rarely, others often, in the prophecies of Ezekiel. An example of such a phrase is: "I am the Lord," a typical conclusion to the presentation of a law, or a list of laws, which appears sometimes in conjunction with a few words before ("For holy am I the Lord") or after it ("Your God" "Who sanctifies you," "Who sanctifies them," and the like). Similarly, the following expressions are common in H: *ʾish ʾish* "whatsoever man there be" (sometimes with the added words "from the House of Israel"), an introductory formula to a law of warning; *ve-natatti panai ba* (*we-natatti panai ba-*), "And I shall set my face against so-and-so"; *ve-hikhratti oto mi-kerev ammo* (*we-hikhratti ʾoto mi-qerev ʿammo*), "And I shall cut him off from the midst of his people" (but in P's style always: *ve-nikhrat me-ammav (we-nikhrat me-ʿammaw*), "And he shall be cut off from his people"); *ḥukkotai u-mishpatai* (*ḥuqqotai u-mishpatai*), "My statutes and ordinances"; *ve-yareta me-Elohekha* (*we-yareʾta me-ʾElohekha*). "And you shall fear your God"; *demehem bam*, "Their blood will be upon them." Similarly, the code is characterized by the use of the following idioms: *ʿamit*, "neighbor," "fellow-man"; *sheʾer* meaning a relative; *shabbetotai*, "my sabbaths" (in the plural declined in the first person); *leḥem Elohav* (*leḥem ʾElohaw*) "the bread of his God," as an epithet for sacrifice, and others. All the laws of H concern everyday affairs of the Israelite community and individual. In this respect, H serves as a collection of the civil, "secular" laws of P, and its content is different from the rest of the sections of the source, which all concern the cultic ceremonies themselves and problems of ritual impurity. There are also cultic laws in H, but they are presented mainly from the point of view of the life of the citizen. The text is not interested in them so much from a ritualistic point of view as from the point of view of the daily needs of the Israelites: how they will eat meat and where they will bring their sacrifices (Lev. 17); how long they may eat the meat of the peace offering after they have offered the sacrifice (19:5–8); which animals they will pick for the sacrifice (22:17–30); and the like. Even the laws concerning the priests are dealt with in H from the point of view of the everyday life of the priest as "citizen": how he should behave in his mourning and from which women he may choose a wife (21:1–15); no one with a blemish may serve as priest (21:16–24); how he should consume the holy gifts given him by the Children of Israel (22:1–13); and the like. Moreover, even the matters of the oil for the lighting of the Temple (24:1–4) and the showbread (24:5–9) are referred to in H only because Israel is obliged always to supply oil and fine flour in order to fulfill these two ritual activities in the sanctuary, as is hinted in the text (24:2: "Command the Children of Israel that they bring unto you…" and 24:8: "From the Children of Israel…"). Since H contains the civil or secular legislation within P there are in it several points of similarity to the Book of the Covenant; at any rate, of all parts of P it is the closest in its content and character to the Book of the Covenant. In H, as in the Book of the Covenant, there are many short apodictic laws (given without reasons), as well as casuistic laws. There are in the two collections a number of parallel laws, such as the *lex talionis* (Ex. 21:23–25; Lev. 24:19–20). In addition, in H the conditions of life in the land of Canaan are reflected, whereas in P the matters are discussed against the background of the camp in the wil-

derness. In a number of sections of H the agricultural mode of life is explicitly mentioned and the importance of husbandry as an expression of religious life is emphasized (this quality is also representative of the appendix, Lev. 27). Again, H is the only part of the P source in which the threat that Israel would be uprooted from its land is found (Lev. 18:28; 20:22; 26:32; 41). Such a threat appears in the Pentateuch again only in the warning of Deuteronomy (Deut. 28:36–37, 63–68).

Priestly Editing

Before turning to more recent views (see below) it is useful to outline what had been generally accepted. The character of the material embedded in H is composite in part, because in its present form it is found in a priestly garb. While scholars are divided in distinguishing the exact extent of the priestly element in these chapters, the great majority agree about the existence of this element in H in its present form. Signs of the priestly pen are discernible in chapter 17. There are those who claim that such signs are also discernible in chapters 21–22 and 25. Obvious signs of the priestly source are recognizable in chapters 23–24. Moreover, in the latter chapters the relation between the basic elements has changed so that passages that originally belonged to H have been incorporated into P pericopes (likewise, signs of P stand out clearly in the appended chapter, 27). Consequently, it would seem that H has not been preserved in its original form, for the priestly scribes who incorporated it into P made certain changes in it. In several portions the priestly scribes apparently made only minor changes, whereas in others they went so far as to set down portions of their own in which they incorporated only fragments from H. Nevertheless, the priestly scribes preserved the general pattern of H and did not change much in its original order, for, despite the priestly editing and the fragmentation of the body of the code in several places, it still remains a unified collection of laws, whose structure resembles the structures of the other law codes in the Pentateuch. In contrast, traces of the special style of H are found in several places in P outside Lev. 17–26. Such traces are recognizable in the pericope dealing with the impurity of animals (Lev. 11; see verses 43–45), the passage dealing with fringes (Num. 15:37–41), and one of the passages dealing with the Sabbath (Ex. 31:12–17). Some scholars assert that these pericopes and passages, in whole or in part, primarily belonged to H and were subsequently removed from it (Kuenen, Dillmann, Baentsch, Eissfeldt, et al.). It should be noted that these passages deal with civil matters and pertain to the everyday activities of the Israelite, as do the commandments collected within the Holiness Code.

Content

The Holiness Code is divided into sections, each of which is devoted to a specific subject, or to several subjects, and constitutes in itself a literary-rhetorical unit. Every section is divided into internal paragraphs and generally opens with an introductory formula and ends with a concluding formula. It appears that originally each of these sections constituted an individual tablet or tiny scroll and the general composition was made by joining together a series of such tablets. Such a mode of literary consolidation is characteristic of P in general and was probably also used in the original composition of H. The Holiness Code in its priestly edition contains the following sections:

1. Laws concerning sacrifices and the legitimate form of eating meat (chapter 17). This section is divided into the following paragraphs: Introduction (17:1–2); the prohibition of non-sacrificial slaughter (17:3–7); the obligation to offer every sacrifice only at the Tent of Meeting (17:8–9); the prohibition of eating blood and the obligation to sprinkle it on the altar (17:10–12); the obligation to pour out the blood of game animals and birds and cover it with dust (17:13–14); the prohibition of eating animals that died a natural death or were torn apart by beasts (17:15–16).

2. A series of prohibitions concerning sexual intercourse and sexual abominations (chapter 18), between which the prohibition of sacrificing children to Moloch (18:21) is inserted. The series of prohibitions is set between a rhetorical introduction (18:1–5) and a conclusion (18:24–30).

3. A collection of ethical and ritual laws (chapter 19) opening with an introductory section (19:1–2). The laws are arranged in groups and many of them have parallels in the Ten Commandments, the Book of the Covenant, and Deuteronomy. Most of the groups close with the expressions "I am the Lord," "I am the Lord your God." The words: "Who brought you out of the land of Egypt" (19:36) appear at the conclusion of the whole collection, followed by an additional warning (19:37).

4. A list of prohibitions concerning sexual intercourse and sexual abominations (chapter 20), parallel to chapter 18. This series is also set between an introductory (20:1–8) and concluding formula (20:22–26). In this section, however, the prohibition of sacrificing to Moloch is part of the introduction (20:2–5). In addition, there are in this section prohibitions concerning mediums and wizards – both in the body of the introduction (20:6) and in one verse (27), which apparently became separated from the principal series and emerged at the end of the chapter. The conclusions of the two chapters (18 and 20) are also similar in content and theme.

5. Laws concerning priests and sacrifices (chapters 21–22), which include: listings of those relatives for whom the priest is allowed to defile himself, prohibitions concerning mourning and enumeration of the types of women whom the priest is forbidden to marry (21:1–15); a law forbidding a blemished priest from officiating (21:16–24); laws concerning the eating of sacrifices of minor grade (22:1–16); a law forbidding the bringing of blemished animals for sacrifices (22:17–25); additional laws concerning sacrifices (22:26–30); conclusion (22:31–33).

6. A list of the days of the year that are to be made holy convocations (chapter 23). While enumerating these days the text explains how one is to observe them; however, it is interested principally in listing the days themselves. (In this respect, this section is different from another section in P (Num. 28–29) whose main interest is the listing of sacrifices to be of-

fered on the days that are holy convocations.) The Sabbath is enumerated at the beginning of the list, but the scribe meant to list especially those days that do not recur in the same year, and, therefore, he repeated the introductory formula (23:4) after mentioning the Sabbath (23:3). These are the days: the first and seventh of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, the Feast of Weeks, the first and tenth of the seventh month, the first of the Feast of Tabernacles and the Eighth Day of Assembly – altogether, seven days of holy convocation in the year, besides the Sabbath. In connection with the account of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, the priestly scribe includes a passage from the original H (23:9–22) that deals with the waving of the sheaf (*ʿOmer*), the Feast of Weeks, and the counting of the 49 days in order to establish the date of the holiday.

7. A priestly section (chapter 24) dealing with three matters: The oil for the lighting of the Temple (24:1–4), the showbread (24:5–9); and a story, accompanied by a legal conclusion, of a man in the camp who cursed the Name (24:10–23). The group of laws that are incorporated into this story (24:16–22) was probably taken by the priestly scribe from H (note the ending there, verse 22: "For I am the Lord your God").

8. Laws concerning the sabbatical year and jubilee and matters connected with them (chapter 25), consisting of the following sections: The sabbath of the land (25:1–7); the jubilee year (25:8–17); laws concerning warnings to be fastidious in the observance of these two laws (25:18–24); laws concerning the system of calculating the price of land in order to redeem it before the jubilee (25:25–28); laws of redemption and jubilee for houses (25:29–34); laws prohibiting the charging of interest (25:35–38); laws concerning the freeing of Israelite slaves in the jubilee (25:39–46); and the obligation to try to redeem them even before the jubilee (25:47–55).

9. Two small groups of laws similar to those found in chapter 19 (26:1–2), which have close parallels to the beginning of that chapter (19:3–4; see also 19:30). This section seems to be a fragment from some scroll or the beginning of a collection of laws similar to chapter 19.

10. Admonitions and warnings that serve as a conclusion to the collection of laws (26:3–46). These are divided into promises of blessing (verses 3–13) and a series of threats (verses 14–46).

Date of Composition

There are a few indications that the writing of H was not original, and that several literary compilations of legal material preceded it and were incorporated into it. One indication of this is the two parallel chapters 18 and 20, which are related to each other in content, theme, and even in structure. If it is assumed that both of them were composed by the same scribe, there is the problem of why the scribe would deal with the same material twice. It would be much simpler to assume that these are separate compilations of common legal material and that the writer of H used both of them in his code. This thesis is further confirmed in that several laws appear in H more than once, an indication that they were included in different scrolls e.g., 19:30 and 26:2; 19:31 and 20:6. However, this legal material did not necessarily originate even in those literary compilations which preceded H. Sometimes these literary compilations were preceded by oral traditions, by means of which legal materials were transmitted from an early period. There are then two aspects to the problem of the dating of H: its date as a specially individualized collection of laws (or the time of the earlier literary compositions that were incorporated into it) and the time of the origin of the legal material itself. The legal material is not equally ancient, but, like the rest of the pentateuchal law codes, it has very early elements, some of which go back even to remote periods.

Most scholars maintain that H definitely preceded P. In this view it was the priestly scribes who arranged H as it now appears in the Pentateuch and absorbed it into their larger composition. More recently, Knohl has argued that H represents a late level of Priestly material attributable to a Holiness School (HS), which was responsible for the final recension of the earlier Priestly material, to which he refers as Priestly Torah (PT). In PT the festivals were not related to agriculture and were severed from their historical contexts. Nor were the rituals designed with human welfare in mind. The Sabbath in PT was marginal and its prohibition on labor unmentioned. It was HS which added the human dimension and raised the status of the Sabbath. In addition, Knohl maintains that the work of HS extends considerably beyond Leviticus 17–26. Indeed, Knohl argues that HS is responsible for the final editing of the Torah, including the addition of Deuteronomy. According to him, the work of HS began in the eighth century B.C.E. and extended into the post-Exilic period.

While some of Knohl's dating of both PT and HS can be challenged as too early, certainly a hint of the beginnings of the activity of HS can be found in the law forbidding the sacrificing of children to Moloch (18:21; 20:1–5). This ritual spread in Israel in the days of Ahaz (II Kings 16:3; cf. Isa. 30:33) and Manasseh (II Kings 21:6). Josiah, however, desecrated the Topheth in the valley of Ben-Hinnom, where people passed their children through fire (II Kings 23:10). Consequently, the earliest work of HS appears to have preceded Josiah. Another hint of the ultimate origins of H can be found in the prohibition of the medium and the wizard (Lev. 19:31; 20:6, 27). These existed in Israel during the monarchy (I Sam. 28:3, 7–25), became widespread in the days of Ahaz (cf. Isa. 8:19; 19:3; 29:4) and Manasseh (II Kings 21:6), and were finally uprooted in Josiah's reforms (II Kings 23:24). One may claim that these prohibitions provide evidence only for the dating of the specific scrolls from which they were taken (chaps. 18 and 20), i.e., those same literary compositions that preceded H. Nevertheless, it seems that the kernel of HS and, consequently, of the Holiness Code also preceded the destruction of the first Temple.

See also *Ezekiel, *Leviticus, and *Pentateuch.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Klostermann, in: *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, 38 (1877), 401–5 (= *Der Pentateuch*, 1 (1893), 368–418); L. Horst, *Leviticus XVII–XXVI und Ezekiel* (1881);

P. Wurster, in: ZAW, 4 (1884), 112–33; A. Kuenen, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments*, 1 (1887), 84–88, 254–6, 236–75; B. Baentsch, *Das Heiligkeits-Gesetz* (1893); L.B. Paton, in: JBL, 16 (1897), 31–77; 17 (1898), 149–75; 18 (1899), 35–60; J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs* (1899[3]), 149–72; D. Hoffman, *Die wichtigsten Instanzen gegen die Graf-Wellhausensche Hypothese*, 1 (1904), 16–30; Kaufmann Y., Toledot, 1 (1937), 76, 113–4, 127–8; G. von Rad, *Deuteronomium-Studien* (19482), 16–24; K. Rabast, *Das apodiktische Recht im Deuteronomium und im Heiligkeitsgesetz* (1948); G. Fohrer, *Die Hauptprobleme des Buches Ezechiel* (1952), 144–8; W. Kornfeld, *Studien zum Heiligkeitsgesetz* (1952); J. Morgenstern, in: HUCA, 26 (1955), 1–27; K. Elliger, in: ZAW, 67 (1955), 1–25; idem, *Leviticus* (Ger., 1966), 14–20; L.E. Elliot-Binns, *ibid.*, 26–40; H. Graf Reventlow, *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz formgeschichtlich untersucht* (1961); R. Kilian, *Literarkritische und formgeschichtliche Untersuchung des Heiligkeitsgesetzes* (1963); Ch. Feucht, *Untersuchungen zum Heiligkeitsgesetz* (1964); O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction* (1965), 233–9; E. Sellin and G. Fohrer, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1965[10]), 150–5; M. Haran, in: EM, 5 (1968), 1093–99. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** B. Levine, in: J. Neusner et al. (eds.), *Judaic Perspectives on Ancient Israel* (1987), 9–34; I. Knohl, in: HUCA, 58 (1987), 65–117; idem, *Sanctuary of Silence* (1995); A. Cooper and B. Goldstein, in: JAOS, 110 (1990), 19–31; H. Sun, in: ABD, 3:254–57 (detailed history of interpretation); J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 23–27* (2001); D. Wright, in: *Interpretation,* 53 (1999), 351–64; R. Levitt, A *New Heart and a New Soul*: *Ezekiel, the Exile and the Torah* (2002).

[Menahem Haran / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

HOLITSCHER, ARTHUR (1869–1941), German novelist and essayist. Born in Budapest, Holitscher worked as a bank clerk for six years, before fleeing to Paris in 1895, where his literary career took off. After the publication of his symbolist novel *Weisse Liebe, ein Roman aus dem Quartier* in the same year, Holitscher was engaged by Albert Langen as an editor for the satirical weekly magazine *Simplicissimus* and moved to Munich and eventually Berlin, where he made his home in 1910. While his dramatic ambitions were frustrated – his play *Der Golem* (1908), in which he reworked the famous legend of the miracle-worker R. *Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague, turned out to be a failure – the genre that finally earned him his reputation was the travelogue, beginning with his greatest success *Amerika – heute und morgen* (1910), which had considerable influence not least of all on Franz *Kafka. Further voyages led Holitscher several times to early Soviet Russia and twice to Palestine. His account *Reise durch das juedische Palaestina* (1922) is an important record of early Zionist achievements and reveals the author's admiration for the kibbutz system. Throughout all his works, Holitscher kept a focus on the correlation between cultural, economical, and social conditions, taking the standpoint of a revolutionary socialist. After Hitler's takeover, he left Berlin and settled in Geneva, where he died in October 1941. Accounts of his life are to be found in his autobiographical works *Lebensgeschichte eines Rebellen* (1924) and *Mein Leben in dieser Zeit* (1928).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Chobot, "Arthur Holitscher (1869–1941)," in: *Literatur und Kritik* (2004), 99–110; M. Bruchmann, *Arthur Holitscher. Ein Dichter zwischen Literatur und Politik* (1972).

[Rudolf Kayser / Philipp Theisohn (2nd ed.)]

HOLLAENDER, German family of Leobschuetz, Silesia. Its best-known member was the theater critic, director, and novelist, FELIX HOLLAENDER (1867–1931). He first wrote social novels, but his collaboration with Lothar Schmidt in a melodrama, *Ackermann* (1903) led him to the theater and to a long and close association with Max *Reinhardt. Hollaender took charge of Reinhardt's public relations and, with Arthur *Kahane, edited the *Blaetter fuer das deutsche Theater.* Hollaender succeeded Reinhardt as director of Berlin's Deutsches Theater, and later took over the directorship of the Grosses Schauspielhaus. Production, however, was not his forte and he turned to criticism, writing for the *Berlin 8-Uhr Abendblatt*. A volume of his penetrating reviews appeared in 1932 under the title *Lebendiges Theater.* Hollaender's fiction included the novels *Jesus und Judas* (1891), *Der Weg des Thomas Truck* (2 vols., 1902), and the autobiographical *Unser Haus* (1911). His collected works were published in six volumes in 1926. Other members of the family were prominent musicians. An elder brother of Felix, GUSTAV HOLLAENDER (1855–1915), was an eminent violinist and music teacher. After studying under Ferdinand *David and Joseph *Joachim, he became concertmaster in various important German orchestras and was then head of the violin department first at Kullak's Neue Akademie der Tonkunst in Berlin and later at the Rheinische Musikschule in Cologne. Gustav Hollaender was also a cofounder of the Berlin subscription concerts for chamber music, and he made many concert tours. From 1895 until his death he was director of the Stern'sches Konservatorium in Berlin. His compositions include light pieces and studies, mainly for the violin. Another brother, VICTOR HOLLAENDER (pseudonym Arricha de Tolvens, 1866–1940), was a composer. He began his musical career in Berlin and, from the age of 20, was a conductor and resident composer in various German opera houses, also making frequent appearances in Britain and the United States. He wrote over 50 successful operettas, revues, and farces which, though an integral part of the Berlin operetta school, avoided its prevalent vulgarity. During World War I his song "Annemarie" was a favorite of the German troops. Victor Hollaender shared the direction of the Stern'sches Konservatorium with his brother Gustav, but in 1934 he emigrated to the U.S., and he died in Hollywood. Victor's son FRIEDRICH HOLLAENDER (1896–1976), also a composer, was born in London. Like his father, he wrote light music for the German stage. However, from 1929 he devoted himself to music for the newly invented talkies, achieving his greatest success with the film *Der blaue Engel* ("The Blue Angel"). In 1934 he settled in Hollywood, where he continued to compose music for the movies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Soergel, *Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit* (1911[12]), 237–40; A. Kahane, in: H. Rothe (ed.), *Max Reinhardt: 25 Jahre deutsches Theater* (1930), 31. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** V. Kuehn, *Friedrich Hollaender – Von Kopf bis Fuss "Revue meines Lebens"* (2001).

[Samuel L. Sumberg / Bathja Bayer]

HOLLAENDER, LUDWIG (1877–1936), lawyer; from 1921 to 1933 leader of *Centralverein deutscher Staatsbuerger jue-

dischen Glaubens, the largest Jewish organization in Germany. From 1909 he edited the Centralverein's organ *Im Deutschen Reich*, and in 1919 he founded the *Philo Verlag publishing house. Hollaender also took a prominent part – from his student days in Munich – in the affairs of the *Kartell-Convent, Deutscher Studenten Juedischen Glaubens, as well as in those of the Grand Lodge of B'nai B'rith. A man of strong personality and idealism, he used his considerable intellectual and political abilities to promote German-Jewish national consciousness and to defend the equality of German Jews against the rising tide of German and eventually Nazi antisemitism. He intended to organize the whole of German Jewry within the ranks of the Centralverein, whose aim was to expose to non-Jews the irrationality and injustice of antisemitism. Hollaender engaged in a running debate with Zionists who disdained the apologetic tone of his statements. The advent of Hitler destroyed the foundations of Hollaender's work. Apart from numerous articles published in the German-Jewish press, he wrote *Deutschjuedische Probleme der Gegenwart* (1929).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Unser Ludwig Hollaender* (1936), contains bibliography; YLBI, 7 (1962), 39–74; A. Pancker, *Der juedische Abwehrkampf* (1968); Wiener Library, *German Jewry* (1958), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** NDB, 9 (1972), 537f.

[Alexander Carlebach]

HOLLANDER, FRANKLIN (1899–1967), U.S. physiologist. Born and educated in New York City, Hollander became assistant professor of physiology at New York Medical College from 1927 to 1932. From 1936 until his death, he was chief of the Gastrointestinal Physiology Research Laboratory at New York's Mount Sinai Hospital and assistant clinical professor of physiology at Columbia University's College of Physicians and Surgeons. He was consultant to a number of hospitals and health institutes. He wrote extensively on gastrointestinal physiology and served on several editorial boards of medical journals.

HOLLANDER, ISAIAH BEN AARON (1806–1872), *dayyan* of Altona. In his youth Hollander and his friend, Jacob Cohen (1808–1905), studied for 10 years at the yeshivah of Moses *Sofer in Pressburg. On their teacher's instructions they returned to Altona and taught Talmud in accordance with the method of *pilpul* prevalent at the Pressburg yeshivah. They also assisted in the yeshivah of Jacob *Ettlinger and for a number of years Hollander was a member of Ettlinger's *bet din*. Some of his Torah novellae were published in the periodical *Shomer Ẓiyyon ha-Ne'eman* (no. 201 (1885), 400b f.). In 1834 Moses Sofer referred a problem (responsa *Ḥatam Sofer*, OḤ no. 4 (1845) 2a) to Hollander and Cohen, addressing them as "my distinguished young pupils."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Dukesz, *Chachme AHW* (1908), 128–30 (Heb.), 45 (Ger.); S. Sofer (Schreiber; ed.), *Iggerot Soferim* (1928) pt. 2, 71 (no. 2) 94; J. Wolfsberg, in: *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 2 (1948), 43.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOLLANDER, JOHN (1928–), U.S. poet, literary critic, and editor. His precise, often ironic and intricate verse was published in several volumes, among them *A Crackling of Thorns* (1958), *Tales Told of the Fathers* (1975), *Blue Wine and Other Poems* (1979), *Harp Lake* (1988), *Tesserae: & Other Poems* (1993), and *Figurehead & Other Poems* (1999). He also published critical works, such as *Rhyme's Reason: A Guide to English Verse* (1981) and *Melodious Guile: Fictive Pattern in Poetic Language* (1988). Among the works he has edited are *The Oxford Anthology of English Literature* (with Frank Kermode, 2 vols., 1975); and *American Poetry: The Nineteenth Century* (2 vols., 1993).

HOLLANDERSKY, ABRAHAM ("**Abe the Newsboy**"; 1887–1966). U.S. boxer credited with fighting more bouts than any other boxer in history; heavyweight champion of Panama. Hollandersky was born in Berznick, in the Russian Pale of Settlement, the son of a pants presser. His father immigrated to New London, Connecticut, to earn money to bring the rest of the family, which arrived when Hollandersky was seven. His father had gone blind, forcing Abe to support the family by selling newspapers to Navy men, who adopted him and taught him how to box. In 1906 President Teddy Roosevelt, reviewing the fleet aboard the presidential yacht *Mayflower*, was introduced to Hollandersky, who stood 5′ 4″. Roosevelt grabbed Hollandersky's ears playfully and said that lots of people believed "a Jew won't fight." Hollandersky promptly pummeled the president in the ribs. "My cauliflower ears showed that I could take it, and my jabs to his ribs showed I was boring in for more," Hollandersky wrote. When Roosevelt returned to the White House, he created a new post for Hollandersky: Newsboy of the Navy, permitting him to travel on any Navy ship anywhere in the world and sell newspapers. Hollandersky sold papers during the day and boxed at night, fighting exhibition rounds for the benefit of the Navy Relief, fighting 1,309 boxing matches and 387 wrestling matches between 1905 and 1918. His professional record was 4–3–1, with Hollandersky winning the Panama championship on August 11, 1913, and wrestling's welterweight championship in 1907, in a bout that took four hours and 18 minutes. He also took on animals, wrestling a muzzled bear in New York but losing to a kangaroo in Australia when the animal knocked Hollandersky out of the ring with his tail. Hollandersky is the author of *The Life Story of Abe the Newsboy, Hero of a Thousand Flights, the Newsboy with the U.S. Navy* (1930), which he published himself and reprinted many times.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

HOLLIDAY, JUDY (**Judith Tuvim**; 1922–1965), U.S. actress. Born in New York, her father, Abraham Tuvim (1894–1954), was executive director of the Foundation for the Jewish National Fund. Holliday made her professional debut in 1938 as part of the nightclub act The Revuers, which also starred aspiring playwrights Betty *Comden and Adolph *Green. She made her Broadway debut in 1945 in *Kiss Them for Me*. A year

later she starred in the comedy *Born Yesterday* as the "dumb blonde" Billie Dawn. Her subsequent Broadway roles were in *Bells Are Ringing* (1956–59) and *Hot Spot* (1963). In 1957 she won a Tony Award for Best Actress in a Musical for *Bells Are Ringing.*

She then played in the film version of *Born Yesterday* and won an Academy Award and a Golden Globe for Best Actress in 1951. She appeared in several other films as well, which included *Adam's Rib* (1949), *The Marrying Kind* (1952), *It Should Happen to You* (1954), *Phffft!* (1954), *The Solid Gold Cadillac* (1956), *Full of Life* (1957), and *Bells Are Ringing* (1960).

Although she was an accomplished actress, she was mainly cast as the effervescent airhead. But, as Holliday was once quoted as saying, "You have to be smart to play a dumb blonde over and over and keep the audience's attention without extraordinary physical equipment." She put that skill to good use when, in 1952, she was summoned to testify during the McCarthy Communist witch hunt. Playing her "ditzy blonde" character to the hilt on the witness stand, she so confounded the House Un-American Activities Committee that she ended up being the only person ever called before HUAC not to be blacklisted or forced to name names.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Carey, *Judy Holliday: An Intimate Life Story* (1982); W. Holtzman, *Judy Holliday, Only Child* (1982).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HOLLZER, HARRY AARON (1880–1946), U.S. jurist and Jewish community leader. Hollzer was born in New York and raised in San Francisco. He moved to Los Angeles in 1909 where he gained recognition as a lawyer and public figure. Hollzer served from 1924 on the Superior Court and the Court of Appeals, and from 1931 until his death he was judge of the United States District Court. For several years he was chairman of the National Conference of Judicial Councils. In the Jewish community Hollzer occupied important positions in numerous local and national organizations. His outstanding contribution was as founder of the United Jewish Community of Los Angeles in 1933. Hollzer was instrumental in expanding it to become the Los Angeles Jewish Community Council in 1937, and served as its president until his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Los Angeles Jewish Community Council, *Judge Harry A. Hollzer, 1880–1946* (1946); AJYB, 48 (1946), 101–6.

[Max Vorspan]

HOLMAN, NATHAN (Helmanowitch, "**Nat**," "**Mr. Basketball**"; 1896–1995), U.S. basketball pioneer, professional player with the Original Celtics, coach of City College of New York, which won NCAA and NIT titles in 1950; member of Basketball Hall of Fame. Holman was the seventh of 10 children born on Norfolk Street on New York's Lower East Side to Orthodox Russian immigrants Mary (Goldman) and Louis, who operated a grocery store and kept a kosher home. Holman learned sports from his six brothers, and from playing in the local Seward Park and at the local settlement houses. Holman graduated Commerce High School, where he was unanimously chosen as goalie for the All-Scholastic Soccer Team, left halfback on the All-City Football Team, unanimous All-Scholastic pick in basketball, and pitcher and second baseman for the school baseball team. Holman then received a degree from the two-year Savage School for Physical Education, while at the same time launching his professional career with the Knickerbockers, playing 80 games his first season and getting paid $5 a game.

Holman also began working at City College as coach of soccer and freshman basketball, and after a year in the Navy he returned to CCNY as head coach beginning in the 1919–20 season, becoming at 23 the youngest college coach in the country. While earning a master's degree at NYU, Holman continued playing professionally for some dozen teams in the Eastern League and Penn State League, including Bridgeport, Syracuse, Scranton, and Germantown, but it was when he joined the Original Celtics at the end of the 1921 season that he became the greatest basketball player of his day, known for his exceptional ball-handling, accurate shooting, and court savvy. Holman's extraordinary skills as an adroit passer and floor leader revolutionized the way basketball was played, and made the Celtics virtually unbeatable: the team won 90 percent of its games over the next eight years winning 720 of 795 games, including a 204–11 record in 1922–23 season, 134–6 in the 1924–25 season. The team disbanded in 1928 and Holman played two more seasons with Syracuse and Chicago, retiring from competition in 1930 to devote time to his head coaching duties at City College, and to the newly built 92nd St. YMHA. At CCNY he introduced the street-smart style of basketball that came to be known as the "City Game," emphasizing ball handling, speed, and passing. Holman was also an early proponent of keeping files on potential opponents, and convinced CCNY to pay for scouting films of college games played at Madison Square Garden.

Holman retired in 1960 after compiling a 423–190 record in 37 seasons at CCNY, highlighted in 1950 when his Beavers becoming the only college team in history to win both the NCAA and NIT tournaments. Two years later the team was implicated in a gambling scandal that led to Holman's being dismissed by the New York City Board of Higher Education, but he appealed the decision to the New York State commissioner of education, which rescinded the ruling and reinstated Holman at CCNY.

In 1949, Holman was the first American to coach in Israel and train Israeli youth. He was a lifetime supporter of sports in Israel, raising millions for the effort, and was president of the U.S. Sports for Israel Committee, sponsors of the U.S. delegation to the Maccabiah Games, from 1973 to 1977.

Holman was enshrined in the Helms Hall of Fame in 1934, the Basketball Hall of Fame in 1964, the Boys Athletic League Hall of Fame in 1976, and had the CCNY gym (1977) and the Wingate Institute School for Coaches and Instructors (1978) named after him. He was named the third-greatest player on the Associated Press' First Team of the Half-Cen-

tury (1900–50). Holman wrote four books: *Scientific Basketball* (1922), *Winning Basketball* (1932), *Championship Basketball* (1942), and *Holman on Basketball* (1950).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

HOLOCAUST. The entry is arranged according to the outline below. Bibliographies appear after sections marked (†).

THE EVENTS

Introduction

"Holocaust" is the term used for the systematic state-sponsored murder of millions of Jews by the Nazis and their collaborators during World War II. Some historians and writers restrict the use of the term to the murder of Jews; others use the term more widely to include those civilians victimized by Nazi Germany – trade unionists, political opponents of the regime, Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals – who were persecuted but not systematically murdered, as well as mentally retarded and physically handicapped Germans and Roma and Sinti (Gypsies), who were murdered by gassing.

The term Holocaust was not contemporaneous with the events. Winston Churchill called the murder of the Jews "a crime without a name." The Germans named their program accurately but euphemistically "The Final Solution to the Jewish Question." The word "Final" was all too apt. The goal of the Germans was to eliminate all Jewish blood, to wipe Jews and those of Jewish origin from the face of the earth. The systematic murder of an entire people would end the problem. At the core of Nazi doctrine was a racist view of the world that envisioned a hierarchy of peoples with the Aryan-Nordic-Germans as the "master race" and the Jews as parasites on the German nation; their elimination was essential to national well-being.

The Holocaust is also known as the Catastrophe, the Ḥurban, and the Shoah. The word's most likely connotation is death by fire, signifying the means by which the Jews were cremated after gassing in the ultimate manifestation of the Nazi universe, its death camps. The Holocaust is written with a capital H, signifying this specific event, which by the early 21st century was regarded as the paradigmatic manifestation of evil, an event without parallel, singular in its barbarism, intensified by the power of the modern state, fueled by technological and scientific progress, and unchecked by moral, social,

religious, or political constraints. The fact that the Holocaust was perpetrated not by an archaic, maniacal fringe but by the most cultured and scientifically advanced Western society of the era is an indictment of that very civilization and presents a challenge to historical interpretation. The historian Lucy *Dawidowicz termed the Nazi program of destruction "the War against the Jews" in a book of that title. Her distinction is important. The Germans fought two wars, a World War and a War against the Jews. Even while they were losing the battle against the Allied armies, they pursued their second war with unabated vigor, discipline, and determination. The final line of Hitler's last testament was a plea to his nation to continue the battle. "Above all, I enjoin the government and the people to uphold the race laws to the limit and to resist mercilessly the poisoner of all nations, international Jewry." Dawidowicz's perception of two wars also helps to understand the Allied response: the Allies fought the world war with complete dedication; they did not respond to the war against the Jews.

The persecution of the Jews – but not their murder – began with Hitler's rise to power in January 1933, and it continued in different forms with diverse policies, goals, and instrumentalities throughout the 12 years of his reign, until the defeat and unconditional surrender of the Third Reich on May 8, 1945. The systematic killing of the Jews did not begin in earnest until the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, and the evolution of that destruction was related to World War II. The war freed the regime from constraints and united the German people. It also brought more Jews under German control, and the tide of war often dictated the timetable of murder.

As the racial war against the Jews evolved; so did their suffering. At first it was limited to Germany. As the Reich expanded into territories, countries, and entire regions, more and more Jews came under their domination. Discrimination, harassment, and persecution gave way to systematic social, political, and economic elimination, segregation, and apartheid. With the conquest of Poland came ghettoization. With the introduction of the Final Solution in 1941, the murder of the Jews also evolved. At first, mobile killers were sent to stationary victims. When this proved difficult for the killers – emotionally and logistically – the process was reversed and the victims were made mobile: they were put on trains and sent to stationary killing centers where they were systematically murdered by gassing – liquidation and extermination were the terms the Nazis used. Toward the end of the war, in the winter of 1944–45, when the killing centers were about to be overrun, the victims were again made mobile, this time by foot; they were sent overland toward Germany, which had once cast them out, and forcibly marched to the end of their strength. Some were sent to concentration camps in Germany, which broke down under the waves of newly arriving prisoners, and other prisoners were marched and marched until the war ended. Then came the liberation of the camps, and the terrible truth became known.

European Jewry in the Early 1930s

As the 19th century ended, Jewish life was in ferment throughout Europe. In Eastern Europe, many Jews lived in shtetls, villages that were predominantly Jewish. They spoke Yiddish, read Yiddish books, both sacred and secular, and attended Yiddish theaters and movies. Many wore traditional black caftans and continued to observe the practices of their grandparents. Jewish religious life in all its forms was fervent. The religious community was piously observant; the secularists ardently secular, seeking to overturn the power of religious authority and to embrace the ideological movements of Communism and socialism. Many a young Jew left the yeshiva to enter a German university, casting aside traditional garb and practice and ardently embracing the teachings of the West. Despite antisemitism and cultural constraints, Germany was the place where Jews were best able to participate in intellectual and cultural life. They assimilated rapidly. Intermarriage was widespread; so was conversion. A vibrant Sephardic culture flourished in North Africa in Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Morocco, where the dominant culture was Arabic and French, and the most significant religious influence Islamic.

At the beginning of the new century, civil equality in Germany was guaranteed by law, but social barriers were slow to fall. Sigmund Freud's revolutionary teachings on sexuality were delivered to the B'nai B'rith chapter in Vienna. His psychoanalytic teachings were dismissed as "a Jewish science," and he desperately courted a non-Jew, Carl Jung, to promulgate his new theories. Still, Jewish artists, writers, scholars and scientists thrived in a new climate of openness. Einstein launched a new era in physics, as Freud had in psychology. Chagall and Modigliani were in the forefront of modern art. Einstein was only the first among peers: between 1905 and 1931, ten German Jews won the Nobel Prize in a variety of scientific fields.

Most Jews were neither prominent nor affluent. Contrary to the image that all Jews lived like Rothschilds, most lived in very ordinary circumstances. Many were poor. They were stevedores in Salonika, Greece; factory workers in Lodz, Poland; small shopkeepers in Amsterdam; Yeshiva students in Kovno, Lithuania; and professors in Berlin. They worked to create a home and sustain their families.

When the Nazis came to power in 1933, more than 9 million Jews lived in the 21 European nations where Germany would come to dominate either through occupation or alliance. The 560,000 Jews who lived in Germany itself were less than one percent of the population. Within Central Europe there were 445,000 Jews in Hungary, 357,000 in Czechoslovakia, 225,000 in France (many of them immigrants), and about 160,000 in the Netherlands; Belgium had some 60,000 Jews concentrated in Antwerp and Brussels. The Jewish population of Denmark was 6,000, of Finland, 1,800 and of Norway, 1,500. In southern Europe, Greece had about 100,000 Jews, Yugoslavia 70,000, Bulgaria 50,000, and Italy some 48,000. In eastern Europe, Romania, within its pre-World War II borders, had almost a million Jews and Poland had some three million;

Lithuania had 155,000 and Latvia 95,000, while there were an estimated 2.5 million Jews in the Soviet Union. Within a dozen years, two out of three of the 9 million were dead.

Germany in the Early 1930s

The Germans did not expect to lose World War I. The German people had been told that their war efforts had been successful. The Versailles treaty that followed imposed harsh penalties on the German nation, the loss of territory, demilitarization, and burdensome reparations. In the early 1920s, inflation wiped out the savings of the middle class and caused major economic dislocation. Billions of marks were needed to buy a loaf of bread as the German currency became worthless. In 1929 Germany was impacted by the worldwide Depression; its gross national product fell by 40%. Politics turned violent with the Communists on the left and the National Socialists on the right. The political center was weakened, and because of the perceived ineffectiveness of the Weimar Republic, support for democracy was waning. Little consensus could be achieved; elections were frequent and indecisive and German governments were short-lived. There was a sense that only strong leadership would pull Germany out of its morass.

NAZI RACISM. Racism was the dominant theme of Nazi ideology. It shaped social policy in Germany between 1933 and 1939, was a major factor in the way the Germans conducted the war, motivated German policy in occupied countries, and, when carried to its ultimate conclusion, resulted in the Holocaust.

Hitler's obsession with racial purity, his hatred of both Marxism and democracy, his belief in German racial supremacy, and his notion that an Aryan master race would take over the world were not secrets to German voters. They were stated clearly in his book *Mein Kampf* ("My Struggle"), first published in 1925. It was the "sacred mission of the German people… to assemble and preserve the most valuable racial elements… and raise them to a dominant position."

"All who are not of a good race are chaff," Hitler wrote. The Aryan race was destined to be superior, therefore the German people "are the highest species of humanity on earth." In the racial struggle of history, the "master race" would dominate if it preserved its purity. Otherwise, it would be polluted, corrupted, and destroyed by inferior races.

It was necessary for Germans to "occupy themselves not merely with the breeding of dogs, horses, and cats but also with care for the purity of their own blood." These notions were not original. Hitler simplified racial doctrines propounded in the nineteenth century, particularly in the writings of the French aristocrat *Gobineau and the English-born disciple of the composer Richard Wagner, Houston Stewart Chamberlain.

Whatever the theoretical underpinnings of Hitler's racial beliefs, Nazi racism under his direction was far from theoretical. Blood mixture was abhorrent. Procreation by inferior races was to be discouraged, at first through forced sterilization, later by systematic murder. The obsession with the Jews was central to Hitler's worldview and became the operative ideology of the German state under his rule.

The Nazi Party's attitude toward the Jews is expressed in the coarse slogan *Deutschland erwache, Juda verrecke* ("Germany wake up, Judah drop dead") and in the words of the battle cry of the party's paramilitary, the SA (*Sturmabteilung*, "Storm Division," known as the Brownshirts or Stormtroopers): "*Wenn das Judenblut vom Messer spritzt, dann geht's nochmal so gut*" ("When Jew blood spurts from the knife, things will go twice as well"). What could be expected from the party and its affiliated organizations was demonstrated by numerous acts of violence at the hands of Hitler's stormtroopers before the seizure of power, beginning in 1924, as well as by unrestrained propaganda (books, pamphlets, and periodicals such as *Der *Stuermer*, published from 1923 on), in which the Jew was represented as a subhuman (*Untermensch*), a parasite, a phenomenon of decay (*Faeulniserscheinung*), and the main cause of all German misfortunes. "It is our duty," Hitler said in 1920, "to arouse, to whip up, and to incite in our people the instinctive repugnance of the Jews."

HITLER'S ASCENT TO POWER. Adolf Hitler came to power legally on January 30, 1933 as the head of a coalition government. He was appointed by the aging President Paul von Hindenburg on the assumption that that since he and the Nazi party were a source of German political instability, terror, and violence, the responsibilities of the chancellorship as a minority leader in a coalition government would force Hitler to the center. Political leaders assumed that he could be controlled either personally or by his circumstances. They underestimated him as they overestimated their own resources.

Ironically, Nazi power had reached its peak before Hitler was named chancellor. It was in decline by the time he came to office. The National Socialist (Nazi) Party had won just 12 seats with 2.8 percent of the vote in May 1928 and could still be dismissed as marginal, but in September 1930 its total rose to 107 in the 608-seat Reichstag (Parliament) after winning some 6.4 million votes (18 percent). The party improved in the elections of July 31, 1932, when it received 37.3 percent of the vote and 230 seats. But in the elections of November 6, 1932, the last free elections before Hitler came to power, the Nazis received only 33.1 percent of the vote. The number of their seats was reduced to 196. The master German propagandist Joseph *Goebbels had predicted: "We come like wolves descending upon a herd of sheep. We will become members of the Reichstag in order to disable the Weimar order with its own acquiescence."

Once in office, Hitler's first objective was to consolidate power and eliminate political opposition. The burning of the Reichstag on February 27, 1933, which the Nazis claimed had been done by a Communist, provided a pretext to strengthen Hitler's position. The next day, he received emergency powers from von Hindenburg and immediately ordered a hundred Communists arrested. In the March 1933 election, the Nazi Party received 288 seats in the Reichstag with 44 per-

cent of the vote. Special Nazi courts were established to deal with dissidents and the first concentration camp, *Dachau, was established outside Munich to house the newly arrested. Emergency provisions of the Weimar Constitution were invoked to dismantle constitutional protections and give Hitler dictatorial powers. Articles 25 and 48 allowed the president to usurp the powers of state governments and suspend constitutional guarantees of civil liberties, and with a two-thirds majority of those present and voting the chancellor could be granted temporary legislative powers. On March 23, 1933, the Enabling Act was passed, giving Hitler just such legislative powers. One hundred and seven legislators, Communists and Social Democrats, were either under arrest or in hiding and were therefore not present and did not vote. In the first 60 days after the passage of the act, there were attacks against the Jews, but the major focus was on the suppression of Hitler's domestic political opposition.

By July 14, 1933, the Nazi Party was the only legal political party in Germany. Unopposed in the next election, it received 93 percent of the vote. A law for the Revocation of Naturalization and the Annulment of German Citizenship stripped of their citizenship East European Jews who had immigrated to Germany. A law for the Prevention of Offspring with Hereditary Diseases provided for the sterilization of unfit parents or potential parents and the euthanasia of defective offspring. "Useless eaters," they were termed. Jews felt their condition to be precarious, but so did others who belonged to political or racial categories not sanctioned by Nazi ideology. On July 20, 1933 the Vatican signed a Concordat with Germany, a treaty governing the status of the church, which Pope *Pius XI believed protected Catholic rights. The Concordat provided greater legitimacy for the Third Reich in the eyes of lay people and the church hierarchy. In August, the Haavara (Transfer) Agreement was signed between the German Ministry of the Economy and the World Zionist Organization, which permitted German Jews to meet British entry requirements (which included the possession of £1,000 in capital), in addition to German emigration taxes, and migrate to Palestine. As with all Jewish negotiations with the Nazis during this period, and most especially during the world war that followed, these were negotiations between unequal parties. Under the provisions of the agreement, the assets of Jews leaving for Palestine were placed in special accounts; portions of these accounts could be drawn upon in Palestine in the form of German goods. This agreement enabled some 40,000 Jews to leave Germany for Palestine and arrive there with at least some resources to begin new lives. The agreement was consistent with the goal of German policy during the prewar period, to make Germany *judenrein*, free of Jews, not by murder but by making it impossible for Jews to live there, virtually forcing them to emigrate.

THE ASSAULT AGAINST THE JEWS. The assault against the Jews began with the April 1, 1933 boycott of Jewish businesses. The boycott was originally scheduled to be an ongoing phenomenon but lasted one day. Some Germans supported the boycott; others made it a point of honor to call on Jewish friends, to patronize Jewish shops. Signs announcing the boycott were printed in English as well as German. They were intended as a warning to the Jews of America that any strong response to the Nazi rise to power, such as the proposed boycott of German products or a repeat of the mass rally sponsored by the American Jewish Congress in Madison Square Garden on March 27 that year, would endanger German Jews. In contacts between American and German Jews, the latter urged caution lest an already difficult situation be exacerbated. The question of how, publicly, Jews could oppose the persecution of Jews in other countries without worsening their situation was not new in Jewish history. It remained a problem throughout the Nazi years.

On April 7, the Law for the Restoration of a Professional Civil Service was promulgated, and Jews were dismissed from the civil service. These included lawyers working for the state, physicians employed by state-run health plans and hospitals, and even professors at state universities. By the end of the month, Jewish attendance at German schools was restricted by a quota. Such quotas were not unusual. They were present in Poland and even in the United States. On May 10, Hitler's 100th day in office, thousands of Nazi students along with many professors stormed university libraries and bookstores in thirty cities throughout Germany to remove tens of thousands of books written by non-Aryans and those opposed to Nazi ideology. The books were tossed into bonfires in an effort to purify German culture of "un-Germanic" writings. Some were by Jewish authors; others were not. Works that were politically offensive to Nazism were destroyed alongside works by Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud, Albert Einstein, and other Jewish writers. Joseph Goebbels proclaimed at the bookburning opposite the Berlin Opera house, "The age of Jewish intellectual domination has ended." A century earlier, the German poet of Jewish origin, Heinrich Heine, had said, "Where one burns books, one will, in the end, burn people." In Nazi Germany, the distance between book burning and people burning was to be eight years.

Well integrated into German society and comfortably assimilated, the German Jews felt the assaults as a shock. One hundred thousand Jews, about one in six, had fought for Germany during World War I; 12,000 had lost their lives. During the Weimar period, they had achieved national prominence in literature and science, the arts and philosophy. Ten German Jews were among the approximately thirty Germans who had won Nobel Prizes for their work. They felt at home in German society and even spoke of the unique German-Jewish symbiosis. Years later, Gershom *Scholem, the great scholar of Jewish mysticism and Zionist dissenter from German culture, described the "symbiosis" as a German-Jewish monologue, Jews speaking to themselves of how deeply German they were. Religiously and culturally the community had also been flourishing during Weimar times, as some young Jews were rediscovering their Judaism. A small Zionist movement

had emerged. Theological seminaries, Liberal and Orthodox, and great German universities were attracting not only German Jews but East European Jews who wanted to share the best of Western culture and integrate it into their Jewish learning and living. Joseph Dov Baer *Soloveitchik and Abraham Joshua *Heschel, Menachem Mendel *Schneersohn and Alexander *Altmann were among them. The remnant that survived was to come to prominence on three continents in the next generation. Few German Jews perceived the full extent of what was to follow, but how could they? The pessimists prepared to leave. Others regarded Nazism as an aberration, antithetical to German values and German tradition. This would pass, they believed. Jewish leadership sought clarification of its legal status. Deprived of their confidence as Germans, some Jews re-embraced their tradition and their identity. In a front-page article in the *Juedische Rundschau*, Robert Weltsch proclaimed: "Wear it with pride, the yellow badge." Others despaired; a few committed suicide. Turning inward, attempts at legal clarification, appeal to Jewish pride, emigration, self-loathing and despair characterized Jewish responses throughout the initial assault. Certainly most German Jews did not perceive how precarious their situation was and how much worse it was to be become.

JEWISH LIFE UNDER THE SWASTIKA. Discrimination increased through 1933. Jews were banned from journalism and music, broadcasting and theater, even farming. Laws of increasing severity, scope, and detail were promulgated not only against the Jews but also against other groups targeted for discrimination and persecution by Nazi ideology. The Jewish situation was insecure, but did not necessarily appear fatal.

In 1934, there were fewer new anti-Jewish laws, as Hitler and his loyalists were consolidating their power, both within the party and in the country as a whole. They destroyed the leftist, socially radical wing of the Nazi party, including its leader, Ernst Roehm, who was murdered on Hitler's orders, as was Gregor Strasser, who had once been the second-ranking party leader. In August, with the death of von Hindenburg, the presidency was abolished and Hitler became the sole ruler of Germany, both "Fuehrer" (leader) and chancellor. Even the army swore allegiance directly to the man – not to the constitution and not to the people.

Over the next years Jewish economic activities and possibilities were severely restricted.

As exclusion of Jews and restriction of their activities increased, German law required a legal definition of who was a Jew and who was an Aryan. The Nuremberg laws passed by the Reichstag and promulgated at the annual Nazi Party rally in the Bavarian town of Nuremberg on September 15, 1935 – the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor and the Reich Citizenship Law – became the centerpieces of anti-Jewish legislation and the precedents for defining and categorizing Jews in every land Germany controlled. Marriage, as well as sexual relations between Jews and citizens of "German or kindred blood," was prohibited. Only racially "pure" Germans were entitled to civil and political rights. Jews were reduced to the status of subjects of the state. The Nuremberg laws formally divided Germans and Jews, yet neither the word "German" nor "Jew" was defined. That task was left to the bureaucracy, which filled in the gap by November. Two basic categories were established: Jew – anyone with three Jewish grandparents – and Mischling (mixed breed). Thus, the definition of Jews was based not upon the identity they affirmed or the religion they practiced, but on categories derived from race "science." Raul Hilberg has argued that this definition was the first stage of the destruction of the Jews.

As the outside world became increasingly hostile, Jews turned inward. Martin *Buber led an effort at adult Jewish education, preparing the Jewish community for the long journey ahead. Rabbi Leo *Baeck circulated a prayer for Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement) in 1935 that gave Jews instructions on to how to behave: "We bow down before God, we stand erect before man." Baeck, together with Otto *Hirsch, represented the Jews before German authorities in the Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden (Representation of German Jews, founded in September 1933) that was to undergo a change of names and a reduction of authority and function over the first years of Nazi rule. Yet while few, if any, could foresee its eventual outcome, the Jewish condition was increasingly perilous and was expected to get worse.

For Jewish children, the first blow often came in school, where they met with hostility from their classmates and their teachers and where appeals to the principals or other authorities were often met with stony silence, if not with sympathy for the harassers. The Jewish community established Jewish schools, within whose walls Jewish children could feel safe even if they met with danger en route. The Jewish community was also forced to provide economic assistance as more Jews lost their livelihoods. Jewish cultural activities organized by the *Kulturbund provided employment for artists, performers, and musicians while it fortified a growing sense of Jewish identity.

Meanwhile, Hitler sought greater international legitimacy for his regime. To bolster its standing, Germany served as host to the 1936 Olympics. Efforts in several countries (the strongest in the United States) to organize a boycott failed. The American Olympic Committee received assurances that all German athletes had a chance to compete on German teams, yet only Nazi sports clubs continued to operate. For a period of time, Berlin was "sanitized" for the international press and foreign visitors. Antisemitic signs were removed, rhetoric toned down. Some Jews mistakenly felt that the worst had passed. In the United States, the 1936 Olympics are usually remembered for the great achievements of Jesse Owens, the African-American sprinter who won four gold medals, to the annoyance of Nazi race theorists, but little attention was paid to the exclusion of Jewish athletes from the German team, so the façade of normality can be said to have worked quite well. After the games, President Franklin Delano Roos-

evelt told Rabbi Stephen Wise, "The synagogues are full and apparently there is nothing wrong."

In 1937 the process of Aryanization was accelerated. Jewish businesses were transferred to "Aryan" ownership, and Jews were forbidden to remain corporate officers or stockholders. Their economic disenfranchisement led to economic vulnerability. Property had to be sold at well below market value. Banks profited by lending money to "Aryan" purchasers and charging exorbitant fees for the transaction. Over time, the well-established Jewish community became increasingly impoverished. When business owners held out for more favorable conditions, they often found themselves in a more vulnerable situation, which in turn diminished the value of their assets.

The Expansion of the Reich

Hitler felt that Germans were cramped within unnatural borders and were entitled to seize the *Lebensraum* (living space) he felt they needed in central and Eastern Europe, intending to "Germanize" these areas through dispossession and settlement. In this way all German "Aryans" would be brought "*heim ins Reich*," "home" within a nation that would rightfully dominate Europe and the world. Above all, perhaps, he was determined to restore the German honor he believed had been lost at Versailles with the 1919 treaty that embodied Germany's surrender, formally ending World War I and forcing Germany to take responsibility for the war, pay reparations, give up territory, suffer occupation by foreign troops, and disarm. Expansion, however, complicated Hitler's goal of ridding Germany of Jews through forced emigration. Each territorial expansion brought more Jews under German control. The Saar region, in the Rhineland, was returned to Germany on March 1, 1935. In German Upper Silesia, where the Jews were under the protection of the German-Polish Convention of May 15, 1922, the restrictions imposed by the Convention on the exercise of German sovereignty terminated on July 15, 1937. Austria was annexed in March 1938, and the Czech area known as the Sudetenland was handed over on October 1, 1938, by virtue of the Munich Agreement. Ultimately Czechoslovakia ceased to exist when the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was created in March 1939. The Memel region, formerly part of East Prussia and now in Lithuania, was annexed at the same time. When Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939, the "Jewish problem" became urgent. By the time the division of Poland between Germany and the Soviet Union was complete, more than two million more Jews had come under German control.

THE EVIAN CONFERENCE. By the late 1930s, there was a desperate search for countries of refuge. Those few who could get visas to the United States and qualify under stringent quotas emigrated to America. Many went to Palestine, where the small Jewish community was willing to receive refugees. Still others sought refuge in neighboring European countries, later to be overrun by the German invasion. Most countries, however, were unwilling to receive large numbers of refugees.

Responding to growing domestic pressures to act on behalf of Jewish refugees, U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt convened, but did not attend, a conference in Evian, France, in July 1938. The invitation foretold its limited achievements. National leaders were told that no laws would have to be changed and no government funds would be expended. Only philanthropic (Jewish) funds would be used for resettlement. The British were told that Palestine would not be on the agenda. The United States was unwilling to expand its quotas on German and Austrians seeking entry, mainly Jews. The conference spoke of the "refugee crisis," when everyone understood that this was a euphemism for Jewish refugees, unable to find asylum in numbers adequate to their need. Two days after Roosevelt announced the Evian Conference, Adolf Hitler gloated:

> I can only hope that the other world which has such deep sympathy for these criminals [Jews] will at least be generous enough to convert this sympathy into practical aid. We on our part are ready to put all these criminals at the disposal of these countries, for all I care, even on luxury ships.

For nine days, delegations from 32 nations met at the Royal Hotel on Lake Geneva along with representatives of 39 private relief agencies, 21 of which were Jewish. The world press covered the event intensely.

One by one, delegates from each country rose to profess their understanding of the refugees' plight. One by one, they gave excuses why so little could be done: Canada would accept farmers – small comfort for urbanized Jews fleeing Germany. Holland and Denmark offered temporary refuge for a few. "Australia does not have a racial problem, and we are not desirous of importing one," its delegate proclaimed. Colombia's delegate was not "prepared to resign himself to the belief that two thousand years of Christian civilization must lead to this terrible catastrophe." Colombia itself could offer nothing. The delegate from Venezuela was reluctant to disturb the "demographic equilibrium" of his country. In short, no Jewish merchants, peddlers, or intellectuals were wanted in Venezuela. Only the Dominican Republic offered to receive 100,000 Jews. In the end only a few went there.

In a formal response to Evian, the German Foreign Office gloated: "…since in many foreign countries it was recently regarded as wholly incomprehensible why Germans did not wish to preserve in its population an element like the Jews… it appears astounding that countries seem in no way anxious to make use of these elements themselves now that the opportunity arises."

The implications for Nazi policy were clear. Forced emigration would not succeed. No one wanted the Jews. The desperate struggle of the refugees became even more difficult.

THE NOVEMBER POGROMS: KRISTALLNACHT. In October 1938, the Polish government revoked the passports of Jews who had lived outside Poland for more than five years. The Swiss government requested that German passports be marked with the letter *J* for *Jude*, thus preventing Jews from passing themselves off as Christians and finding temporary shelter in

Switzerland. On October 28, Polish Jews living in Germany were expelled and Poland refused to repatriate them; they found temporary shelter in Zbaszyn, a frontier town on the Polish-German border. The *Grynzspan family wrote a desperate letter to their teenage son Hershel, who was in Paris. After receiving the letter he set off to the German Embassy and mortally wounded the third secretary of the German legation, Ernst vom Rath.

Ostensibly in response to Grynzspan's desperate act, on the evening of November 9, 1938, carefully orchestrated anti-Jewish violence "erupted" throughout the Reich, which since March had included Austria. Over the next 48 hours, more than 1,000 synagogues were burned and 7,000 businesses were ransacked and their windows broken. Some 30,000 Jewish men between the ages of 16 and 60 were arrested and sent to newly expanded concentration camps. The police stood by as the violence – often committed by neighbors, not strangers – raged on. Firemen were instructed to ensure that the flames did not spread to adjacent Aryan property, but not to put out the fires at the synagogues. Thus, most of the synagogues left standing were small synagogues that were part of other buildings. The November pogroms were given a quaint name to obscure what actually happened: "Kristallnacht" (Crystal Night, or the Night of Broken Glass). In its aftermath, Jews lost the illusion that they had a future in Germany.

The response in the West to the November Kristallnacht pogroms was strong. It dominated the news. The U.S. ambassador to Germany was recalled, though diplomatic relations were not severed. The act was public and the violence problematic for the Germans, as glass had to be imported.

Behind the scenes, matters deteriorated even further for the Jews. On November 12, 1938, Hermann *Goering, head of the Luftwaffe (air force) and the number two man in the Nazi party hierarchy, convened a meeting of Nazi officials to discuss the damage to the German economy from pogroms. The Jewish community was fined one billion Reichsmarks. Jews were made responsible for cleaning up. German Jews, though not foreign Jews, were barred from collecting insurance. In addition, new restrictions were enacted: Jews were denied entry to theaters, forced to travel in separate compartments on trains, and excluded from German schools. These were added to earlier prohibitions, such as those forbidding graduation from universities, owning businesses, or practicing law or medicine on non-Jews. Jewish property continued to be confiscated under the Aryanization program. Goering concluded the November meeting on a note of irony: "I would not like to be a Jew in Germany!"

Enemies of the State (Non-Jewish Victims of Nazism)

While Jews were the primary victims of Nazism as it evolved, and were central to Nazi racial ideology, other groups were victimized as well – some for what they did, some for what they refused to do, and some for what they were.

Political dissidents, trade unionists, Communists, and Social Democrats were among the first to be arrested. Additionally, German and Austrian male homosexuals (there was no systematic persecution of lesbians) were arrested and, like the others, later incarcerated in concentration camps. They were antithetical to the Nazis' concept of German manhood and useless for the procreation of the master race. Jehovah's Witnesses were a problem for the Nazis because they refused to swear allegiance to the state, register for the draft, or utter the words "Heil Hitler." Twenty thousand in number, many Witnesses were incarcerated. They were in one sense the only voluntary victims of Nazism. If they filled out a form severing their religious affiliation and promising to cease to proselytize, they could be freed. Jews, even those who had converted, were offered no such choice. The Nazis also singled out the Roma and the Sinti, known collectively and pejoratively as the gypsies. Their persecution began locally; only later did initiatives come from Berlin. Freemasons were persecuted at first; their lodges were regarded as a cover for a Jewish conspiracy to attack Christianity, but gradually the persecution of Freemasons slackened and by 1938 an amnesty was declared. Their services were needed by the regime. Until the arrest of Jewish men aged 16–60 on Kristallnacht, these non-Jews constituted the majority of people incarcerated in concentration camps.

The Invasion of Poland and the Beginning of World War II

On the sixth anniversary of his ascent to office, January 30, 1939, Hitler warned the Reichstag: "If international-finance Jewry [Hitler's term, for the supposed conspiracy of Jewish bankers] inside and outside of Europe should succeed once more in plunging nations into another world war, the consequence will not be the Bolshevization of the earth and thereby the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe."

On September 1, 1939, Germany invaded Poland. Two days later France and Great Britain declared war on Germany and World War II began in what became known as the period of the phony war, for there were no battles in the West until the spring of 1940. The United States remained neutral for more than two years; only a direct attack by Japan on Pearl Harbor impelled America to enter the war. On August 22, 1939, speaking to German army generals, Hitler had defined a new type of war. "Our war aim does not consist in reaching certain lines, but in the physical destruction of the enemy. Accordingly, I have placed my deathhead formations in readiness – for the present only in the East – with orders to send to death, mercilessly and without compassion, men, women, and children of Polish derivation and language. Only thus shall we gain the living space (*Lebensraum*) which we need."

In a surprise move, especially considering Hitler's stated opposition to Marxism, on August 23, 1939, Germany and the Soviet Union signed the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, pledging mutual nonaggression. A secret protocol called for the division of Poland between them. German troops would enter from the west and Soviet troops from the east. German progress was swift. Within six days Cracow was conquered, within eight days Lodz, Radom, and Tarnow, and within four

weeks Warsaw fell to the Germans. The Germans targeted the Poles for decimation. Polish priests and politicians were murdered, the Polish leadership was decimated and, over time, the children of the Polish elite were kidnapped and raised as "Aryans" by their new German "parents." A common enemy, the occupying Wehrmacht, and even the fury that the Nazis unleashed against Polish culture and Polish nationalism, did not lead to solidarity among the Jews and Poles but intensified tensions that were already high between the two communities. In the first weeks of battle, more than two million additional Jews came under German domination; thus, for the Germans the already problematic Jewish question had only become more acute.

THE IMPACT ON THE JEWS OF POLAND. The full thrust of German occupation policy was directed at the Jews, who were soon isolated and gradually cut off from the neighboring communities. On September 21, 1939, Reinhard *Heydrich, security service chief of the SS (*Schutzstaffel*, "Defense Squadron"; a Nazi party elite paramilitary organization that was the chief instrument of the Final Solution), ordered the establishment of the *Judenraete* (Jewish Councils; singular **Judenrat*). Composed of 24 men – rabbis and Jewish leaders – they were to be made personally responsible in "the literal sense of the term," as Heydrich decreed, for carrying out German orders. From Heydrich's perspective, the Judenrat was an instrument of German control, a means of freeing his forces for other tasks.

He also ordered the deportation of Jews from smaller communities of less than 500 to larger urban centers, where they were to be concentrated in Jewish residential quarters, a euphemism for ghettos. His order spoke of the "final aim" – not the "Final Solution" – which would be implemented over time, and the stages leading to the fulfillment of the final aim, which were to be implemented swiftly.

Individual Jews, especially within the border area, faced the difficult choice of whether to move westward toward areas of German control or to move eastward into territories of Soviet domination. Those who relied on past experience, on the lessons of history, found that they were deeply mistaken. For more than a century, freedom, progress, and opportunity were to be found by moving west. The German army had been relatively well behaved during World War I; it had treated Jews and the rest of the Polish population far better than Russian forces.

THE FIRST KILLINGS BY GAS: THE SO-CALLED EUTHANASIA PROGRAM. In an order backdated to September 1, 1939, to give it the appearance of a wartime measure, Hitler instructed his personal physician and the chief of the Chancellery to put to death those Germans who were considered "life unworthy of living." His signed order read: "Reich leader Philip Bouhler and Dr. Brandt are charged with responsibility for expanding the authority of physicians, to be designated by name, to the end that patients considered incurable according to the best available human judgment of their state of health, can be granted a mercy killing."

This evolved over time into the "*euthanasia program" in which mentally retarded, physically infirm, and chronically ill Germans, who according to Nazi ideology were an embarrassment to the myth of Aryan supremacy, were put to death. At first, passive means were used, starvation and withholding of medicine. Gradually, more active measures were introduced, such as injections and sedatives. Finally, gas chambers were employed, staffed by physicians and nurses in a process of medical killing. While the T-4 program, named after its headquarters at Tiergarten 4 in Berlin, might seem unrelated to the Holocaust, it was a prefiguration. As the Final Solution killing centers came on line in 1942, they were staffed by T-4 workers, veterans of mass murder. The organized transportation of the handicapped foreshadowed the mass deportations of the Jews. During the German euthanasia program, psychiatrists were able to save some patients, at least temporarily, but only if they cooperated in sending others to their death. They faced no penalty if they refused to cooperate. Ultimately, in the Jewish communities of the territories conquered by the Germans, Judenrat leaders were coerced – under the threat of death – to make similar choices. Yet the programs were different in two respects: the so-called euthanasia program was halted because of domestic disquiet and protest; concerned parents and aroused clergy protested and the murders were formally halted (they were resumed in a disguised fashion). And there were no consequences for the few psychiatrists who refused to participate. There were no such protests against the murder of the Jews. Judenrat leaders were "personally responsible" for carrying out German orders. Those who refused were killed. Some, but not all, Judenrat leaders accepted the dire consequences.

Blitzkrieg, or the German Invasion of Western Europe

The events of World War II had a direct impact on all the Jewish communities of Europe. On April 9, 1940, Germany invaded Denmark and Norway. On May 10, Germany invaded Holland, Belgium, France, and Luxembourg. German victories were swift. The German strategy, as in the earlier Polish campaign, was given the name *Blitzkrieg*, lightning war. By June an armistice had been signed with France; the north and west of the country came under German occupation, a portion in the southeast was ruled by Italy, and the remainder came under the control of a collaborationist French government based in Vichy.

The nature of the German occupation differed according to country, but it is axiomatic that Germany treated Western countries more respectfully than it did the populations in the East, who were considered racially inferior by Nazi ideology. In Denmark, the civil service remained in place and German occupation was restrained. The German and Austrian model served as a blueprint for the treatment of the Jews in the countries of Western Europe. Jews were defined according to the principles of Nuremberg; civil rights were curtailed and property was confiscated. Unlike those in Poland, Jews in the West were not confined to sealed ghettos; they were, how-

ever, forced to wear yellow stars marking them as Jews, since in most cases Jewish identity could not otherwise be determined visually. In France the quasi-independent Vichy regime imposed anti-Jewish laws, including the systematic confiscation of Jewish property and the transfer of Jewish businesses in a process of "Aryanization" modeled on the earlier German pre-war policies. In the summer of 1942, Jews were rounded up – mostly by French police – in both German-occupied and Vichy France. On July 16–17, 12,884 Jews in Paris were forced into the Veledrome d' Hiver, a sports arena, and held without food or water. Children were gathered with their parents and then parents were separated from their children and shipped to the transit camp of Drancy. More than 40,000 Jews were transported to the "East" in 1942. One in three was from Vichy France. Transit camps were established in countries other than France as well. From 1942 on, as the death camps came into operation, more transit camps were established in Europe (in German-occupied France, Pithiviers, Beaune-la-Rolande, Compiègne, and *Drancy; in unoccupied Vichy France, alien Jews were concentrated in Gurs and Rivesaltes; in Serbia, Topovske Šupe, Šabac, and Sajmište in Belgrade; in Croatia, Jasenovac; in the Netherlands, *Westerbork and *Vught; in Belgium, Breendonck and Dassin-Malines); Jews were deported to these from their homes and were then sent on to the death camps.

On April 6, 1941, German troops invaded Greece and Yugoslavia, setting off a war in the Balkans. Their progress was less swift than expected, which was significant because it delayed the German invasion of the Soviet Union from the spring until the summer of 1941 and resulted in the Germans having to stop short of their goals due to the onset of the harsh Russian winter.

Ghettoization

Following the German invasion of Poland, the Jewish population was herded into ghettos. Warsaw contained the largest of German-occupied Poland's approximately 400 ghettos. When it was sealed in the fall of 1940, the Jews – 30 percent of Warsaw's population – were forced into a district of 2.4 percent of the area of the city, with a density of over 200,000 per square mile and 9.2 people per room. Living conditions were difficult, the population faced hunger and famine, and soon conditions gave rise to diseases and epidemics. The death rate in Warsaw was one in ten in 1941, before the deportations and the killing.

There are two perspectives on the ghetto: to the German rulers, the ghetto was a temporary measure, a holding pen, until a policy of what to do with the Jews was established and implemented. To the Jews, ghetto life was the situation under which they thought they would live until the end of the war. Jews were biding time until…

JEWISH RESPONSES. How does one live under these circumstances? Families, living with others in squalid and crowded conditions, lost elementary privacy. Parental authority was compromised, and the ability of mothers and fathers to protect their children was limited at best. Some Jews collapsed under the pressure, many floundered; a few rose to the occasion, but most muddled through. As schools closed, makeshift forms of education were established. Since religious services were forbidden, prayer quorums and study houses were created secretly. Amateur historians documented the times in which they lived. Self-help groups arose, as did building committees and soup kitchens. Smugglers brought food into the starving ghetto; some for self-enrichment, most for basic survival. The motto of smugglers was described in one diary as "eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die." The painful truth was masked with humor.

Warsaw was connected to the rest of the city by a sewer system that could not be blocked. This underground system facilitated illicit commerce and exchange. In Lodz, the second largest ghetto in Poland was entirely separated from the city. In Warsaw, Emanuel *Ringelblum established a documentation center where records were kept and even research was undertaken. Diaries portrayed daily activities; they were personal but they also were intended to establish a historical memory. Documents were saved and later hidden. If individuals were not to survive, at least historical memory would bear witness to their demise and to their life under the intolerable conditions. Underground newspapers were published, and even theater performances and concerts were held in the ghetto.

The Jews gave their efforts a name: *Iberleben*, to outlive, to endure, to survive. Rabbi Yiẓḥak *Nissenbaum of the Warsaw ghetto spoke of **kedushat ha-ḥayyim*, the sanctification of life, as opposed to **kiddush ha-Shem*, traditional martyrdom, the sanctification of God's name. In the past, remaining faithful to Jewish tradition, sanctifying God's name, had deprived the enemy of their ultimate victory. Since the Nazis intended to impose the "Final Solution to the Jewish Question," to murder all Jews, remaining alive, sanctifying life, would deprive the Nazis of their victory.

JEWISH LEADERSHIP. Ghettos took a variety of forms and were led by men of diverse talents, egos, and integrity. Jewish leadership, like the ghetto itself, must be viewed from two perspectives. To the German masters, Jewish leadership was an indispensable instrument of German control; to the Jews, Jewish leaders imposed German domination on the ghetto and represented – usually without much success and in the end with absolute and total failure – Jewish needs to the Germans. They were caught with the most limited power in a dilemma not of their own making with meager resources and massive needs under the total domination of their captors, who ultimately ordered the liquidation – deportation to death camps – of the ghetto population. The head of the Warsaw Jewish Council, Adam *Czerniakow, an engineer by training, permitted laissez-faire capitalism. In Lodz, Mordechai Chaim *Rumkowski made himself and the Jewish Council the central and controlling arm of the besieged ghetto. He pursued a strategy of "survival by work." He reasoned that if the ghetto could become a productive work force making

materials essential to the Wehrmacht (the German army), the Germans would be reluctant to destroy it. He was willing to pay the price of his strategy. Unlike Czerniakow, who sought to protect the children of the Warsaw ghetto, Rumkowski preserved the productive and was willing to consent to the deportation of the young and the old, sacrificing some while saving more inhabitants. On September 4, 1942, he gave an anguished speech. "Fathers and mothers, give me your children… A broken Jew stands before you… I reach out to you with my broken and trembling hands and I beg: give into my hands the victims so that we can avoid having other victims. A population of 100,000 Jews can be preserved." Alongside formal Jewish leadership, there were informal Jewish leaders. Soup kitchens were organized, apartment houses became a beehive of opportunity, rabbis continued to teach Torah and youth activities grew more intense and urgent. Jews continued their cultural life, even within the ghettos. Theater was produced, concerts were organized. The very survival of the Warsaw ghetto depended upon the activities of smugglers, who produced the food supplies that supplemented the bare rations provided by the Germans.

In retrospect – but only in retrospect – it is clear that the ghettos were a temporary measure containing the Jews until the infrastructure for their murder could be created. Most ghettos lasted for two or at most three years, until the great deportations of 1942 and 1943. Lodz was an exception. It endured until the summer of 1944. And Rumkowski, whom many considered a villain in Jewish history, might have emerged a hero had the Soviet Army liberated his ghetto before the Germans deported the last Jews of Lodz in August 1944.

In the pre-war period, the goal of German policy was to make Germany *Judenrein*, free of Jews. During the initial war years, two other policies were discussed and historians differ as to the seriousness of those discussions – to transport the Jews to reservations in Nisko and Lublin; or the Madagascar plan, to ship the Jews to an island off the coast of Africa. With the evolving war, neither plan was feasible, if even seriously considered.

The German Invasion of the Soviet Union

Historians differ as to the date of the decision to systematically murder Jews, the so-called "Final Solution to the Jewish Problem." There is debate whether and when there was one central decision or a series of regional decisions in response to local conditions, but there is no debate as to when the systematic murder of Jews began. It commenced with the German invasion of the Soviet Union.

Code named "Operation Barbarosa," the German invasion began on June 22, 1941. The scope of the operation was vast: more than three million German soldiers, accompanied by half a million additional personnel from Germany's allies (Finland, Romania, Hungary, Italy, Slovakia, and Croatia, and a contingent of troops from Spain). The attack was broad, from the Baltic Sea in the north to the Black Sea in the south. Unprepared for the assault because the Soviet leadership refused to believe early and accurate warnings, the Red Army was initially overwhelmed. Three German army groups advanced deep into Soviet territory. Millions of Soviet soldiers were encircled, cut off from supplies and reinforcements, and forced to surrender. Many, if not most, were to die due the harsh conditions of their captivity in the winter of 1941–42. Those who survived the winter found their chances of survival improved as Germany understood that success would not be immediate and the labor of captured POWs could be valuable.

Before the onset of fall in September 1941, German forces were at the gates of Leningrad in the north, Smolensk in the center, and Dnipropetrovsk in the south. They came to the outskirts of Moscow. The *Wehrmacht* was clearly exhausted and its supply lines were stretched to the breaking point. German troops were unprepared for winter fighting, as they expected an early Soviet surrender. The onset of the harsh Soviet winter made military operations more difficult and exacted a toll on German soldiers.

In December 1941, the Soviet Union launched a counteroffensive that was initially successful in forcing a German retreat from the outskirts of Moscow. But by spring the front was stabilized east of Smolensk. Germany was poised to move to the offense, with a massive attack in the south toward the city of Stalingrad on the Volga River and the oil fields of the Caucasus. By August 1942, German forces neared the city. With the battle for Stalingrad, German domination of Europe was at its height.

EINSATZGRUPPEN. Three thousand men of the *Einsatzgruppen*, or special (killing) units, entered the Soviet Union in June 1941 together with the *Wehrmacht* and other Axis armies. Their assignment was to enter cities and towns, villages and hamlets, to round up Jews, Soviet commissars, and gypsies, to confiscate their property, and to systematically murder them. They did not operate alone. The *Wehrmacht* and other Axis armies, local gendarmeries, and native antisemitic groups assisted them. They entered a city, arrested the victims (often by calling for their assembly using deceptive promises of relocation), marched them to the edge of the city, and murdered them one by one. Their victims were men, women, and children, entire families, whole communities, entire regions. One can plot the progress of the *Einsatzgruppen* week by week. Reports were written to their superiors, maps were drawn up marking their accomplishments, with coffins and numbers of Jews killed. Sometimes, the mere presence of German troops in an area was sufficient to spur a massacre. The Polish population of the village of *Jedwabne murdered its Jewish neighbors. For years the massacre was blamed on the Germans, though everyone knew that the local population had turned against its Jews. In Babi Yar near Kiev, Ukraine, 33,771 Jews were murdered on September 28–29 in the week between Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur. In the Rumbula Forest outside the ghetto in Riga, Latvia, 25,000 to 28,000 Jews were murdered on November 30 and December 8–9. More than 60,000 Jews were murdered at Ponary, the killing field

adjacent to Vilna (Vilnius) in Lithuania, and 9,000 Jews, half of them children, were slaughtered at the Ninth Fort adjacent to Kovno (Kaunas), Lithuania, on October 28, 1941.

Mass shootings continued unabated, wave after wave. It is conservatively estimated that 1,400,000 Jews were killed in these shootings. When the killing had ended, and it appeared as if Soviet forces would again control the killing fields, special units returned to dig up the dead and burn their bodies to destroy the evidence of the crime. The operation, conducted by SS Kommando 1005 under the command of Paul Blobel, was called "Operation Blot Out." Erasing the evidence would permit the denial of the crime.

AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT. Translation of document 2999-PS submitted to the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg:

> I, Hermann Friedrich Graebe, declare under oath:
>
> From September 1941 until January 1944 I was manager and engineer in charge of a branch office in Sdolbunow, Ukraine, of the Solingen building firm of Josef Jung. In this capacity it was my job to visit the building sites of the firm. Under contract to an Army Construction office, the firm had orders to erect grain storage buildings on the former airport of Dubno, Ukraine.
>
> On 5 October 1942, when I visited the building office at Dubno, my foreman Hubert Moennikes of 21 Aussenmuehlenweg, Hamburg-Haarburg, told me that in the vicinity of the site, Jews from Dubno had been shot in three large pits, each about 30 meters long and 3 meters deep. About 1500 persons had been killed daily. All of the 5000 Jews who had still been living in Dubno before the pogrom were to be liquidated. As the shootings had taken place in his presence he was still much upset.
>
> Thereupon I drove to the site, accompanied by Moennikes and saw near it great mounds of earth, about 30 meters long and 2 meters high. Several trucks stood in front of the mounds. Armed Ukrainian militia drove the people off the trucks under the supervision of an SS man. The militia men acted as guards on the trucks and drove them to and from the pit. All these people had the regulation yellow patches on the front and back of their clothes, and thus could be recognized as Jews.
>
> Moennikes and I went direct to the pits. Nobody bothered us. Now I heard rifle shots in quick succession, from behind one of the earth mounds. The people who had got off the trucks – men, women, and children of all ages – had to undress upon the orders of an SS man, who carried a riding or dog whip. They had to put down their clothes in fixed places, sorted according to shoes, top clothing and underclothing. I saw a heap of shoes of about 800 to 1000 pairs, great piles of underlinens and clothing. Without screaming or weeping these people undressed, stood around in family groups, kissed each other, said farewells and waited for a sign from another SS man, who stood near the pit, also with a whip in his hand. During the 15 minutes that I stood near the pit I heard no complaint or plea for mercy. I watched a family of about 8 persons, a man and woman, both about 50 with their children of about 1, 8 and 10, and two grown-up daughters of about 20 to 24. An old woman with snow-white hair was holding the one-year old child in her arms and singing to it, and tickling it. The child was cooing with delight. The couple were looking on with tears in their eyes. The father was holding the hand of a boy about 10 years old and speaking to him softly; the boy was fighting his tears. The father pointed toward the sky, stroked his head, and seemed to explain something to him. At that moment the SS man at the pit shouted something to his comrade. The latter counted off about 20 persons and instructed them to go behind the earth mound. Among them was the family, which I have mentioned. I well remember a girl, slim and with black hair, who, as she passed close to me, pointed to herself and said, "23." I walked around the mound, and found myself confronted by a tremendous grave. People were closely wedged together and lying on top of each other so that only their heads were visible. Nearly all had blood running over their shoulders from their heads. Some of the people shot were still moving. Some were lifting their arms and turning their heads to show that they were still alive. The pit was already ⅔ full. I estimated that it already contained about 1000 people. I looked for the man who did the shooting. He was an SS man, who sat at the edge of the narrow end of the pit, his feet dangling into the pit. He had a tommy gun on his knees and was smoking a cigarette. The people, completely naked, went down some steps which were cut in the clay wall of the pit and clambered over the heads of the people lying there, to the place to which the SS man directed them. They lay down in front of the dead or injured people; some caressed those who were still alive and spoke to them in a low voice. Then I heard a series of shots. I looked into the pit and saw that the bodies were twitching or the heads lying already motionless on top of the bodies that lay before them. Blood was running from their necks. I was surprised that I was not ordered away, but I saw that there were two or three postmen in uniform nearby. The next batch was approaching already. They went down into the pit, lined themselves up against the previous victims and were shot. When I walked back, round the mound I noticed another truckload of people which had just arrived. This time it included sick and infirm persons. An old, very thin woman with terribly thin legs was undressed by others who were already naked, while two people held her up. The woman appeared to be paralyzed. The naked people carried the woman around the mound. I left with Moennikes and drove in my car back to Dubno.
>
> On the morning of the next day, when I again visited the site, I saw about 30 naked people lying near the pit – about 30 to 50 meters away from it. Some of them were still alive; they looked straight in front of them with a fixed stare and seemed to notice neither the chilliness of the morning nor the workers of my firm who stood around. A girl of about 20 spoke to me and asked me to give her clothes, and help her escape. At that moment we heard a fast car approach and I noticed that it was an SS-detail. I moved away to my site. Ten minutes later we heard shots from the vicinity of the pit. The Jews still alive had been ordered to throw the corpses into the pit – then they had themselves to lie down in this to be shot in the neck.

Who were these men? What were their motivations? After the war, they claimed that they were merely following orders. Raul Hilberg described them: "The great majority of the officers of the *Einsatzgruppen* were professional men. They included a physician, a professional opera singer and a large number of lawyers. They were in no sense hoodlums, delinquents, common criminals or sex maniacs. Most were intellectuals.… There is no indication that any of them requested an assignment to a Kommando. All we know is that they brought to their new task all the skills and training that they were capable of contributing. In short, they became efficient killers."

In a well received work, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, Christopher Browning described the members of the units as ordinary men placed in extraordinary circumstances where conformity, peer pressure, careerism, obedience to orders, and group solidarity gradually overcame moral inhibitions. Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, whose book *Hitler's Willing Executioners* became an international bestseller and triggered discussion on three continents, disputes Browning's account and views them not as ordinary men but ordinary Germans who had embraced Hitler's vision of eliminationist antisemitism and were able to embrace its next phase, exterminationist antisemitism. The systematic murder, what the Germans called extermination – something that is done to rodents or bugs, not people – was not a pleasant task, but necessary.

Both Browning and Goldhagen concur that no *Einsatzgruppen* member faced punishment if he asked to be excused. They may have slowed their career advancement, they may have lost face, they may have disappointed their comrades, but they had a choice whether to participate or not. Almost all chose to become killers.

The SS remained proud of its achievement. In a speech to SS Major Generals at Poznan on October 4, 1943, some two hours into his three-hour ten-minute speech, Heinrich Himmler paused to speak of the Jews. He spoke openly and directly. "The Jewish people is going to be annihilated."

He spoke with pride in his men, pride in their toughness, pride in their moral integrity: "Most of you know what it means to see a hundred corpses lie side by side, or five hundred, or a thousand. To have stuck this out and – excepting cases of human weakness – to have kept our integrity, that is what has made us hard."

He spoke the unspoken. He spoke but urged silence. "This is an unwritten and never-to-be-written page of glory [in German history]."

He spoke of the Jews, but not only the Jews. Of the Soviet POWs who were killed or allowed to die in the millions, he spoke with regret in the most utilitarian of tones. He regretted the loss of their labor potential. "At that time we did not value this human mass the way we value it today as raw material, as labor."

He spoke candidly, "What happens to the Russians, what happens to the Czechs, is a matter of total indifference to me." Germany was the center. Other nations concerned him only insofar as needed. "It is a crime against our own blood to worry about them."

This form of killing imposed a burden on the killers. Alcohol was needed, after the killing and later even before and during. Some broke under the strain. Many found their duty difficult. And the killing was public, which had significant consequences even to an acquiescent native population.

The experience of Jews in the territories where the *Einsatzgruppen* killers engaged in mass killing differed from that of the Jews of Poland in two major respects. In Poland, ghettoization preceded the mass killing. Further to the east, killing came first. The ghettoized Jews could have no doubts regarding German intentions, no doubts that they were intent on killing them. Some ghettos were surrounded by large forests, which could be used for hiding. These facilitated escape because there was somewhere to go. They also served as a base for Partisan groups. Murder in these areas began in 1941; ghettoization in Poland had begun some 18 months earlier.

The Wannsee Conference

On January 20, 1942, Reinhard Heydrich convened a conference at a Berlin lakeside villa at Wannsee to coordinate the "Final Solution to the Jewish Problem." Heydrich had received special responsibilities on the Jewish question some six months earlier and the meeting was originally set for December 9, 1941, but the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the entry of the United States into the war forced its postponement. Around the table were 15 men representing government agencies necessary for the implementation of so bold a policy. Seven had doctorates. They were able and experienced, what might be termed "the best and the brightest." Language was an important means of deceit and concealment – deceit of the victims, even self-imposed deceit of the killers. The language of the meeting was direct, the protocols prepared by Adolf *Eichmann, an SS officer who headed the Jewish affairs department in the Reich Central Security Office (*Reichssicherheithauptamt*, RSHA), were circumspect: "Another possible solution to the [Jewish] problem has now taken the place of emigration, i.e., evacuation to the East… Practical experience is already being collected which is of the greatest importance in the relation to the future final solution of the Jewish problem." "Evacuation to the East" was understood as deportation to killing centers. Practical experience was understood as the experimental gassing in September at *Auschwitz, the use of mobile gas vans at *Chelmno on December 8 for mass murder. Thirty closely guarded copies of the protocols were prepared; only one was discovered after the war.

The conclusions of the *Wannsee Conference can be seen in what happened next. In the winter of 1942, death camps were opened at *Treblinka, *Sobibor, and *Belzec. These three camps were almost exclusively dedicated to the murder of Jews; their impact was total. There were two known survivors of Belzec, where some 500,000 Jews were murdered in 10 months; perhaps 50 survivors from Sobibor, where an uprising had occurred and where 250,000 Jews were killed; and perhaps twice that many from Treblinka, where an uprising also took place and between 750,000 and 870,000 were killed.

DEATH CAMPS. The death camps were the essential instrument of the Final Solution and a unique feature of the German program of mass murder. The *Einsatzgruppen* had been sent to their victims. In the camps, the process was reversed. The victims were sent by train, often in cattle cars, to their killers. The camps became factories producing dead corpses at minimal physical and psychological cost to German personnel. Assisted by Ukrainian and Latvian collaborators and prisoners of war, a few Germans could kill tens of thousands each month. At

Chelmno, the first of the killing centers, mobile gas vans were used. These were trucks in which gas from the exhaust system was sent directly to the rear compartment. Local mechanics tinkered with the trucks to make them more "efficient." Later the mechanics requested that the rear axles be strengthened and the rear doors reinforced, as Jews were rushing toward the rear to escape the fumes. Elsewhere, the gas chambers were permanent buildings, linked to the crematoria or to open pits where bodies were burned. Carbon monoxide was the gas of choice at most camps. Zyklon B, an especially lethal killing agent, was employed primarily at Auschwitz.

Auschwitz, perhaps the most notorious and lethal of the concentration camps, was actually three camps in one: a prisoner-of-war camp (Auschwitz I), a death camp (Auschwitz II–Birkenau), and a slave labor camp (Buna-Monowitz). Upon arrival, Jewish prisoners faced a *Selektion*. With a German physician presiding, the young and the old, pregnant women, young children, the handicapped, sick, and infirm were sent directly to the gas chambers. As necessary, the able-bodied would be sent to work in the factories adjacent to Auschwitz, where one German company, I.G. Farben, invested 700 million Reichsmarks in 1942 to take advantage of forced labor. Others followed suit. Deprived of adequate food, shelter, clothing, and medical care, the prisoners were literally worked to death. Periodically, they would face another *Selektion*. Those unable to work would be transferred to Birkenau, where they would be gassed. At Auschwitz, the Roma and Sinti (gypsies) were gassed as well. Historians estimate that 1.1 to 1.3 million people were murdered at Auschwitz; nine out of ten were Jews.

While the death camps of Auschwitz and *Madjanek also used inmates for slave labor and other types of forced support of the German war effort, the camps of Belzec, Treblinka, Chelmno, and Sobibor had one task alone: killing.

A TESTIMONY OF LIFE INSIDE THE CAMPS. Lilly Applebaum Lublin, born in Antwerp, Belgium, was twelve years old when the Germans invaded her country in 1940 and 15 when she arrived at Birkenau. She had lived in hiding for three years until being captured and sent to the transit camp at Malines (Mechelen), Belgium, to await transport to Auschwitz. She recalled, "We were pushed in the cattle cars – like sardines. We were dirty with buckets for our urine and bowel movements. There was a small little window with barbed wire over it, and we had no air except what came from that little window. And we traveled like this, I think for three or four days."

The train rides were so horrible that surviving prisoners thought that they had survived the worst. They were mistaken. Lilly remembered her arrival. "It was like dawn. And I saw lights, and we saw fire from far away. And like a chimney, with fire going. And I thought they were factories. And I said, 'Good. We will be able to work.'"

Upon arrival all possessions were confiscated. "They told us to leave our luggage. And whatever packages we had with us we had to leave on the ground." Lilly had arrived at the ramp, from which a rail spur took the Jews directly into Birkenau, within site of the gas chambers. She then faced *Selektion*.

> They separated the men from the women. I didn't even have time to say goodbye to my uncle and my aunt. And as we came in front of the Germans, one tall fellow – I didn't know who he was – guided us to go to the right or to the left. He told me to go to the right, and he told my aunt to go to the left. I never saw her again… I was fifteen years old, and I was all alone in this hell.
>
> They told us to undress and that we were going to be showered and that they were going to give us clothes. The place was freezing cold. We stayed there for hours to wait for our clothes. No towels to dry, we had no food. And finally they gave us the clothes, and then they put us in barracks.
>
> They tattooed me; and they told us from now on, this is my name. My name is A-5143… From now on, you do not answer by your name…
>
> I felt like I was not a human person anymore. They had shaved our heads; and I felt so ashamed. And also when they told us to undress and to shower, they made us feel like… like we were animals. The men were walking around, and laughing and looking at us. And you take a young girl at that age, who had never been exposed to a person… to a man, and you stay there naked… I wanted the ground to open, and I should go into it.

Living conditions were primitive. Primo *Levi, who was in Auschwitz when Lilly arrived, said that if the camps had lasted a little longer a new language would have had to be invented. Ordinary words are not adequate to describe the conditions. Lily recounted: "We were packed like sardines. The beds were bunks, three layers. I was on the top layer… If one person wanted to turn, we all had to turn so that we could move around."

The transition between sleep – however disturbed – and the reality of waking up in Auschwitz was so great that survivors tell of deliberately waking up early so that they could shield themselves from the shock of waking to yet another dreadful day.

> Each day there was the morning roll call, the counting of prisoners, who stood in the mud for hours in freezing weather. I used to say to myself, "What did I do to deserve this, to be here for the Germans to do this to me? What did we do to them?" The questions were never answered.

Food was scarce and portions were small – watery soup, ersatz coffee, bread that tasted like sawdust. Prisoners were often hungrier after they ate than before. Lilly recalled:

> They gave me, finally, little rations of hard, dried-up bread which was half mildew, I could hardly eat it. And a tin can of soup; which was so rotten and vile, when I tasted it I couldn't eat it… I just ate the bread and drank a little water, which was just rust running out from the sink that they had over there… And finally when I got so hungry and I knew I had to eat the soup, I couldn't eat it. It was so vile. It was so terrible. I never ate anything like that in my whole life. I said, "If I want to survive… I have to eat the soup." So I started eating the soup. And I… I remember forcing the soup down my throat, and big tears coming down my face. Eating and crying, eating and crying, this is how I was in Birkenau.

Life was an ongoing struggle:

> Every day, I woke up and I would find one or two people who wanted to end their lives and couldn't take it anymore. They would throw themselves to the electric wires and make an end of it. And every once in a blue moon, I couldn't take it anymore. I would try to sneak out of the barracks late at night… and I would see the sky… And I would talk to myself; and I would say, "I can't believe that these stars are looking down at us in this Hell, in this camp, and the same stars are shining at the outside of the world. And other people are looking at the same stars, and they are free. And they are free to do what they want to do. And they are living a good life. And we are here in Hell – human beings worse than animals. And nobody is doing anything about it."

She asked questions unanswerable then or now:

> As young as I was, I… I was asking myself these questions. And I would say, "Where is the world? Why isn't the world doing anything about this?" And then I would question God; and I would say, "Where is God? How can He let us be killed like that?" And after I cried myself out real good, I would go back to the barracks.

Armed Resistance

It is often asked why Jews did not make greater attempts at armed resistance. Jews had almost no access to arms, were surrounded by native antisemitic populations who often collaborated with the Nazis or were not unsympathetic to the elimination of the Jews, and were alone against a German war machine zealously determined to carry out the Final Solution. Unlike conventional insurgency operations, where the fighters blend in and are protected by the local population, Jews stood out. They were often different in appearance and in their language and accent. Jewish men were circumcised; most European men were not. Also, the Germans went to great lengths to disguise the ultimate nature of their plans. Deception was an essential part of the Final Solution.

In the ghettos, because of the German policy of collective and disproportionate reprisal, Jews were often hesitant to resist. To escape was to endanger those who were left behind. To resist subjected the entire ghetto to punishment. Jews were also bound by family ties. Resistance was not an issue of courage; resistance fighters had no monopoly on valor. It took courage for Janusz *Korczak to defy Nazi orders and refuse to wear the Jewish star armband and especially to march with his orphans to the Umschlagplatz, the deportation point, in Warsaw, as he did in August 1942. He had been offered shelter and could have survived, but would a teacher abandon his students, could he leave his children?

While in the aftermath of the Holocaust many Jews focused on resistance as a way of salvaging pride and grappling with accusations of collaboration, Jews were traditionally skilled in the practice of defiance. They attempted to hide children in convents, or with friends and even strangers, doing virtually anything to save them. They used false papers. There were two types of concealment: passing oneself off as a non-Jew and hoping not to meet anyone who knew you from a former life or finding a place where one could live indefinitely in a sequestered fashion. Every manner of escape was a form of defiance. Yehuda *Bauer, a historian of the Holocaust, attempted to broaden the definition of resistance by speaking of "any group action consciously taken in opposition to known and surmised laws, actions or intentions directed against the Jews by the Germans and their supporters." Saul Esh wrote of the "dignity of the destroyed."

Attitudes toward armed resistance changed when the Germans ordered the final destruction of the ghettos, and it became clear to the residents that they all were going to die. As long as there was hope for survival, the inhabitants of the ghetto were reluctant to resist. Some understood their desperate situation earlier than others; some who understood what was to happen were paralyzed by grief and fear. Others, usually the young and able-bodied, those without young children or elderly parents for whom they were responsible, were willing to fight.

Jews resisted in the forests, in the ghettos, and even in the death camps. They fought alone and alongside resistance groups in France, Yugoslavia, and Russia. As a rule, full-scale uprisings – last stands – occurred only at the end when the reality of impending death was impossible to deny. They were not intended to defeat the enemy – that was impossible – but to make a statement through one's life and one's death; to uphold Jewish honor; to avenge Jewish losses; to see the "superman" bleed like a mere mortal. In Warsaw, there was no resistance during the great deportations of the summer of 1942, when, between July 23 and September 12, more than 265,000 Jews were deported to Treblinka. Armed resistance began on January 18, 1943; the clash was short and sharp and the deportations, which were planned by the Germans to be limited, were halted. On April 19, 1943, the second day of Passover, a full-scale uprising began in the Warsaw ghetto, led by 23-year-old Mordecai *Anielewicz. In Vilna, the underground leader, Abba *Kovner, who had intuitively recognized the full intent of Nazi policy toward the Jews, called for resistance in January 1942. He proclaimed: "Hitler wants to destroy all the Jews of Europe and the Jews of Lithuania have been chosen as the first in line." Yet an uprising did not begin until September 1943. Some United Partisan Organization (FPO) members shot at the Germans but the Jewish population refused to join them; thus the Partisans realized that they had no choice but to escape to the forest or risk internal conflict. At Treblinka and Sobibor, uprisings occurred when the inmates perceived that the death camps were being dismantled and the remaining prisoners were soon to be killed. This was also true at Auschwitz, where the *Sonderkommando, the prisoner units that worked in the vicinity of the gas chambers, destroyed a gas chamber just as the killing was coming to an end in October 1944 with Russian troops advancing.

As a rule, armed resistance was the domain of the young and the able, those capable of fighting and those not bound by responsibilities for aging parents or young children, but in the forests of Belorussia the *Bielski brothers established

a unique family camp with a dual purpose of rescue and resistance. They accepted children and the aged and not only able-bodied men and women.

The Fate of the Jews in Other Countries

In Romania, the slaughter of the Jews was conducted by the Romanians themselves. In a sense they imitated the Germans; they had their own *Kristallnacht* in January 1941, when synagogues were burned, shops destroyed, and homes ransacked; 120 Jews were killed in Bucharest. Three days after Romania joined Germany in the invasion of the Soviet Union, a massive pogrom took place in the Northern Romanian city of *Jassy. On June 30, 4,332 Jews who survived the pogrom were put on trains, but instead of being offloaded at a death camp they rode the rails of Romania until they expired from heat, dehydration, starvation, and exhaustion. Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina were expelled to *Transnistria, which also became a destination of Ukrainian Jews. Over 100,000 Ukrainian Jews were killed there while under Romanian administration. Toward the end of the war, when the defeat of Germany was all but certain, Romania found more value in living Jews who could be held for ransom or used as leverage with the Allies.

Bulgaria, which was an ally of Germany, permitted and participated in the deportation of Jews from neighboring Thrace and Macedonia, which it controlled. But when it came to its own Jews, segments of the population protested publicly and the Bulgarian Orthodox Church weighed in heavily. Jews were sent to work camps and persecuted, but in the end Jewish citizens of Bulgaria were not deported.

France was invaded by the Germans in May 1940. Its defeat was swift. France signed an armistice with Germany in June 1940; northern France and the Atlantic coast came under German occupation, part of southeastern France came under Italian occupation, and Alsace and Lorraine were annexed to Germany; the remainder, most of southern France, was unoccupied and governed by the French Vichy regime. Antisemitic legislation was passed that excluded Jews from public life, the civil service, and the army as well as the professions, commerce, and industry. In 1942, Jews were rounded up by French police in both the occupied and unoccupied zones and sent to transit camps such as the one at Drancy, and from there to Auschwitz. The last deportation from France was in the summer of 1944; by then some 75,000 Jews, mostly foreign-born, had been deported. In France, the Jews under fascist Italian occupation in the south fared better than the Jews of Vichy France, where collaborationist French authorities and police provided essential support to the understaffed German forces. The Jews in those parts of France under direct German occupation fared the worst.

The Germans invaded Belgium in May of 1940 and imposed a military administration that coexisted with a civilian administration. Jews were initially used for forced labor, working in clothing and armaments. There were 65,000 Jews in Belgium, mostly in Antwerp and Brussels; 25,000 avoided deportation by hiding. Between 1942 and 1944 more than 25,000 Jews were deported to Auschwitz via the transit camps of Malines and Breendonk.

There were more than 3,000 Jews in Luxembourg, which was invaded by Germany in May 1940 and annexed in 1942. Jews were interned in the Fuenfbrunnen camp in northern Luxembourg and then deported to the death camps. Almost 2,000 Jews from Luxembourg where killed and the country was declared judenrein; more than 1,000 Jews had fled and some survived in hiding. Jews in mixed marriages were exempt from deportation.

Germany invaded the Netherlands in May 1940. Arthur *Seyss-Inquart was installed as the German commissioner. He ordered the registration of all 140,000 Dutch Jews in January 1941; all had to move to Amsterdam. Deportations began in 1942. Foreign or stateless Jews were interned in the transit camp at Westerbork; others, mainly Jews from outside Amsterdam, were sent to Vught. In late June deportations began to Auschwitz and to Sobibor. No better than the French police, the Dutch police participated in rounding up the Jews for deportation. More than 100,000 Jews were deported; fewer than one in four Dutch Jews survived the war.

Under Mussolini the Italians passed antisemitic laws and confined Jewish refugees to internment camps where families lived together. Italy was an ally of Germany and it enjoyed the fruits of early German victories, occupying territories in Yugoslavia, Greece, and southern France. Despite its alliance, however, it did not cooperate in the Final Solution, neither at home nor in the territories it occupied. In 1943, after the Allied invasion, Mussolini was overthrown and in September a ceasefire was negotiated, but it did not last. Germany invaded and occupied northern and central Italy and reinstalled Mussolini, who was now its puppet. It was then that the Germans imposed the Final Solution in Italy. In November 1943 Jews were rounded up in Genoa, Milan, Florence, Trieste, and other northern cities and sent to transit camps. There were deportations from Rome, despite the presence of the Vatican, which did not protest. Eight thousand Jews were shipped from Italy to Birkenau and other concentration camps; more than five times that number survived in Italy. Two thousand more Jews were deported from Rhodes.

Germany invaded Yugoslavia and Greece in April 1941, supported by Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania. When the Balkans were subdued, Yugoslavia was partitioned. Hungary received the Backa region and part of northern Croatia. Bulgaria annexed most of Thrace and Macedonia (from Greece and Yugoslavia); Italy annexed the Istrian peninsula, much of Slovenia, and most of the Dalmatian coast, and occupied Montenegro, Albania, and much of northwestern Greece; Germany together with Italy administered Athens, while Germany alone occupied the region of Salonika with its large Jewish community.

Germany also occupied Serbia; Jews there were interned in concentration camps and in August 1941 most Jewish men in the camps were shot. The murder of Serbian Jewish women in 1942 was the intermediate link between the euthanasia pro-

gram, instituted in 1939, the Einsatzgruppen killings, which began in the summer of 1941, and the development of stationary killing centers, established in Poland in 1942. Jewish women and children were interned at a concentration camp on the abandoned exhibition ground of Semlin, within view of Belgrade. Between March and May 1942 they were murdered in mobile gas vans.

The Jews in the camp were deceived but the general population understood precisely what was happening. They could point to these mobile gas vans and see them functioning. The technical design of the gas vans was turned over to the motor pool, to talented and not so talented auto mechanics. The chief of the Motor Vehicle Administration turned to an automotive specialist to ask his chief mechanic if exhaust gas could be directed into a closed truck to kill the passengers.

Immediately thereafter, five Sara trucks were secured. They were furniture vans with a storage compartment about five meters long and two meters wide and were painted field gray. Within weeks, 40 naked Russians were led into a locked truck; after 20 minutes all were dead. They were pink when they died, which indicated they died of poisoning, and not of suffocation. Then a firm was contracted for 30 converted vans. It gave the contract to Sara, but they used Opel and Blitz and Diamond vehicles as well, which were also converted. The last held 25 while the Sara models held 50 people.

There were complaints; not about the murders but about how they were being done. The first problem was how the vans were to be unloaded, because people pushed against the rear in order to get out. Next, the rear axle collapsed from the surge of weight and the brakes required frequent repairs; therefore the effort was made to prevent any failure so that these trucks could perform their murderous mission in a satisfactory manner. There was no concern about causing the victims agony, but the task of unloading was burdensome. Mechanics did not complain about their task but were upset when their craftsmanship was challenged. By December 1941, 5,291 Jewish women and children had been interned. The general estimate is that by January and February the number had grown to about 7,500. The murder of Serbian Jewry was divided between well-educated and sophisticated organizers and lower-middle-class executioners – the grunts. The decision to commit the murders practically evolved of itself. If Belgrade wanted to get rid of Jewish women and children, Belgrade officials would have to do it themselves. All they could get from Reinhard Heydrich were the instruments, and local pressures caused the authorities to provide the means for the locals to do the job, at least until the structure of the death camps was ready.

In Croatia, the Germans established a puppet state, and more than 20,000 Jews were killed in the Jasenovac concentration camp near Zagreb. In 1942–43, another 7,000 were deported, mainly to Auschwitz and Birkenau. Some Croatian Jews escaped to Italian-occupied territories, where they were sent to a camp but not deported.

In Salonika, an area under direct German control, the Final Solution followed a familiar course. In mid-July 1942, Jewish men aged 18 to 45 were publicly humiliated, released, and then registered for forced labor. They were ransomed in exchange for large sums of money raised by the Jewish community. In February 1943, the Jews of Salonika were concentrated in two ghettos, one in the east of the city and one in the western Baron de Hirsch section of the city, near the railroad station. Adolf Eichmann's deputies, Dieter Wisliceny and Alois Brunner, were dispatched to arrange for the deportations. When the train transport was in place, more than 45,000 Jews were sent between May and August to Auschwitz-Birkenau. Three out of four of them were gassed upon arrival. The remaining Jews were used for slave labor. Jews holding Spanish citizenship living in Salonika (and later in Athens) were deported to Bergen-Belsen. One group of "protected Jews" was actually repatriated to Spain.

In Athens, Jewish property was confiscated on October 7, 1943. In March of the next year the Germans used the ruse of the distribution of matzah, unleavened bread required to observe Passover, to arrest some 800 Jews in Athens. On March 24–25, the first days of Passover, they were arrested and shipped to Auschwitz. Some 500 additional Jews were arrested in their homes and some Jews from outside Athens were also rounded up. Other Athenian Jews went into hiding. Germany then continued to round up the Jews of the islands, including 2,000 Jews of Corfu, who were arrested in June 1944 and of whom only 200 returned, and the 1,700 Jews of Rhodes, who suffered a similar fate and were deported in 1944.

Czechoslovakia became a casualty of German expansion even before the war began. The Sudetenland was surrendered in September 1938 in exchange for Hitler's pledge of peace. On March 15, 1939, he violated the Munich agreement and Bohemia and Moravia became a German "protectorate." Slovakia became an independent state, allied with Germany.

Slovakia became a one-party state. Its authoritarian leader Jozef *Tiso, a Roman Catholic priest, was an extreme nationalist. Jews were persecuted and anti-Jewish legislation was introduced along with a Jewish Code resembling the Nuremberg laws. Jews lived under curfew and were not allowed to assemble. Beginning on March 27, 1942, Jews were sent eastward from Slovakia, which paid a fee to the Germans for each deportee. Between March and June some 54,000 Jews were deported, mainly to Auschwitz and Majdanek. Jewish leaders, such as Gisi *Fleischmann and Rabbi Michael Dov *Weissmandel, a Zionist woman and an ultra-Orthodox Jew, joined together in a group associated with the local Judenrat, known as the Working Group, to stop the deportations by bribing Nazi officials. When the deportations were halted in October, they believed that the Jews could be bought and pleaded with international Jewish organizations for help for adequate sums to ransom all the Jews. Weissmandel, who lost his family on a transport to Auschwitz, was particularly bitter that massive help was not forthcoming. In May 1944

the Working Group received the Auschwitz Protocols from two Auschwitz escapees, Rudolph Vr'ba and Alfred Wetzler, detailing the scope of gassing activities at the largest of the Nazi death camps. They pleaded, through the World Jewish Congress and other Jewish organizations with whom they were able to maintain contact, that Auschwitz be bombed, but it was not.

When Germany invaded Norway in April 1940, there were 1,700 Jews in the country, among them 200 refugees from other countries. Beginning in the fall of 1942 and through February 25, 1943, at the initiative of Vidkun Quisling, whose name has become synonymous with a puppet leader, 763 Norwegian Jews were deported to Auschwitz, where 739 died. The local population, including its church leadership, protested. A letter read in the churches of Norway had a simple but eloquent message: "God does not differentiate among people." In Norway itself, 23 Jews were killed. Aided by the underground, 900 Jews escaped to Sweden, which was willing to take assimilated Scandinavian Jews.

In November 1941, the Germans established the *Theresienstadt ghetto in an old fortress town. Tens of thousands of Jews were deported there: the majority of Prague Jewry as well as Jews from Brno, Moravska, Ostava Olomouc, and other towns of the Protectorate. Theresienstadt was actually a ghetto, a concentration camp, and a transit camp. For a time it housed prominent Jews from Central Europe, Germany and Austria, the Netherlands, and Denmark. About 144,000 Jews were deported to Theresienstadt, 88,000 were sent from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz, and 33,000 died in the camp itself. Of the 15,000 children sent to Theresienstadt, fewer than 100 survived.

When Danish Jews were deported to Theresienstadt, the Danish government did not lose interest in their fate. It demanded an accounting of its citizens' fate and insisted that the Red Cross visit the ghetto. The Germans permitted the visit, but on their terms. They presumed that they could outmaneuver the Red Cross delegation. In the weeks before the visit, deportations were intensified. The model ghetto/transit camp/concentration camp was beautified. Gardens were planted, houses painted, sidewalks washed, and new barracks built. Turf was laid on the village green. A building was refitted to serve as a social center, concert hall, and synagogue. A monument was even erected to honor dead Jews.

Fearful that any slip of the tongue or crack in the veneer of peaceful village life would further endanger the beleaguered Jews of Theresienstadt, Paul Eppstein, the head of the Jewish Council of Elders, greeted the guests in a black suit and top hat. A band played light music. A cafe created for the occasion was filled with customers. Goods were displayed in store windows. When the delegation came to the soccer field, a goal was scored on cue. Danish Jews, no more than two or three in a room, were visited in their freshly painted quarters. A children's opera, *Brundibar*, was performed for the guests.

The hoax succeeded so well that a propaganda film showing how well the Jews were living under the benevolent protection of the Third Reich was made at Theresienstadt. When the filming was over, most of the cast, including nearly all of the children, were deported to Auschwitz.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE JEWS OF HUNGARY. Nowhere was the Holocaust more intense and more condensed than in Hungary. What took place over twelve years in Germany occurred over fifteen weeks in Hungary. Beginning the war as a German ally, Hungary had persecuted its Jews but not permitted deportation, at least not of Hungarian Jews. Jews from territories annexed to Hungary – foreign Jews – were deported as early as July–August 1941 to Kamenets-Podolski in the Ukraine, where *Einsatzgruppen* executed them. Hungarian Jews remained untouched. After the German and Hungarian military defeats of 1942–43, Admiral Miklos Horthy, the Hungarian dictator, concluded that Germany would probably lose the war. His government attempted to contact the Allies about a truce in 1942, and resisted German demands that Hungary send it Jews for forced labor. With the situation deteriorating in the Balkans, and fearing the defection of the Hungarians to the Allies, Germany invaded Hungary on March 19, 1944. Horthy remained in power, but a pro-German government was installed under Dome Sztojay. The consequences for the Jews were immediate.

By mid-April the Jews were ghettoized. On May 15, deportations to Auschwitz began. Over the next 54 days, 437,402 Jews were deported from Hungary, primarily to Auschwitz, on 147 trains. Nowhere in German-occupied Europe was the pace of deportations as rapid; nowhere did it begin so late in the war. The operations were personally supervised by Eichmann, who had moved to Budapest for the purpose.

The only remaining Jewish community in Hungary was in Budapest. At this time Himmler, through Eichmann, made an overture to the Allies for a separate armistice and used the Jews of Budapest as bait. In July, the deportations were halted and in August the Sztojay government was dismissed. There was strong outside pressure on behalf of the Jews brought to bear on the Hungarian authorities, intensified by the deteriorating German war situation and the desire of Horthy to cut a deal with the Allies. Following the surrender of the Romanian government in August, and with the looming approach of the Red Army, Horthy, while negotiating with the Germans, again attempted to begin discussions for an armistice with the Allies. In October, Germany responded by arresting Horthy and installing an *Arrow Cross government. Jews in Budapest were then killed on a daily basis. Jews were sent to the banks of the Danube and shot; more than 70,000 were sent on a forced death march to Austria.

The most extraordinary exception to the bleak picture of the fate of European Jews was the experience of Danish Jews. German-occupied Denmark rescued most of its own Jews, spiriting them out of the country in October 1943 by

sea to Sweden. Such an action was possible in part because the German presence in Denmark was relatively small. Also, unlike many other countries where antisemitism in the general population led to collaboration with the Germans, Jews were an integrated part of Danish culture. Danish humanitarianism flourished under these unique circumstances. Unlike other churches, which did not speak out against antisemitism, or the German puppet state of Slovakia, whose president was a Roman Catholic priest who presided over the deportations, the Lutheran bishop of Copenhagen, H. Fuglsang-Damgaard, openly urged Danes to protect the Jews, proclaiming: "Whenever persecutions are undertaken for racial or religious reasons, it is the duty of the Christian Church to protest against it." His protest was all too rare among Christian clergy, Protestant and Catholic, during the Holocaust.

Still, such an action was also only possible because it occurred in 1943, when Germany appeared to be losing the war, and because Sweden consented to receive the Danish Jews. Denmark alone of the German-occupied countries looked after its Jewish citizens once they were deported to a concentration camp, e.g.: Theresienstadt, which had the unique status of being a ghetto, a concentration camp and a transit camp.

Rescue

Throughout German-occupied territory, the situation of Jews was desperate. They had meager resources and few allies and faced impossible choices. A few people came to their rescue, often at the risk of their lives. The Swedish diplomat Raoul *Wallenberg arrived in Budapest on July 9, 1944, in an effort to save Hungary's sole remaining Jewish community. Over the next six months, he worked together with other neutral diplomats (Charles Lutz of Switzerland and Giorgio Perlasca, an Italian Fascist who pretended to be a Spanish diplomat), with the Vatican, and with the Jews themselves to prevent the deportation of these last Jews. Le *Chambon, a French Huguenot village, became a haven for 5,000 Jews. In Poland, where hiding a Jew was punishable by death, an underground organization, Zegota, rescued a similar number.

In all occupied countries, there were individuals who came to the rescue of Jews, often without assistance, offering a place to hide, some food, shelter for days, weeks, or even for the duration of the war. Most of the rescuers did not see their actions as heroic, but they felt bound to the Jews by a common sense of humanity. (Israel has recognized rescuers with honorary citizenship and the planting of trees at *Yad Vashem, Israel's memorial to the Holocaust; see *Righteous among the Nations.)

German Retreat

The winter of 1942–43 ended the unbroken streak of victories for the German army. Stalingrad was decisive. A Soviet counteroffensive began in November 1942, surrounding the German army of 250,000 troops. By February, German forces were reduced to 91,000 and the Soviet Army went on the offensive. By the end of 1943, the German army was forced to the banks of the Dneiper and by the end of 1944 they were at the borders of eastern Prussia. In January 1945, the Red Army was on the banks of the Oder and from there it launched its final assault on Berlin.

The Allied force under the command of General Dwight D. Eisenhower launched its assault on D-Day, June 6, 1944, storming the beaches of Normandy and securing the beachhead. Two million Allied soldiers invaded France, opening the long-awaited second front. By August 25, 1944, Paris was liberated. France was liberated by the end of the month. The Allies advanced steadily, facing a huge and surprising counterattack in what became the Battle of the Bulge in December 1944. Nonetheless, the Allies forced Germany into a general retreat. By February they were at the Rhine, and in March the Rhine was crossed and Allied troops moved steadily toward Berlin.

Liberation

In the summer of 1944 the Soviet Army entered Majdanek, and captured it whole. Reports from the camp were carried widely in Western newspapers. W.H. Lawrence, in the *New York Times*, wrote: "I have just been to the most terrible place on earth." The Germans were determined not to allow the capture of a camp nor of its prisoners. In the winter of 1944–45, with Allied armies closing in, desperate ss officials tried frantically to evacuate the concentration camps and conceal what had taken place. They wanted no eyewitnesses remaining. Prisoners were moved westward, forced to march toward the heartland of Germany. There were 59 different Death Marches from Nazi concentration camps during this final winter of German domination, some covering hundreds of miles. Goldhagen called the death marches the ambulatory analogue of deportation. The Nazis, who had wanted to make Germany *judenrein*, free of Jews, and had therefore shipped them eastward by train to death camps, were now bringing them back into their borders on foot. The prisoners were given little or no food and water, and hardly any time to rest or take care of bodily needs. Those who paused or fell behind were shot. In January 1945, just hours before the Red Army arrived at Auschwitz, 66,000 prisoners were marched to Wodzislaw, where they were put on freight trains to the Gross-Rosen, Buchenwald, Dachau, and Mauthausen concentration camps. Almost one in four died en route. When they arrived at their destination, the concentration camps of Germany were overwhelmed by the new inmates. The system broke down. Prisoners were not fed, sanitation was impossible, epidemics broke out, and even the dead could not be carried away. Conditions were so catastrophic that some survivors remember that Bergen-Belsen in March and early April 1945 was worse than Auschwitz.

In April and May 1945, the United States and British forces en route to military targets entered the concentration camps from the west and caught a glimpse of what had taken place. Even though tens of thousands of prisoners had per-

ished, these camps were far from the worst. Yet even for the battle-weary soldiers who thought they had seen the worst, the sights and smells and the emaciated survivors they encountered left an indelible impression. At Dachau they came upon 28 railway cars stuffed with dead bodies. Conditions were so horrendous at Bergen-Belsen that 13,000 inmates died after they were freed and the entire camp had to be burned to prevent the spread of typhus. Most of the SS fled Buchenwald before the American armies arrived. The newly freed prisoners, at least those who could still move, greeted entering American soldiers as liberators. The Army had to perform tasks for which they were ill-trained: to heal the sick, comfort the bereaved, and bury the dead. For the victims, liberation was not a moment of exultation. Viktor Frankl, a survivor of Auschwitz, recalled: "Everything was unreal. Unlikely as in a dream. Only later – and for some it was very much later or never – was liberation actually liberating."

Numbers

It has become commonplace to speak of six million Jewish dead. The number was an estimate derived by a comparison between pre-war and post-war Jewish populations, subtracting from the total those who emigrated to the West or to the East, taking the known numbers of those who were killed in the Nazi death camps and the concentration camps; and those who were casualties of the mobile killing units and those who died in the ghettos of German-occupied Poland. There is considerable discussion and legitimate debate among scholars regarding the numbers killed. Raul Hilberg, the dean of American Holocaust historians, basing his calculations primarily on German documents, estimates the figure of those killed at 5.1 million Jews. The *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, edited by the respected Israeli historian Israel Gutman, estimates the number at 5,596,000 to 5,860,000. Wolfgang Benz, the German historian, estimates the figure of Jewish dead in excess of 6 million. In some countries the figures are known and well researched and the names well documented.

The question of number is illustrated by the history of numbers at Auschwitz. For years the figures varied. Some wrote of four million killed; this was the quasi-official number given by the Communist government of Poland, though not accepted by Western historians. Rudolph Hoess, the commandant of Auschwitz from 1940–43 who also supervised the murder of Hungarian Jews at Auschwitz in 1944, gave two different figures. He wrote: "According to my calculations, at least 2.5 million people were put to death, gassed and subsequently burned there; in addition, 500,000 people died of exhaustion and illness, which gives a total of 3 million victims." He later repudiated these figures, claiming that he received them from Adolf Eichmann. The figure he later reported was 1.13 million, one virtually identical with the figures of Jews deported to Auschwitz.

In post-Communist times, Fraticek Piper, the respected chief historian of Auschwitz, undertook painstaking historical research by triangulating the figures, detailing the number of inmates who arrived at Auschwitz, the number of those shipped from Auschwitz elsewhere and the number who remained in the camp. He thus had a clear picture of the numbers who were killed at Auschwitz and their nationality, for nine out of ten of those killed at Auschwitz were Jews, but Roma and Sinti – gypsies – and Soviet POWs and Poles were also killed at Auschwitz. Piper calculated that between 1.1 and 1.3 million people were killed at Auschwitz, the epicenter of the Holocaust. Ninety percent were Jews.

Until recently, historians cited 600,000 as the number of Jewish victims killed at the Bełżec death camp. This estimate was based on the pre-war population of Jewish communities thought to have been transported to Belzec and is too high, because it does not account for large numbers of Jews murdered in the ghetto deportation operations or shot in other locations because transport to Belzec was too difficult.

To date, only one known document, a report from the coordinator of *Aktion Reinhard*, Höfle, to Eichmann at the RSHA in Berlin on January 11, 1943, gives an exact figure of Jews killed in Bełżec: 434,508. As it has been confirmed by direct perpetrators that in Belzec there was no detailed count of victims and even some transports could not be included in Höfle's count, the Bełżec Memorial estimates that the actual death toll for Jews at Belzec may have been as high as 500,000. Groups of non-Jewish Poles and Roma and Sinti were murdered at Belzec death camp, too. Their number, according to testimonies of various witnesses, could range from some dozens to some hundreds. There were only two known survivors of Belzec.

There is one figure that is unknown and perhaps unobtainable, even to the most dogged of researchers, and that is the number of Jewish dead within the Soviet Union. One has difficulty going from the pre-war 1939 census to the post-war population because the Soviet Union did not take a 1949 census; it delayed it by another decade and thus there is a twenty year span to evaluate the Jewish population. From the discrepancy between 1939 and 1959 statistic, one must subtract the natural deaths during a span of two decades, those who died in the war, in Stalinist purges, and in the Holocaust. An estimated figure has to be correlated with the *Einsatzgruppen* Reports and their activities to arrive at their conclusions.

For fifty years, Yad Vashem has undertaken to compile a list of the Jews who were killed in the Holocaust one by one, affidavit by affidavit signed by a witness or by a relative of those who were killed. The list of names is contained in a haunting memorial room at the end of its permanent exhibition and is available on line to those who surf the internet. More than three million people have been identified by name, one by one by one. It reinforces a truism that people are not numbers, not statistics, but individuals whose lives were ended, whose narratives were prematurely concluded by killers.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

A HOLOCAUST CHRONOLOGY

1932

July 31 National Socialist (Nazi) Party receives 37.3% of the vote, giving it 230 of 608 seats in the Reichstag.

August 13 Adolf Hitler rejects an offer by German President Paul von Hindenburg to become vice chancellor.

November 6 In new election the percentage of votes for the Nazis declines to 33.1% and the number of their seats in the Reichstag is reduced to 196.

December 3 Conservative leader General Kurt von Schleicher is named chancellor of Germany.

1933

January 28 General von Schleicher resigns after serving only 55 days.

January 30 President von Hindenburg appoints Hitler as chancellor; Franz von Papen is named vice chancellor.

February 2 Political demonstrations are banned in Germany.

February 27 The Reichstag building is set on fire. Communists are blamed.

February 28 Using a provision of the Weimar Constitution, Hitler is granted emergency powers as constitutional protections are suspended.

March 4 Franklin Delano Roosevelt is inaugurated as president of the United States.

March 22 The first concentration camp is opened at Dachau, near Munich.

March 27 The American Jewish Congress organizes a mass protest against the Nazis at Madison Square Garden in New York. A boycott of German goods is threatened if Germany makes good on its promise to boycott Jewish goods in Germany.

April 1 The German government institutes a boycott of Jewish stores and professionals. Expected to last three days, it is suspended after one.

April 7 Law for the Restoration of Professional Civil Service bans Jews from government, including lawyers and university professors as well as government workers.

April 25 The Law Preventing Overcrowding of School and Schools of Higher Education restricts Jewish enrollment in German schools.

April 27 The German government prohibits sheḥitah, the ritual slaughter of animals required by Jewish dietary law.

May 10 German students and their professors remove and burn "un-Germanic" books from libraries and bookstores. More than 20,000 books are burned opposite the University of Berlin. Authors include Jews, opponents of Nazism, and others defined as un-Germanic.

July 14 The National Socialist Party is made Germany's only legal party. East European Jews living in Germany are stripped of their citizenship. Laws are enacted permitting the sterilization of "unfit" parents and so-called "euthanasia" of "defective and useless people," those who are deemed "unworthy of living."

July 20 The Vatican signs a concordat with Germany, negotiated by Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli, the future Pope Pius XII, granting Hitler much-needed political recognition and in return seemingly protecting the rights of Catholics in Germany.

August 25 The Ha'avarah Agreement is signed between the German government and the Zionist Organization enabling Jews to leave Germany and transfer, at a significant loss, some of their holdings to Palestine.

September 22 Jews are banned from journalism, theater, music, art, literature, and broadcasting.

September 29 Jews are banned from farming in Germany.

November 12 The Nazi Party, now the only party permitted to run in the elections, wins 93% of the vote for the Reichstag.

1934

January 26 Germany and Poland sign a ten-year nonaggression pact. It will be broken within six years.

April Germany establishes a "People's Court" to try enemies of the state. The right to trial by jury or to appeal the verdict is abrogated.

May 17 The German-American Bund organizes a pro-Nazi rally at Madison Square Garden in New York City.

June 30 "Night of the Long Knives" purges Nazi Party of hundreds of enemies – real or imagined – including high ranking SA (Sturmabteilung, "Storm Troops," known as Brownshirts) officers and veteran Hitler associate Ernst Roehm, its chief. Persecution of German male homosexuals intensifies.

July 4 Theodor Eicke heads newly established Inspectorate of Concentration Camps.

July 25 Austrian Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss is assassinated. Nazis try but fail to seize power in Austria.

August 2 German President Paul von Hindenburg dies in office. Hitler fills the vacuum by combining the presidency and the chancellorship and becomes the "Fuehrer" and commander-in-chief of Germany's armed forces. Soldiers now take a personal oath of allegiance to Hitler, not to the state or the constitution.

August 19 German voters overwhelmingly (89.9%) approve of Hitler's new powers.

1935

January 13 A plebiscite under the League of Nations brings the Saar region into Germany.

March 1 Germany retakes the Saar region.

March 16 Germany initiates a military draft in direct defiance of the Versailles Treaty. France, England, and the United States decide not to confront Germany.

April 1 Anti-Jewish legislation is passed in the Saar region.

April 30 Jews may no longer display the German flag.

May 12 Polish leader Jozef Pilsudski dies, ending an era of relative tolerance toward the Jews in Poland.

May 31 Jews are banned from the German armed forces.

June 26 Law for the Prevention of Offspring with Hereditary Diseases provides for compulsory abortions in some cases.

September 15 Nuremberg Laws are passed. Reich Citizenship Law deprives Jews of their citizenship. Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor prohibits Jews from marrying non-Jews and from employing German women under the age of 45. Under its provisions, Jews are defined biologically, by "race," based on the religion of their grandparents and not by the identity they affirm or the religion they practice.

November 14 In regulations clarifying the Nuremberg Laws, a Jew is defined as anyone with two Jewish grandparents who is a member of the Jewish community or anyone with three or more Jewish grandparents. Mischlinge ("mongrels," those of mixed ancestry) are specified as anyone with Jewish blood. Marriage between Jews and second-degree Mischlinge is prohibited. These provisions take hold wherever the Germans come to power.

November 15 German churches provide records to the government indicating who is a Christian and who is not.

December 31, 1935 The last Jews in Germany's civil service are dismissed.

1936

March 3 Jewish doctors are denied the right to practice medicine in German government hospitals.

March 7 German troops occupy the Rhineland in defiance of the Ver-

sailles Treaty. The United States, Britain, and France denounce the move but do not respond actively.

March 29 SS (Schutzstaffel, "Defense Squadron") guard formations are named SS Death's Head Units. These provide concentration camp guards.

June 17 Heinrich Himmler is appointed chief of German police.

June 19 Max Schmeling defeats Joe Louis in propaganda victory for Germans, seemingly confirming German racial dominance.

June 26 Heinrich Himmler appoints Reinhard Heydrich as head of the SD (Sicherheitsdienst, "Security Service").

July Spanish Civil War begins.

August 1–16 The Olympics are held in Berlin. For weeks prior to the games, antisemitic posters are removed and antisemitic discourse is diminished. African-American runner Jesse Owens wins four gold medals and is slighted by Hitler, who leaves the Olympic Stadium rather than present the medals; two American Jewish runners, Marty Glickman and Sam Stoliar, are forced not to run the 400-meter relay by Avery Brundage, head of the American Olympic Committee, lest Hitler be embarrassed further.

September 7 All Jewish property is taxed at 25%.

September 23 Sachsenhausen concentration camp opens.

October 1 Criminal Court judges must swear oath of allegiance to Hitler, not to the constitution or the state.

October 25 Hitler and Italian Fascist leader Benito Mussolini sign a treaty forming the Berlin-Rome Axis.

November 18 German volunteers called the Condor Legion leave for combat on the side of Francisco Franco's troops in Spain.

November 25 Germany and Japan sign the Anti-Comintern Pact in order to block Soviet activities abroad.

December 27 Great Britain and France agree not to intervene in the Spanish Civil War.

1937

March 14 Pope Pius XI repudiates Nazi racism in an encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* ("With Burning Concern"), yet does not denounce Nazi antisemitism and refers to the Jews as deicides who killed Christ.

July A "Degenerate Art" exhibition opens in Berlin featuring the work of Jewish and other unacceptable artists.

July 1 Pastor Martin Niemoller, an antisemitic yet anti-Nazi German pastor is arrested because of his opposition to Hitler.

July 15 Buchenwald concentration camp is opened.

September 7 Hitler declares the Treaty of Versailles void.

October 12 The SS takes control of Grafeneck, an institution for crippled children in Wuerttemberg, and starts transforming it into a "euthanasia center."

1938

January 21 The Romanian government strips Romanian Jews of their citizenship.

March 12 The German army enters Vienna; Austria is annexed by Germany (the Anschluss). Antisemitic laws enacted in Germany in 1933–38 are immediately imposed on Austria.

March 28 Jewish community organizations lose government recognition in Germany.

April 5 Anti-Jewish riots throughout Poland.

April 21 Jews are eliminated from Germany's economy; Jewish assets may be seized.

April 23 Jews in Vienna are rounded up and forced to eat grass by the Nazis on the Sabbath.

April 26 German government mandates the registration of all Jewish property and other holdings in excess of 5,000 marks. Expropriation follows; as does Aryanization – the process of transferring Jewish held property into non-Jewish German possession. Aryanization usually involved government confiscation and auction or the threat of government confiscation followed by a distress sale of Jewish property and assets at a fraction of actual value.

May 3 Concentration camp of Flossenbuerg is opened.

June 9 Main synagogue in Munich is set on fire.

June 14 All Jewish businesses that have not registered must now do so.

June 15 All Jews convicted of a crime – no matter how slight – are arrested.

June 25 German Jewish doctors may treat only Jewish patients.

July 6–14 International Conference at Evian-les-Bains, France, called by U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt to consider the refugee problem, a euphemism for Jews. Thirty-two nations attending are not asked to change any laws or to allocate budget resources. Palestine is not on the agenda, to assuage British concerns. Neither the U.S. president nor the vice president, not even the secretary of state, attend. The results are limited and incommensurate with the growing needs of refugees.

July 14 In response to Evian one German newspaper publishes banner headline "JEWS FOR SALE AT BARGAIN PRICE – WHO WANTS THEM? NO ONE."

August 8 Concentration camp is opened at Mauthausen, formerly in Austria, the first of several camps established on former Austrian soil.

August 10 The Great Synagogue in Nuremberg is destroyed.

August 17 All Jewish men in Germany must assume the middle name of Israel and all Jewish women must assume the name Sarah by January 1, 1939.

August 26 Adolf Eichmann establishes Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna.

September 15 British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain meets with Hitler to discuss the Sudeten crisis. Hitler demands that Sudetenland be ceded to Germany.

September 22–23 Hitler and Chamberlain meet again.

September 26 Hitler promises that Sudetenland will be his last territorial demand in Europe.

September 27 Jews barred from practicing law in Germany.

September 29–30 Munich Conference attendees include Chamberlain and Hitler, now joined by French Premier Edouard Daladier and Italian leader Benito Mussolini. France and Britain settle on a policy of appeasement. Chamberlain declares "peace in our time." Hitler is given the Sudetenland.

October The Polish government revokes the passports of all Jews who have lived outside Poland for more than five years.

October 5 Germany complies with Swiss Federal Police request that all German passports held by Jews be marked with the letter J, to prevent Jews from passing into Switzerland posing as gentiles.

October 28 Germany expels Jews with Polish citizenship. Poland refuses to accept these deportees and Germany refuses their reentry into Germany. They languish in a no-man's land in Zbaszyn, Poland.

November Father Bernhard Lichtenberg, a Berlin-based Roman Catholic priest, condemns German assaults on the Jews.

November 2 Sections of Slovakia and the Transcarpathian mountains are annexed by Hungary.

November 7 Herschel Grynszpan, whose family is caught in Zbaszyn, is distraught at their predicament, goes to the German Embassy in Paris, and wounds Ernst vom Rath, the third secretary.

November 9–10 The November pogroms, known as Kristallnacht, the Night of Broken Glass, commence. Throughout Germany, now includ-

ing Austria, synagogues are burnt and desecrated, Jewish stores are looted, and Jewish men aged 16–60 are arrested and sent to concentration camps.

November 12 Hermann Goering convenes a meeting to consider the results of Kristallnacht. The Jewish community is fined 1 billion Reichsmarks (US$400 million in 1938 dollars); Jews must repair their wrecked property, and Jews residing in Germany cannot collect insurance payments. All Jews are to be removed from the German economy, culture, and society.

November 15 Jewish students are expelled from German schools.

December 3 All Jewish businesses must be forcibly Aryanized.

1939

January 30 On Hitler's sixth anniversary as chancellor, he issues a threat against the Jews, warning that if war breaks out the result will be the annihilation of the Jews. The warning is self-described as a prophecy three years later.

February 10 Pope Pius XI dies. On his night table is an unpublished encyclical on racism and antisemitism.

February U.S. Senator Robert F. Wagner and Representative Edith Nourse Rogers introduce a bill to permit the entry of 20,000 children from Germany in a two-year period. Despite press support, the bill dies in committee.

March 2 Cardinal Pacelli is elected as Pope Pius XII.

March 15 German troops enter Czechoslovakia and occupy its capital, Prague. German troops enter Bohemia and Moravia and Slovakia becomes a German satellite.

March 25 About 20,000 people march in a "Stop Hitler" parade in New York. A half million view the demonstration.

March 31 Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain announces that Britain and France will protect Polish sovereignty.

May 3 Josef Stalin replaces Jewish Commissar for Foreign Affairs Maksim Litvinov with Vyacheslav Molotov.

May 15 A women's concentration camp at Ravensbrueck is opened. The German luxury ship SS St. Louis, filled with Jewish refugees, leaves Hamburg en route to Cuba. Jews have entry permits to Cuba as well as quota numbers for the United States.

May 17 British government issues a White Paper limiting Jewish immigration to Palestine to 15,000 per year for five years. Jewish land purchases in Palestine are also restricted.

June 2 SS St. Louis reaches Cuba, where the government demands vast sum of money for Jews to disembark. Ship sails along the east coast of the United States pending a determination of the fate of its passengers. U.S. Coast Guard ship trails the vessel to prevent passengers from jumping overboard.

June 17 Forced to return to Europe, SS St. Louis docks in Antwerp, Belgium. Passengers are divided: 214 to Belgium, 187 to the Netherlands, 224 to France, and 187 to Britain.

August 2 Jewish physicist Albert Einstein, exiled from Germany in the United States, writes to President Roosevelt about developing an American atomic bomb.

August 22 In a speech to his generals on the eve of the invasion of Poland, Hitler urges the liquidation of Poles in order to gain *Lebensraum* (living space) for the Germans.

August 23 The Ribbentrop-Molotov (German-Soviet) Non-Aggression Pact is signed; a secret provision calls for the division of Poland.

September 1 World War II begins with the German invasion of Poland.

September 3 Great Britain and France declare war on Germany.

September 6 German forces occupy Cracow.

September 17 The Soviet Union invades Eastern Poland.

September 21 Reinhard Heydrich, SS security chief, orders the establishment of Jewish Councils (Judenraete), consisting of 24 Jewish men each, to be personally responsible for implementing German orders in the ghettos. All Jewish communities in Poland and Greater Germany, which now includes annexed parts of Poland, with populations of less than 500 are dissolved.

September 22 RSHA (Reichssicherheithauptamt, the Reich Central Security Office) is established.

September 27 German troops capture Warsaw, the city with the largest Jewish population in Europe.

September 28 Poland surrenders and is partitioned. Germany absorbs parts of Poland and occupies Central Poland, area called the General Government; the Soviet Union annexes eastern Poland.

October 1 Polish government-in-exile is established in France.

October 4 A triumphant Hitler tours Warsaw.

October 8 First Jewish ghetto in Poland is established in Piotrkow Tribunalski.

October 12 Jews from Germany are deported to Poland.

Mid-October Hitler signs an order backdated to September 1, 1939, to give it a wartime appearance, authorizing Reich leader Philip Bouhler and Dr. Brandt to expand "the authority of physicians, to be designated by name, to the end that patients considered incurable according to the best available human judgment of their state of health, can be granted a mercy killing."

October 24 Jews in Wloclawek, Poland, are required to wear the Yellow Star.

October 26 Germans begin deportation of 78,000 Jews to reservation in Lublin-Nisko region. This is conceived of as a territorial solution to the Jewish problem, confining Jews to reservations.

November 7 Deportation of Jews from Western Poland begins.

November 12 Jews from the so-called "Reichsgau Wartheland" province of annexed Poland are ordered deported to clear the way for resettlement by ethnic Germans.

November 15–17 The synagogues of Lodz are destroyed.

November 30 Soviet Union invades Finland.

December 5–6 Jewish property in Poland is confiscated, further exacerbating the increasingly desperate plight of Polish Jews.

1940

January 6 Shivering Jews in Warsaw are forced to burn Jewish books for heat.

February 8 A Jewish ghetto is established in Lodz.

April Germany invades Denmark and Norway.

April 1 Shanghai, China, controlled by the Japanese, accepts Jewish refugees.

April 8–11 Soviet NKVD massacres 26,000 Polish officers, prisoners of war, at Katyn Forest near Smolensk.

April 30 The ghetto of Lodz is isolated and sealed off from the rest of the city.

May 10 Germany invades Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France.

May 16 Germans launch a "pacification operation" to eliminate Polish intellectuals and priests.

May 20 The Auschwitz concentration camp begins functioning. Initial prisoners are Polish.

May 29 Belgium surrenders to Germany.

June 14 Paris falls to the Germans.

June 22 France signs an armistice with Germany.

July 10 Battle of Britain begins.

August 15 Adolf Eichmann proposes turning island of Madagascar into

Jewish ghetto, another articulation of the territorial solution to the Jewish problem.

September 1 Soviet officials order Japanese Consul Sempo Sugihara to leave Kovno. He has issued thousands of exit visas for Jews who have an end visa elsewhere to travel via Japan and Japanese-controlled Shanghai. Together with Dutch Consul Jan Zwatendyk, who provided an end visa to Curaçao, which required no visa, he is responsible for saving thousands of Jewish lives.

September 15 German Luftwaffe suffers major losses in Battle of Britain. Britain gains the upper hand.

September 23 Himmler establishes a special Reichsbank account for gold, silver, money, and jewelry taken from Jews.

September 27 Japan signs treaty with Germany and Italy, forming the Axis.

October 3 Vichy France passes antisemitic legislation modeled on Nuremberg laws.

October 12 Yom Kippur is chosen as the occasion to announce the formation of a ghetto in Warsaw.

October 14 Non-Jews are evacuated from area that will become the Warsaw ghetto.

November 15 Warsaw ghetto is sealed.

November 28 German filmmaker Fritz Hippler's "documentary" *The Eternal Jew* has premiere in Berlin.

December The Vatican condemns the "mercy killing" of unfit Aryans.

1941

January 21 Romanian Iron Guard launches a coup d'etat, during which 120 Jews are killed, thousands are beaten.

January 22 Law for the Defense of the Nation is imposed in Bulgaria excluding Jews from public service, taxing Jewish businesses, and dismissing Jewish doctors, lawyers, and professionals.

January 30 On his eighth anniversary as chancellor, Hitler reiterates his 1939 statement threatening the annihilation of the Jews in Europe.

February 15 Germans begin deporting 1,000 Jews a week from Vienna to ghettos in German-occupied Poland in Kielce and Lublin.

February 25 General strike of Dutch citizens to protest the deportation of Jews from the Netherlands.

March 1 Bulgaria becomes an ally of Germany. German troops enter Bulgaria the next day.

March 25 Yugoslavia joins the Axis (two days later Yugoslav regime is overthrown by internal coup and new government withdraws active support to the Axis).

March 26 The German High Army Command approves the tasks of the Einsatzgruppen ("Mission Groups," "Task Force") in anticipation of the planned German invasion of the Soviet Union.

April 6 German forces invade Greece and Yugoslavia; the danger to Jews is immediate.

April 18 Yugoslavia surrenders.

May 1 New concentration camps are established at Natzweiler in Alsace and Gross-Rosen, which had been a satellite camp of Sachsenhausen, in Poland.

May 22 Jews in Croatia must wear the Yellow Star.

June 6 Commissar Order is issued. All Soviet officials are to be liquidated, i.e., murdered.

June 17 Reinhard Heydrich briefs the Einsatzgruppen commanders.

June 22 German Army invades Soviet Union in Operation Barbarossa. Germany is now involved in a two-front war. Einsatzgruppen, with the assistance of local gendarmerie and native antisemites as well as the Wehrmacht, begin killing Jews immediately.

June 24 Kovno (Kaunas), Lithuania, is occupied by German troops.

June 26 Hundreds of Jews are shot at the Ninth Fort outside of Kovno.

June 29 Romanian soldiers and local police begin a pogrom in Iasi; 260 Jews are murdered immediately; 4,000 are deported on trains to the countryside; less than half will survive the journey.

July 1 Rioting erupts against the Jews in Lvov, Ukraine. Murder of 150,000 Jews by Einsatzgruppen, the Wehrmacht, and a special Romanian unit begins in Bessarabia. It continues for two months.

July 3 3,500 Jews are killed at Zloczow.

July 4 Murder of 5,000 Jews in Tarnopol, Ukraine, begins; it will last a week.

July 8 Jews in Baltic states must wear the Yellow Star.

July 10 1,600 Jews of Jedwabne are murdered by their Polish neighbors. The mere presence of German troops in the area is sufficient to spur the massacre, which will be blamed on the Germans for the next six decades.

July 25 3,800 Jews are killed in pogrom at Kovno.

July 31 Hermann Goering instructs Reinhard Heydrich to evacuate and eliminate all Jews currently in German-held territories, to implement what the Germans call "the Final Solution," the systematic mass murder of Jews.

August 2 4,000 Jews are killed at Ponary, the killing field adjacent to Vilnius (Vilna), Lithuania.

August 5 Murder of 11,000 Jews in Pinsk begins. It concludes on the 8th.

August 20 Deportation of 4,300 Jews from Paris to Drancy, the first of 70,000 Jews to be deported.

August 21 Concentration camp at Jasenovac, Croatia, opens.

August 27 25,000 Hungarian Jews in forced labor are shot near Kamenets-Podolski, Ukraine. Killing takes two days.

September 1 Jews in Bohemia and Moravia must wear the Yellow Star.

September 3 First gassing at Auschwitz; 600 Soviet prisoners of war and 300 Jews are murdered. These "experiments" will prove significant in the development of Auschwitz as a death camp.

September 13 Eleven members of the Judenrat of Piotrkow, Poland, who had cooperated with the Jewish underground, are executed after torture.

September 15 15,000 Jews are murdered in Berdichev.

September 16 24,000 Jews from Uman are murdered at the airport.

September 22 Ukrainian militiamen massacre 28,000 Jews at Vinnitsa.

September 27 3,200 Jews of Ejszyszki, Lithuania are executed.

September 29–30 33,771 Jews are shot at Babi Yar, a ravine adjacent to Kiev.

October 2 Yom Kippur 5702, 3,000 Jews from Vilna, arrested on the sacred day, are killed at Ponary.

October 13 15,000 Jews are executed at Dnepropetrovsk, Ukraine.

October 27 Gassing in mobile gas vans of elderly Jews in Kalisz, German-occupied Poland.

October 28 Half of 27,000 Jews in Kovno are selected to be killed in the Ninth Fort; this group includes the elderly and infirm as well as children.

November 1 Construction of the death camp at Belzec begins.

November 7 Some 17,000 Jews are forced from Rovno, in German-occupied Poland, and murdered in the Sosenki Forest nearby.

November 23 30,000 Jews are murdered at Odessa, Ukraine.

November 24 A "model ghetto" transit-concentration camp is established at Terezin (Theresienstadt), German-occupied Czechoslovakia.

November 27 10,600 Jews are murdered at Riga; first deportations of German Jews to Riga.

December 1 Commander of Einsatzgruppe 3 reports 85% of Lithuania's Jews are dead.

December 7 Japanese attack U.S. Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii.

December 8 Gassing by mobile gas vans commences at Chelmno in German-occupied Poland: U.S., Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand declare war on Japan.

December 11 United States declares war on Germany and Italy; Germany and Italy declare war on the United States.

December 21–30 More than 40,000 Jews are murdered at Bogdanovka in Transnistria.

December 31 Abba Kovner calls for armed resistance against the Germans. He perceives the Germans' aim to kill all the Jews of Europe and that the Jews of Lithuania are first in line. "Jewish youth, do not believe those that are trying to deceive you. Out of 80,000 Jews of Vilna only 12,000 are left.… All the Gestapo roads lead to Ponary and Ponary means death…. Brethren, it is better to die fighting like free men than to live at the mercy of the murderers. To defend oneself to the last breath."

1942

January At the beginning of 1942 four out of five people who were to die in the Holocaust are still alive. Just 15 months later, the numbers are reversed.

January 7 Germans undertake the gassing of 5,000 gypsies who were sent to Chelmno from Lodz, German-occupied Poland.

January 20 Wannsee Conference is held in Berlin, bringing together top Nazi leaders of the Party, the German state, and the occupied territories to implement under SS leadership the "Final Solution to the Jewish Problem" – the Nazi euphemism for the murder of European Jews.

January 30 In a speech to the Reichstag, Hitler reiterates his pledge to destroy the Jews of Europe: "Those who were laughing at my prophecy are not laughing now."

February 15 The first mass gassing of Jews begins at Auschwitz.

February 22 10,000 Jews are deported from Lodz to the Chelmno killing center where they are gassed.

February 24 The SS Struma carrying 759 Romanian Jewish refugees is sunk by a Soviet submarine in the waters off Turkey. David Stoliar is the lone survivor. The engine on the ship did not work; its passengers were not permitted to disembark in Turkey or to enter Palestine. Belzec opens; within the next ten months some 500,000 Jews will be murdered there.

March 1 Construction of the Sobibor death camp begins.

March 17 Mass killing by gassing begins at Belzec. The beginning of the deportation of 30,000 Jews from Lublin. This deportation lasts four weeks.

March 24 First deportation of West European Jews to Belzec.

March 27 First deportation of French Jews to Auschwitz begins.

May 4 More than 10,000 Jews are deported from Lodz to Chelmno for gassing. Operation takes nine days.

June 1–6 7,000 Jews from Cracow are gassed at the Belzec death camp.

June 2 The BBC reports that 700,000 Jews have been murdered.

June 5 The SS reports that 97,000 persons have been "processed" in mobile gas vans.

June 9 192 men and boys are killed in Lidice, German-occupied Czechoslovakia, in response to the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich. The residents of Lidice were not involved with the attack on Heydrich; their "crime" was the proximity of the town to the assassination site.

June 11 10,000 Jews from Tarnow are deported to Belzec for gassing.

June 20 The beginning of the deportation of 13,776 Viennese Jews to Theresienstadt.

June 29 Jewish resistance by force of arms in Slonim, Belorussia. Almost 15,000 Jews are burned.

June 30 A second gas chamber is opened at Auschwitz-Birkenau. The London Times reports more than 1,000,000 Jews are killed.

July 8 7,000 Jews from Lvov are killed in the adjacent Janowska labor and extermination camp.

July 13 Big sweep in Paris: arrest of German and Austrian Jews living there.

July 14 Thousands of Dutch Jews are arrested and deported to Auschwitz. Trains leave from the Westerbork transit camp in Netherlands.

July 17 Himmler visits Auschwitz and observes the gassing.

July 22 The Warsaw ghetto is surrounded. Mass deportations from Warsaw begin. By September 12, 1942, 265,000 Jews will be deported to Treblinka, where they will be gassed.

July 23 Adam Czerniakow, chairman of the Warsaw Jewish Council, commits suicide. "They have asked me to kill the children with my own hand. This I cannot do."

July 28 Three days of killing begins in Minsk. 30,000 Jews are murdered.

July 30 German industrialist Eduard Schulte tells a Swiss colleague of the decision to kill the Jews and to use prussic acid for gassing. Information soon reached Gerhart Riegner of the World Jewish Congress in Geneva.

August 3 12,000 Jews from Prezemysl, German-occupied Poland, are deported to Belzec.

August 4 First deportations of Belgian Jews to Auschwitz.

August 6–17 20,000 Jews from Radom are murdered at Treblinka.

August 10–30 50,000 Jews from Lvov, Ukraine, are murdered.

August 20–24 Amid the deportations from Warsaw, 19,000 Jews from Kielce, German-occupied Poland, arrive in Treblinka, where they are gassed.

August 29 Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, president of the World Jewish Congress, receives cable from Gerhart Riegner via British parliamentarian Samuel Silverman, informing him that "that there has been and is being considered in Hitler's headquarters a plan to exterminate all Jews from Germany and German-controlled areas in Europe after they have been concentrated in the east. The number involved is said to be between three and a half and four million and the object is to permanently settle the Jewish question in Europe." Wise is asked by the U.S. State Department, which had previously received the cable through secret channels, to keep quiet until the information is verified.

September 4–12 Lodz Jewish Council Chairman Mordecai Chaim Rumkowski agrees to the deportation of children and old people. He says: "Brothers and sisters, hand them over to me; fathers and mothers, give me your children." His justification: only some Jews can be saved; it is better to save some than to risk total destruction. 15,000 are deported.

September 21 Bodies of previously gassed Jews are dug up at Auschwitz and burned in open pits to prevent contamination of local ground water.

September 22 40,000 Jews of Czestochowa are deported to Treblinka.

September 25 Jews of Korets escape to the forest while others set the ghetto ablaze rather than submit to deportation.

October 4 All Jews in concentration camps in Germany are ordered to be sent to Auschwitz.

October 11–12 11,000 Jews from Ostrowiec-Swietokrzyski are killed at Treblinka.

October 15 22,000 Jews of Piotrkow-Trybunalski are deported to Treblinka. 25,000 Jews of Brest-Litovsk are murdered.

October 28 First transport of Jews from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz. By war's end more than 88,000 will be deported to Auschwitz.

November 24 Rabbi Stephen S. Wise goes public with the information regarding the Final Solution. The State Department had told him: "We can confirm your deepest fears." But when questioned by the press the State Department will not confirm Wise's report. Thus, it appears in the press as a Jewish statement rather than government information and its impact is more limited. The report that two million Jews had been murdered is, in fact, an understatement.

1943

January 3 Polish President Wladyslaw Raczkiewicz requests that Pope Pius XII denounce German attacks on Jews. The pope remains silent.

January 4 The SS instructs concentration camp commandants to send human hair taken from Jewish women to Germany for processing.

January 12 Beginning of the deportation of 8,000 Jews from Zambrow, German-occupied Poland. Operation continues for nine days.

January 18 Germans resume Warsaw ghetto deportations. Jews respond with resistance, street fighting erupts. 6,000 Jews are deported in four days from Warsaw to Treblinka. The deportation is halted, which the resistance perceives as a victory.

February 2 The German Sixth Army surrenders at Stalingrad. The tide of war shifts with this major German defeat.

February 10 The State Department sends a cable to all legations instructing them that secure government lines cannot be used for the transmission of private information. Given the cable reference to previous communications on the fate of Jews, the implications are unmistakable: shut down information coming in on the Jews.

February 13 Amon Goeth becomes commandant of Plaszow concentration camp.

February 16 Jewish activist group in the United States headed by Peter Bergson (Hillel Kook) places full page New York Times advertisement "For Sale to Humanity/70,000 Jews," calling for the ransom of Jews.

February 20 Crematorium II is completed at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

March 9 The Bergson group presents the pageant "We Will Never Die" in New York City.

March 10 The German government demands the deportation of Bulgarian Jews, but Bulgaria, which had previously consented to the deportation of Jews from Thrace and Macedonia, faces unexpectedly stiff domestic opposition from intellectual, cultural, and religious leaders and refuses.

March 15 Deportations of Jews from Salonika begins. By mid-August some 56,000 Jews will be deported to Auschwitz.

March 23 Crematorium IV opens at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

April 19 Warsaw Ghetto resistance begins. The fighting will continue openly until May 16, 1943, when SS General Jurgen Stroop reports to his superiors, "The Jewish Quarter is no longer." Bermuda Conference of Great Britain and the United States is held to consider the plight of Jewish refugees in Europe. Access to the island is restricted and public pressure on the delegations is therefore lessened.

April 20 Germans respond to Warsaw Ghetto Uprising by setting the ghetto on fire, building by building, block by block.

May 8 German troops reach Mila 18, Resistance headquarters. Mordecai Anielewicz and his comrades either commit suicide or are suffocated.

May 16 The main synagogue in Warsaw is destroyed. Stroop reports the end of the Uprising. Some Jews remain in hiding.

June 1 During the liquidation of the Sosnowiec ghetto, armed resistance breaks out.

June 21 Himmler orders the liquidation of all Jewish ghettos in the Soviet Union.

June 25 Armed Jewish resistance breaks out in Lvov, Ukraine, and Czestochowa, German-occupied Poland.

July 16 Crisis in Vilna's United Partisan Organization as its leader, Yitzḥak Wittenberg, is captured by the police and freed by his fighters and then chooses to surrender to prevent the destruction of the ghetto.

July 25 Benito Mussolini resigns and is arrested.

July 28 Jan Karski, a young Polish Catholic courier, arrives in the United States to meet with American government and civic leaders. Among his other assignment is to tell them of the plight of the Jews.

August 2 Armed resistance at the Treblinka death camp allows for the escape of 350–400 inmates; all but 100 are captured.

August 16 Germans enter the Bialystok ghetto and meet with armed resistance. 5,000 Jews are killed on the spot and 25,000 are deported to death camps.

September 3 Allies invade Italy, which surrenders within five days. An armistice is signed with the Allies.

October 2 The Danish people help rescue more than 7,000 Danish Jews who are ferried by boat to nearby Sweden. 500 Jews are arrested in Denmark and deported, but the Danish government continues to inquire as to their fate.

October 4 Heinrich Himmler delivers speech to SS officers at Posen, speaking with pride of their work: "Most of you know what it means to see a hundred corpses lie side by side, or five hundred, or a thousand. To have stuck this out and – excepting cases of human weakness – to have kept our integrity, this is what has made us hard."

October 14 Leon Feldhendler and Jewish Soviet POW Aleksandr Percersky lead armed revolt at death camp of Sobibor. 11 Germans are killed and 200 Jews escape. Only 50 survive the war. Two days later, Himmler orders the camp destroyed.

October 16 Germans deport Jews of Rome to Auschwitz. 477 are sheltered in the Vatican and another 4,238 find shelter in monasteries. 8,300 deported.

October 20 The United Nations War Crimes Commission is established.

November 3 The Germans' "Harvest Festival" (Erntefeat), murder of Jews in three camps in Lublin area.

November 19 Prisoners at Sonderkommando 1005 revolt at Janowska; their task had been to dig up bodies and burn them, using bone crushers to get rid of all evidence of murder.

December 16 Josiah DuBois meets with Donald Hiss at U.S. State Department and begins to unravel State Department cover-up of its hampering the rescue of Jews by inaction and false representations.

1944

January 13 Josiah DuBois, Randolph Paul, and John Pehle, three U.S. Treasury Department officials, present a "Report to the Secretary on the Acquiescence of this Government to the Murder of European Jews," accusing the State Department of preventing action from being taken to rescue Jews. Secretary of Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., reacts strongly.

January 16 Morgenthau meets with President Roosevelt and presents a "Personal Report to the President," a condensed and milder version of the report he received, but does not leave it at the White House. Within days the War Refugee Board is created.

March 19 The Germans take control of Hungary and its more than 700,000 Jews. Germany implements its tried and true practices of dealing with the Jews: definition, confiscation of property, ghettoiza-

tion, and deportation to death camps. The implementation of the "Final Solution in Hungary" will take less than four months.

April 4 The United States takes air reconnaissance photographs of Auschwitz.

April 7 Two Slovakian Jews escape from Auschwitz: Alfred Wetzler and Rudolph Vrba (Walter Rosenberg). They will soon provide Allies, the Jewish community, and the Yishuv with a detailed report of Auschwitz killings.

April 15 The ghettoization of Hungarian Jews begins.

May 15 Germany begins the deportation of Hungarian Jews, primarily to Auschwitz. 437,402 Jews are deported on 147 trains between May 15 and July 8, 1944.

May 19 In order to buy time and because they are under the illusion that it might actually work, Germans send Joel Brand to Turkey with a proposal of exchanging one million Jews for goods. In a second mission by Brand's companion, they seek a separate peace with the West.

June 2 Yitzḥak Gruenbaum, chairman of the Rescue Committee of the Jewish Agency, requests that rail lines to Auschwitz be bombed.

June 4 Allies liberate Rome.

June 6 Allied forces land on the beaches of Normandy on D-Day.

June 10 Germans kill 642 residents of Oradour-sur-Glane in revenge for the killing of an SS officer.

June 23 Red Cross inspectors visit Theresienstadt ghetto/concentration camp. The Germans clean up the ghetto, plant gardens, create a soccer field in an elaborate charade designed to deceive their visitors.

June 24 U.S. Military Air Operations declares bombing of Auschwitz "impracticable." It would require the diversion of considerable air support needed elsewhere.

July 7 Churchill tells his foreign minister to get anything possible out of the British Air Force and "invoke my name, if necessary," for the bombing of Auschwitz.

July 8 Facing international pressure and a deteriorating war situation, Hungary informs Berlin that the deportation of Jews will end.

July 9 Raoul Wallenberg arrives in Budapest under Swedish diplomatic cover and the assignment to do what he can for Hungarian Jews.

July 23 Russian troops enter Majdanek death camp. W.H. Lawrence, a correspondent for the New York Times, writes: "I have just seen the most terrible place on earth."

August 1 The Red army liberates Kovno.

August 2 2,800 gypsies are gassed at Auschwitz.

August 2 Final deportation of Jews from the Lodz ghetto, the last ghetto in Poland. Over the next three weeks 60,000 Jews are deported, including Judenrat chairman Chaim Mordechai Rumkowski. The Lodz ghetto lasted longer than any other in Poland, yet Rumkowski's strategy of rescue through work fails in the end.

August 20 The U.S. Army Air Force bombs Buna-Monowitz, the labor camp at Auschwitz, also known as Auschwitz III. The death camp at Birkenau (Auschwitz II) – and its gas chambers – is untouched.

August 23 Marshal Ion Antonescu is overthrown in Romania and Romania joins the Allies.

August 25 German forces surrender in Paris. Adolf Eichmann and his staff leave Hungary, seemingly ending the deportation of Hungarian Jews.

September 3 Brussels is liberated by the Allies. Anne Frank is among the Dutch Jews deported from Westerbork to Auschwitz.

September 16 Following a Communist coup, Bulgaria declares war on Germany.

October 6 The Soviet Army enters Hungary.

October 6–7 Sonderkommando Uprising at Auschwitz. One of the four crematoria is set on fire.

October 13 Soviet troops enter Riga, Latvia.

October 17 Adolf Eichmann returns to Budapest.

October 18 Oscar Schindler arranges to have 300 women from Plaszow who had been deported to Auschwitz transferred to his factory.

October 20 22,000 Hungarian Jews are put on trains en route to Auschwitz.

October 30 Last deportation train from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz. 88,000 Jews have been sent from there to Auschwitz.

November 6 30,000 Hungarian Jews are driven by the Hungarian Iron Cross to the old Austrian border.

November 8 Beginning of Death March from Budapest.

November 25 Demolition of Crematorium II begins at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

1945

January 6 Four Jewish women are hanged at Auschwitz for supplying explosives for the October uprising.

January 17 Red Army enters Budapest. Last roll call at Auschwitz. Raoul Wallenberg is arrested by Soviet officials; his fate still remains in dispute.

January 18 Forced evacuation of Auschwitz, in what became known as the Death Marches. Prisoners are forced to walk toward Germany rather than be captured alive by advancing Soviet troops, reversing long process of making Germany Judenrein. Many will die on these marches from cold and hunger, the absence of shelter, fatigue and despair. Josef Mengele leaves Auschwitz, taking with him the records of his medical experiments.

January 27 Soviet troops enter Auschwitz and find 7,000 prisoners alive.

February 3 Forced march of prisoners from Gross-Rosen to Flossenbuerg.

February 4 Allied Conference at Yalta establishes postwar division of Europe. Last conference attended by President Roosevelt.

March 9 U.S. Ninth Army reaches the Rhine River.

March 30 Soviet troops enter Austria.

April 11 SS leaves Buchenwald and prisoners take charge; a short while later U.S. troops enter.

April 12 Generals Dwight David Eisenhower, George Patton, and Omar Bradley visit Ohrdruf concentration camp. Eisenhower reports: "The things I saw beggar the imagination. The visual evidence and the verbal testimony were so overpowering.… I have reported what I saw and heard, but only part of it. For most of it, I have no words." He summons the press and political leaders.

April 14 Swedish Count Folke Bernadotte negotiates the release of 423 Danish Jews from Theresienstadt.

April 15 British troops enter Bergen-Belsen. Situation is so grave that 13,000 Jews will die after liberation.

April 23 Concentration camp at Flossenbuerg is liberated by U.S. Army.

April 29 Hitler's last will and testament. American troops enter Dachau.

April 30 Hitler and his hastily married wife, Eva Braun, commit suicide in Berlin. Soviet Army captures Reichstag.

May 2 German forces in Berlin surrender.

May 5 U.S. Army liberates Mauthausen.

May 7 Germany signs unconditional surrender.

May 8 V-E Day: Victory in Europe.

August 6 An American B-29 bomber drops an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan.

August 9 In another bombing run, American B-29 bomber drops an atomic bomb on Nagasaki, Japan.

August 11 Anti-Jewish riots in Cracow, Poland.
September 2 Japan surrenders. World War II is over.
September 17 Trial of Bergen-Belsen personnel begins.
October 25 Jews are attacked in Sosnowiec, Poland.
November 15 Trial of Dachau Camp administration.
November 19 Anti-Jewish riots in Lublin.
November 20 First trial of Nuremberg defendants.

1946

May 1 Anglo-American Commission recommends the admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine. Britain, which holds the mandate for Palestine, refuses.
July 4 Anti-Jewish pogrom in Kielce, Poland, follows the disappearance of a non-Jewish child. 46 Jews are killed. Over the next year 100,000 Jews will flee Poland to American- and British-held territory in operation called Beriḥah ("Escape").
September 18 Part of Emanuel Ringelblum's collection of documents from the Oneg Shabbat archive is discovered buried beneath the rubble of Warsaw in a milk can.
October 1 First verdicts of Nuremberg trials.
October 15 Hermann Goering takes his own life before he is to be executed.
October 16 Those convicted at Nuremberg are executed, including former German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop, *Der Stuermer* publisher Julius Streicher, former Governor-General of Poland Hans Frank, and Ernst Kaltenbrunner, RSHA chief, among others.
October 23 23 Nazi doctors are brought to trial at Nuremberg,

1947

January 13 15 Nazi judges are brought to trial at Nuremberg.
February 8 Six German industrialists are brought to trial at Nuremberg.
March 29 Former Auschwitz Commandant Rudolph Hoess is sentenced to death at his Warsaw Trial. He is hanged outside the gas chamber at Auschwitz I on April 16.
May 8 Trial of 24 board members of I.G. Farben begins.
May 10 Trial of 12 former Wehrmacht officers begins.
July 1 Trial of 14 former SS leaders begins.
August 16 Trial of 12 Krupp executives begins.
August 20 Doctors' trial concludes. Statement on medical and research conduct is issued concerning human experimentation, including the concept of informed consent and the right to stop treatment at any time.
November 4 21 former senior German diplomats are tried.
December 40 former Auschwitz administrators are tried.

1948

May 14 State of Israel is proclaimed; its borders are opened to Jews, including survivors, who may enter freely.
December 9 A Convention for the Prevention of Crimes of Genocide is adopted by the United Nations, which specifically outlaws many of the crimes associated with the Holocaust. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights follows the next day.

1949

May 23 Federal Republic of Germany is established (West Germany).
October 7 Democratic Republic of Germany is established (East Germany).

1950

June The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 is amended to allow Jewish immigration to the United States on an equitable basis.
December 1 Second Ringelblum milk can is discovered.

1951

April 12 Yom ha-Sho'ah ve-ha-Gevurah (Holocaust and Heroism Remembrance Day) is established by the Israeli Knesset.
September 27 West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer apologizes to the Jewish people and offers reparations.

1952

September 10 Israel and West Germany agree on German payment of reparations to Israel and to Jewish organizations.

1960

May 23 David Ben-Gurion, Israel's prime minister, announces the capture and removal to Israel of Adolf Eichmann, who will stand trial there.

1961

April 11 August 14 Trial of Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem. Eichmann is found guilty by an Israeli court and sentenced to death.

1962

May 31 Eichmann is hanged and his ashes are scattered at sea. As of 2006 he is the only man ever executed in Israel.

1963

December 20 Trial of SS officers at Auschwitz is held in Frankfurt-am-Main. Trial lasts until August 1965.

1969

September 1 German penal code eliminates paragraph 175, the provision under which German male homosexuals were arrested and confined by the Nazis.

1978

April 16–19 U.S. television network NBC broadcasts the docudrama *The Holocaust* over four consecutive nights, bringing the event to the attention of millions.
May 14 U.S. President Jimmy Carter announces his intention to establish the President's Commission on the Holocaust to recommend an appropriate national memorial to its victims.

1979

January The President's Commission on the Holocaust begins its deliberations with Elie Wiesel as chair.
Office of Special Investigations is established in the U.S. Department of Justice to investigate Nazi war criminals who settled in the United States.

1980

October The United States Holocaust Memorial Council is established by a unanimous act of Congress to plan and build the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

1981

June More than 6,000 gather in Jerusalem for the World Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors.

1985

French movie director Claude Lanzmann releases *Shoah*, a 9½-hour documentary on the Holocaust.
May 5–7 U.S. President Ronald Reagan's visit to Bitburg, where Waffen SS troops are buried, provokes an international controversy.

1986

December Elie Wiesel is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his role as Holocaust witness and his efforts for human rights and human dignity.

1993

February Beit Hashoah/The Museum of Tolerance opens in Los Angeles.

April 19 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum opens in Washington.

July 29 The Israeli Supreme Court on appeal releases John Demjanjuk, who had been convicted in 1988 by a Jerusalem Court of war crimes as "Ivan the Terrible."

October *Schindler's List*, a film by Steven Spielberg, opens and is seen by tens of millions of Americans. It sweeps the Academy Awards.

1994

With the proceeds of *Schindler's List*, Steven Spielberg establishes the Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation to record on video tape the personal testimonies of 50,000 Holocaust survivors. Within five years 52,000 testimonies are taken in 32 languages in 57 countries.

1996

May Swiss bankers and the World Jewish Congress decide to look into the misappropriation of Jewish funds during and after the Holocaust.

October 23 Peter Hug, a Swiss historian, shows how Switzerland used funds of Holocaust victims to settle claims by Poland and Hungary.

1997

October Accused Nazi collaborator Maurice Papon goes on trial in France for the deportations of Jews from France, including children.

1998

August Swiss banks agree to pay $1.25 billion to compensate Holocaust victims for stolen assets.

August 19 The Italian Assicurazioni Generali insurance group decides to pay $100 million to Holocaust victims as compensation for previously unpaid insurance.

December 3 At a meeting in Washington, 44 nations agree to return fine art looted from victims of the Nazis.

1999

February 16 Germany establishes a $1.7 billion Remembrance, Responsibility and the Future Fund financed by the German government and major German corporations that had profited from forced labor during the Nazi era.

May 26 Germany agrees to compensate Polish slave laborers.

2000

January An international conference of 21 heads of state and delegations representing 46 countries is convened by the prime minister of Sweden to consider Holocaust education.

March Pope John Paul II visits Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, condemns antisemitism as anti-Christian, and apologizes for antisemitism by Christians at the Holocaust Memorial and even more strikingly in a note inserted into the Western Wall.

April Holocaust denier David Irving loses the libel suit that he brought against American historian Deborah Lipstadt as an English court finds that Irving did indeed falsify the historical record and that he is an antisemite and a racist. This is a major defeat for Holocaust denial as Irving was its most erudite representative.

Sources: The Holocaust Chronicle (2000); R. Rozett and S. Spector (eds.), Encyclopedia of the Holocaust (2000); I. Gutman (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Holocaust (1990).

RESPONSES

THE VICTIMS

Behavior of the Victims

In a chapter entitled "Auschwitz: The Death of Choice" in *Versions of Survival: The Holocaust and the Human Spirit*, the Holocaust scholar Lawrence *Langer writes: "After we peel the veneer of respectable behavior, cooperation, hope, mutual support, and inner determination from the surface of the survivor ordeal, we find beneath a raw and quivering anatomy of human existence resembling no society ever encountered before." The situation of the victim can best be described as one of "choiceless choices where crucial decisions did not reflect the options between life and death but between one form of abnormal response and another, both imposed by a situation that was in no way of the victim's own choosing." Only by understanding the distance between that world and our world can we presume to enter the world of the Holocaust.

WHO IS COMPETENT TO JUDGE THIS BEHAVIOR? One issue that has been hotly debated between survivors of the camps and those who were not inside, whether they be outside witnesses or researchers, has been the question of who is competent to describe and evaluate the behavior of the victims and their leaders. Many survivors have held the view that "no one who has not had any personal experience of a German concentration camp can possibly have the remotest conception of concentration camp life." Elie *Wiesel said: "Only those who were there will ever know." Primo Levi argued that if the *lagers* had lasted a little longer they would have developed a language of their own. Ordinary language of ordinary people living through ordinary experiences cannot describe what it was like to be there. Philosopher John Roth suggested an ethical principle: "handle with care," with modesty and humility.

Little does the outsider know of the hard fight for existence that raged among prisoners. Admittedly, survivors have the advantage of the immediate personal experience of a world that is very different from ours, a phenomenon not easily imaginable. But acceptance of this claim at face value would mean that with the last survivor gone, research and evaluation of such behavior would also come to an end. And when Wiesel said, "And those who were there can never tell," he is urging the nonsurvivor to back away, dismissing every attempt to understand.

Survivor testimony, however important, is not unimpeachable. Some generalize on the basis of brief experience in a camp or in a ghetto to arrive at conclusions of broader applications. On the other hand, it is not beyond the capacities of a conscientious witness to learn and seek to comprehend and arm himself with *Einfuehlungsvermoegen*, which is the proper meaning of the Talmudic saying, "Judge not thy neighbor until thou art come into his place," as formulated in modern terms by Viktor Frankl: "No man should judge unless he asks himself in absolute honesty whether in a similar situation he might not have done the same."

Any attempt to apply to the victims of the Holocaust or of comparable extreme situations the standards of behavior of a civilized society must fall short. "Standards of normal society did not obtain in the ghettos and concentration camps. Theft, egotism, lack of consideration for others, disregarding all laws, all this was prohibited in pre-concentration camp days; inside the concentration camp, however, it was normal, indeed essential for survival." In these conditions, "there was neither the time nor the desire to consider moral issues." As Primo Levi put it: "Survival without renunciation of any part of one's moral world – apart from powerful and direct interventions by fortune – was conceded only to very few superior individuals, made of the stuff of martyrs and saints." And saints died far more often than they survived.

Most prisoners were concerned with survival. The admitted purpose of the Nazis in regard to the Jewish victim – as long as he was alive – was to reduce the homo sapiens to the category of a primitive creature with steadily decreasing needs, finally reduced to craving for food: "two hundred grams of bread ruled over life" (Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, about the Gulag); "general preoccupation with food" (Frankl); "I am hungry, I am cold; when I grow up I want to be a German, and then I shall no longer be hungry, and no longer be cold" (diary of a child in the Warsaw ghetto). In an early and now virtually entirely disregarded treatment of the camps, the famed psychologist Bruno *Bettelheim, who himself was a prisoner before the war, before the killing began, wrote of the infantilization of the Jews as if the structure of their situation were not essential to what they experienced.

Dehumanization was essential to the Nazi universe. When the commandant of Treblinka was asked why he bothered to dehumanize the Jews even though he was going to kill them, he answered: "Because it made it easier somehow." And dehumanization was structural. The literary scholar Terrence Des Pres termed Nazi action an "excremental assault," the attempt to drown the Jews in their own filth. And the architectural historian Robert Jan Van Pelt has shown that such excremental assault was structured into the camp, into the very design of the latrines, which imposed a biological catastrophe on the victims.

Concentration on material relating to the behavior of Jews alone is insufficient for any valid judgment. Some contemporary phenomena with a degree of comparability offer significant insights into the psychology of terrorized men, for example the behavior of political opponents in Nazi Germany and in the U.S.S.R., of Soviet and German prisoners of war during World War II, of detainees in Stalinist camps, and of defendants and onlookers in the 1936–37 Moscow trials.

Mass Behavior

The behavior of the masses will be discussed under the following headings: the invasions; deportations inside German-annexed Poland before the German-Soviet war; isolation ghettos, labor camps and squads (inside and outside the ghettos); collection of deportees and deportation to the death camps; behavior in death camps.

BEHAVIOR DURING INVASION. The inevitable concomitant of war is the flight of refugees from the area of hostilities. In addition to non-Jews, more than 300,000 Jews from Poland fled, in the face of a catastrophic military defeat and of the total collapse of state and government, to the eastern, non-Nazi-occupied Polish territories, which were controlled by Soviet troops on Sept. 17, 1939, and further east; to the Vilna region (temporarily occupied by the Soviets, later transferred to Lithuania); to the southern part of Lithuania; and to Romania and Hungary. They fled despite the lessons of history: the experience of more than a century taught Jews that safety was in the movement westward, not eastward. The Germans had been comparatively well behaved during World War I. Yet Jews, only one in ten in the Polish population, formed the majority of Polish refugees everywhere but in Romania and Hungary. This movement came to a halt when all powers involved sealed off their borders. In the west, no significant flights were reported during the period of the "phony war" between the declaration of war by France and Britain in September 1939 and the German invasion of France in May 1940.

The situation changed with the invasion, when non-Jews and Jews from France, Belgium, and, to a lesser degree, from the Netherlands used all available roads and vehicles to escape the invading armies. After the beginning of German-Soviet hostilities (in 1941), no such spontaneous movement of Jews was reported from the U.S.S.R., because of the suddenness of the invasion and the psychological unpreparedness of the Jewish population, and also because the Soviet press had been completely silent concerning Nazi persecution of Jews in Poland during the period of the Soviet alliance with Nazi Germany, from August 1939 to June 1941. Similarly, the suddenness of the invasion of Yugoslavia made any large movement of Jewish refugees practically impossible. On the other hand, Jews were among the beneficiaries of the government-sponsored evacuation of special categories of state and party officials and industry personnel.

BEHAVIOR DURING THE DEPORTATIONS INSIDE POLAND, 1939–41. The division of the German-occupied part of Poland into the General Government and the areas annexed to the Reich had one dire consequence for some 100,000 Jews and 200,000 Poles of the areas of annexation. These territories were swiftly depolonized and dejudaized; there were mass deportations of Poles and Jews into the General Government territory. The evidence is that Poles and Jews alike, stunned by the debacle and utterly uncomprehending of the meaning of German deportation orders, met their fate without any external sign of resistance.

BEHAVIOR OF JEWS IN ISOLATION. The specificity of the Jewish behavior begins with the next stage of persecution, namely, isolation, which was carried out consistently in the east, partially in the south, and – if at all, in a different set-

ting – in the west of Europe. No resistance was possible in the course of ghettoization, and in some respects ghettoization was even desirable as a sort of defense against bloody pogroms, both spontaneous and Nazi-incited. Jews on their own, separated from the general population, seemed safer, at least for a time. Work in labor camps, an important factor in the gradual physical emaciation of the masses, had one major advantage: Jews came into contact with non-Jews, thus enabling the Jews to trade personal belongings for food. Because of this possibility, ghetto Jews even volunteered for outside labor. The same phenomenon was observed in the Soviet prisoner-of-war camps in the occupied areas. Only a few cases of sabotage by Jewish forced laborers were recorded, but Jews were not overly productive in their work – they heeded the slogan "work slowly." As to the masses enclosed in the ghettos, their basic if not exclusive desire was to rescue themselves and their families; suffering and humiliation were the price that had to be paid for any faint hope of survival. Jews fought starvation and epidemics by making themselves useful as a skilled and unskilled labor force, creating new industries out of nothing, engaging in smuggling whenever it was possible.

For example, in the Warsaw ghetto, which had a Jewish population larger than that of all of continental Western Europe put together, and in other ghettos with lines of communications to the outside world, smuggling assumed gigantic proportions and flourished to the benefit of the inmates. As one diarist put it: "Perhaps, the day will come and the Jewish people will erect monuments to the unknown smugglers."

There are some records of spontaneous mass flights of Jews to the woods from the ghettos (after burning their houses), and of betrayals by the local population (e.g., at Tulczyn). But such an exodus depended on the existence of an escape route and the proximity of a forest. There are also known individual cases of disobedience to the orders of the Jewish councils (Judenraete) and the police (e.g., evasion of labor duty or the payment of fees for release from that duty, or of non-payment of taxes), and even physical resistance against certain actions of the Jewish police occurred in some ghettos. Hunger strikes and street demonstrations in the large, tightly controlled Lodz ghetto are recorded, prompted mostly by labor and food conditions.

There was no lack of channels for the masses to express their dissatisfaction with their fate. In the General Government, the "Jewish Social Self-Help" organization (financed by the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee), and in Warsaw the house committees, served this purpose. Political party ties and youth groups from prewar times served not only to maintain, as far as possible, close relations between like-minded persons, but were also a source of mutual help (e.g., party kitchens). The parties were also responsible for the widely distributed underground press, which provided an indispensable source of information. The ghetto dwellers established clandestine schools and prayer houses and tried to preserve records of their collective life.

Demoralization set in, with despair, disease, poverty, malnutrition, and death. The lowest depths of the first category were reached in Warsaw by a group of Jews on Dzika Street 13, called *Di Draytsentl*, who joined with the Gestapo to oppress their fellow Jews (some of them were killed by the resistance movement), or in the activities of the Salonika collaborators (some of whom were sentenced to death by Greek courts and executed). In Amsterdam and Berlin (but not on the Aryan side of Warsaw) the height of demoralization was reached when some Jews betrayed their fellow Jews in hiding to the Nazi authorities. They, too, were later to answer for their crimes before state courts.

BEHAVIOR DURING COLLECTION OF THE DEPORTEES AND DEPORTATION TO THE DEATH CAMPS. There was an immense difference between the situation in areas of Jewish confinement (ghettos and transit camps) and areas where the Jews were not concentrated in particular places. Having received a summons to appear for *Arbeitseinsatz* (code name for the deportation in the Netherlands), Jews in the latter still had some chance to escape deportation. While large numbers of those who received summonses showed up for deportation (prodded sometimes, in the case of the Netherlands, by members of the Jewish council, the Joodse Raad), others went into hiding with non-Jews, and a few refused to go into hiding as an act endangering non-Jews on the theory that Jews should not impose on non-Jews dangers intended for them alone. Opportunities for hiding depended on the degree to which gentiles were willing to accept Jews, and on the sanctions imposed by the Germans for such assistance. There was no certainty in this attempt to escape; betrayal of the "submerged" was a daily occurrence. Sanctions differed in the East and the West. In Poland the penalty for hiding a Jew was death.

Two distinguished writers have recorded instances of such behavior. A picture of Ukrainian peasants awaiting shipment to Germany for forced labor at a time when the local population was already well aware of conditions of life there is offered by Anatoly Kuznetsov (*Babi Yar*, 286–7):

> I… tramped obediently into a yard behind one of the cottages. About fifteen peasants were there, old men and boys, some sitting on the mound around the cottage and others just on the ground. Their faces were passive, indifferent, empty of expression. Just to make sure, I asked a boy of my age, "Are they taking us to Germany?" "Uh-huh," he sniffled. "They are taking everybody." The raid was a quiet one. The soldiers went from cottage to cottage, hauling people out: the men came submissively, silently, just as I had come.… We were driven to a collective farm yard.… Our few guards were evidently so used to obedience from people that they did not come into the yard with us.… They [the peasants] were all gray and ragged, and they sat in silence, in a dull stupor.

The following is a striking description by the Polish writer Ferdynand Goetel (*Czasy wojny*, 112) of the behavior of the Jews in the small town of Zawichost, near Sandomierz:

> In the summer of 1943, a Gestapo squad arrived in Zawichost, called in the Jewish leaders (starszyzna) and announced that

> in a few days the Jews would have to leave town. They should be ready to march and await the arrival of the escort. This happened at a time when Jews even in remote provinces had no illusions as to what was in store for them.… The whole [Jewish] population of the town was on the spot … looking at the road by which the German police was supposed to arrive.
>
> The author asked his companion (a local landlord): "Do they know what is in store for them?" The companion: "Surely." The author: "Why do they not disperse, why do they not escape?" The companion: "Where? To what place can they escape?"

Most Jews were at a severe handicap. They could not blend into the local population. They could not pass as non-Jews and they could not depend on the local population to hide them or not to betray them. Some spoke the native language with difficulty or with an accent and even those who could "pass" were in constant danger that someone from their past would recognize them, in which case they might be betrayed or blackmailed, or that their own emotions would betray them. As for the deportations themselves, the people were locked in cattle cars with strong guards, not knowing their destination and suspicious of the "final objective," subjected to fraud and deception by the Nazis. They were told that they were to be "resettled in the East" and often they believed the deception. There were only individual cases of breaking out and jumping from the moving trains, with all the dangers of such a situation and the uncertainty of finding shelter with Polish or Ukrainian people.

For Polish Jews, the mass deportations came after 30 months of unspeakable suffering that had severely reduced their power to physically or psychologically resist. Some even turned themselves in for the promise of bread. The Nazis were skilled at deception, and a captive population often seizes on any idea that offers it hope lest it be completely demoralized by despair. Even in ordinary situations people often resist facing bad news. The helplessness of the deportees was due to the generally shared rejection of the very idea of total destruction of Jewish communities, the hopes that the deportees, at least the men and women fit for work, were being sent east to other camps or ghettos, and that the first selection would also be the last one. Perhaps the most striking proof of the strength of these illusions was an incident involving thousands of volunteers who crowded the *Umschlagplatz* (collection point) in Warsaw. The lack of an alternative (armed resistance in absence of weapons and difficulties of communication), fear of collective sanctions, and tenacious belief in Hitler's inevitable defeat, all created a sense of apathy. This analysis, borrowed from a thoughtful essay by the Polish-Jewish resistance fighter Adolf Berman, written in January 1943, is *mutatis mutandis* applicable to other areas as well.

No escape at all was possible for the Jews in the expanded U.S.S.R. and in Yugoslavia, where – unlike Poland and Western Europe – the process of murder started simultaneously with the invasion, at the hands of the *Einsatzgruppen* invested with unlimited authority to shoot hundreds of thousands of Jews and "communists." In the second wave of killings (mostly by shooting), the behavior of the masses in those areas was similar to that of the victims in the death camps in Poland. In the final wave of deportations (for example from Lithuania to Estonia), people were sent to labor camps.

JEWISH BEHAVIOR IN DEATH CAMPS. After the life in the ghettos and camps, after having lost the power of resistance under the constant Nazi terror, and often having also lost all or part of their families, nothing but blind obedience could have been expected of these prisoners when they were shipped to gas chambers disguised as showers. The calm that reigned among candidates for death impressed various witnesses, some of them seeing it as a characteristic of dignified death in view of the impossibility of living a dignified life. The Jewish *Sonderkommandos* ("special commandos") in the death camps were sometimes forced to perform the macabre job of accompanying the victims to the gas chambers and, after their death, disposing of the corpses, extracting gold teeth, cutting hair, etc. Their situation was paradoxical, perhaps compromised: as long as groups kept arriving, the "services" of these men were needed. When there was a lull in the killing, they would be killed, as they were the most dangerous eyewitnesses. In four death camps, when the killing was close to the end, the *Sonderkommando* rose up. There were uprisings in Auschwitz in October 1944, in Treblinka (Aug. 2, 1943), Sobibor (Oct. 14, 1943), and Chelmno (January 1945), at the cost of many Jewish lives as against the loss of only relatively few Nazi lives. But their significance is greater than the statistics of numbers killed.

Their reports of the Jews' final moments differ. One *Sonderkommando* from Auschwitz reported: "Children behaved like children looking for their parents' hand. Parents embraced their children. Children didn't know anything."

Shlomo Dragon, one of two brothers who worked as a *Sonderkommando*, said: "People called one another by name. Mothers called their children, children, their mothers and fathers. Sometimes we could hear *Shema Yisrael*" – the central credo of the Jewish religion, traditionally recited by Jews at the point of death: "Hear O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is One."

The lone *Sonderkommando* survivor from Belzec reports: "I heard the noise of sliding doors, moaning and screaming, desperate calls in Polish, Yiddish – blood-curdling screams. All that lasted fifteen minutes. Screams of children, women and finally one common continuous horrible scream. All that lasted fifteen minutes. The machine ran for twenty minutes and after twenty minutes there was silence."

How did they deal with their own situations? They became numb. Interviewed over time and in many places, *Sonderkommandos* spoke of themselves as automatons, machines, not people. Feelings were shut down. They had to be.

Inmates describe one unique type of person in the camp, the **musselman*, the walking dead. No one described him more emphatically than Primo Levi at the beginning of his account of life in Auschwitz, *If This Be a Man* (U.S. title *Sur-*

vival in Auschwitz): "An emaciated man, with head drooped and shoulders curved, on whose face and in whose eyes not a trace of thought is to be seen." Levi cautions: "Whoever does not know how to become an 'Organisator,' 'Kominator,' 'Prominent,' soon becomes like a musselman. In life a third way exists, and is in fact the rule; it does not exist in the camps."

Inmates shunned the musselmen; they needed all their strength to keep themselves together, to keep from falling into such despair.

In the daily dilemma of the conflict between the instinctive will to remain alive at all cost and the faint hope of maintaining at least a certain amount of "God's image," the condemned Jews in the death camps reached the depth of human degradation. In terms of numbers and ultimate fate, the recaptured Soviet prisoners of war who were imprisoned by their own country as "deserters" for refusing to fight unto the death came closest to the Jews, with two significant differences: they were young and mostly single and thus spared the fate of having to witness the agony of their loved ones; and they were military men trained in the use of arms and indoctrinated with Soviet and Russian patriotism. Like the Jews, who were not protected by any international convention, these prisoners were also unprotected, since their government considered all of them deserters and did not invoke the Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War.

Here are a few Dante-esque scenes of their behavior:

> The exhausted comrades were considered by the less exhausted ones as living corpses, and some of the stronger prisoners watched the dying and upon their death stripped them naked, sometimes even before they gasped their last breath. Despite cruel punishment meted out to marauders by their own comrades, these crimes continued, since in the climate of total demoralization punishment did not work. Groups of marauders – each with their own sphere of influence – acted collectively and with exclusive claim to the "property" of their victims. Another phenomenon in these camps was cannibalism. Corpses were found in the morning with hearts, livers, and large pieces from their insides cut out. The cannibals, if caught, were delivered to the Germans for death by shooting. And still it went on.

Under the circumstances, the Jewish masses could not and did not – as a rule – revolt. No significant acts of sabotage or other forms of resistance have been recorded for their part by prisoners of war (both those internationally protected by the Geneva Convention and remaining mostly in camps in their home countries and – *a fortiori* – unprotected Soviet prisoners of war), or the millions of European workers (on Sept. 30, 1944, some 7.5 million) situated in the heart of Germany, many of them enjoying wide freedom of movement and other privileges, or by non-Jewish prisoners of concentration camps (prior to 1945).

Behavior of Jewish Officials

JEWISH COUNCILS (JUDENRAETE). The personal integrity of the members of the Joodse Raad in Amsterdam or the Reichsvereinigung in Berlin or of Elchanan Elkes in Kovno was never questioned, in contrast to that of members of councils in Poland. Individual cases of misconduct (e.g., extorting money from victims for better quarters) have been recorded. The political acumen of the average members in the daily conflict with the Machiavellian Nazis was not less than that of a Chamberlain or Daladier, but not sufficient to avert disaster, which visited the Jews no matter what they did. The sense of responsibility of members accepting the office is beyond question. A few examples out of many: Adam *Czerniakow (Warsaw) was offered an immigration certificate for Palestine, but he refused to leave the community and eventually committed suicide. David Cohen (Amsterdam) received a visa to Switzerland but refused to leave. Julius Seligsohn (Berlin) returned from the U.S. to help in the Reichsvertretung and subsequently died in the concentration camp in Oranienburg.

A critical test of the behavior of councils called upon to participate in the deportation to the death camps came at a time when the destination of the deportees became known. The question for the historian is the following: Why did they not refuse to take the German orders when it was clear that they were becoming what may loosely be called accomplices of the Nazis? Hope (sometimes fulfilled) for exemption from deportation of the council member and his family and friends was built into the four reasons that predominate in the contemporary literature:

(1) The Nazi terror against the recalcitrant members of the councils and their families and expected reprisals against the community for their acts and omissions.

(2) The danger of refusal to cooperate would lead to the appointment of a new unscrupulous member (the principle of negative selection).

(3) The theory that alternatively no other person would be appointed to the Jewish council and the Germans would do the job themselves, with much more cruelty.

(4) The hope that as long as selection remained in the hands of the Jewish leaders the best elements of the community might be preserved for its future rehabilitation.

This type of "cooperation" imposed by the Gestapo on the Berlin Jewish community in the process of "resettlement" was different. Under threats that otherwise the "SS and SA would do it alone," members of the *Gemeindevorstand* in Berlin were ordered to put at the disposal of the Gestapo its "register" of Berlin Jews. After a heated debate, the Vorstand and the Reichsvereinigung agreed to cooperate "in the hope that they would be able to do as much as possible in the interests of the affected persons."

A special problem arose in cases in which councils, knowing the impending disaster, failed to share this knowledge with the people. Their behavior has been a subject of controversy. In places where nothing could have been done to change the course of events, some members considered it advisable not to let victims know the truth in order to spare them the agony and ultimate desperation that comes from knowing that the end is near and there is no way out. This was the policy followed, according to some reports, by Leo *Baeck in Theresienstadt when he saw that there was no pos-

sibility of escape. On the other hand, such behavior provoked the charge that information essential to their decision making, however narrow the options, was withheld from the victims. In the most extreme cases there were charges of collaboration with the Nazis, who, too, tried to keep the destination of the victims secret, but such charges are exaggerated. Jewish leadership did not want the captive Jews killed; their goal of survival was inimical to the Nazi goal of the Final Solution.

The individual behavior of council members varied: some participated in the deportations; others refused, knowing full well that they were "personally responsible for carrying out orders" and the penalty would be death. Their one option was suicide.

Fear of Nazi mass vengeance – collective and disproportionate reprisal – also was a factor in leading many council members to oppose resistance and flights from the ghettos to join the partisans, while others tolerated or even encouraged such flights, and some were prepared to assume leadership for armed resistance or organized mass flights when, in their view, the proper moment came.

Canons of behavior in these extreme cases were formulated *post factum* by the Israel legislature and put to the test in Israel courts. Under the Nazis and Nazi Collaborators (Punishment) Law 5710 – 1950, "the delivery of a persecuted person to an enemy administration" was declared a punishable crime (Art. 5 of the Law). The article covers all forms of participation in selection and deportation of Jews. The same law established two criteria for the release of a person from criminal responsibility:

(1) if he did or omitted to do the act in order to save himself from the danger of immediate death threatening him and the court is satisfied that he did his best to avert the consequences of the act or omission, or

(2) if he did or omitted to do the act with intent to avert consequences more serious than those which resulted from the act or omission, and actually averted them.

In the light of these canons, the Israel courts were faced, among other things, with the following problems:

(1) Are the criteria for legal evaluation of the acts of the Jewish participants in the deportation to be borrowed from normal codes of behavior in normal times or are they to be established while bearing in mind the particular nature of the Nazi period and its effects on the nature of an ordinary simple human being?

(2) Is the nonresignation of a Jewish participant in deportation who had known the purpose of that deportation reprehensible?

(3) Is the forced delivery of a minority of victims to the Nazis justified when it can be proven that in such a case the immediate deportation of the majority was prevented? In other words, does such an act fall under the clause of "averting more serious consequences"?

(4) Is the care for the Jewish participant's family and the threat to him and his family ground for releasing him from responsibility for this participation? It is difficult to say whether the Israel legislature's canons might have helped men of conscience to determine their decisions, had these canons been in effect in the ghettos.

From a traditionalist point of view, there was, however, the Code of Maimonides (Yad, Hilkhot Yesodot ha-Torah, 5:5) under which "…if pagans should tell them [the Jews] 'give us one of yours and we shall kill him, otherwise we shall kill all of you,' they all should be killed and not a single Jewish soul should be delivered." But if the victim is specified, he may be handed over. The principle is that Jews may not themselves be killers. In actual practice, the interpretations given to this Code of Maimonides by rabbinical authorities during the Shoah were contradictory. Thus the rabbi of Kovno, Abraham Duber Cahana Shapiro, ruled that "if a Jewish community… has been condemned to physical destruction, and there are means of rescuing part of it, the leaders of the community should have courage and assume the responsibility to act and rescue what is possible." In contrast, the Vilna rabbinate, replying to the argument of the head of the Judenrat that "by participating in the selections and delivering a small number of Jews, he is rescuing the rest from death," took the strict view of Maimonides. Their advice to the Judenrat chairman, Jacob Gens, was ignored. Rabbi Isaac Nissenbaum of the Warsaw ghetto pushed for a new form of "sanctification," not traditional martyrdom, "*kiddush ha-Shem*," but survival as a form of defiance "*kiddush ha-Ḥayyim*." The secular sector argued that the Code of Maimonides was incomplete guidance for unprecedented circumstances.

JEWISH POLICE. As in the case of Jewish councils, the behavior of the Jewish police, who were employed by the Jewish Councils to keep order in the ghetto and who in some cases participated in the deportation of Jews, does not lend itself to easy generalization. In their conflicting duties toward the non-Jewish commandants, the Jewish councils, the Nazi authorities, and their own community, there were considerable differences between large cities and small towns, where the relations of the police and the local Jews were close, as well as differences between local policemen and those recruited from among the refugees. In cases where converts from Judaism were chosen as policemen, their outsider status and distance from the Jewish population caused additional problems. The functions imposed on the Jewish police were, to say the least, distasteful: enforcement of obligatory labor duty and all this implied, in conditions where the evasion of one laborer was bought at the price of recruiting another one; collection of taxes and "contributions"; confiscations of Jewish property; combating smuggling (but also practicing it); participation in collecting deportees (mostly only in the first wave, a task later taken over entirely by the Germans), ranging from active search for hidden victims and their brutal treatment, particularly in the presence of Germans, through apathetic compliance with orders, to clandestine help for the victims, and even refusal to participate in the "hunt." The policemen and their families were promised exemption from resettle-

ment in return for participation in the collections and were threatened with reprisals for noncompliance. Naturally, the promises were not kept. After each "action," the cadres of police were reduced and the policemen and their families were also deported. Incidentally, there were differences of opinion among Jewish observers about whether participation of the Jewish police in the actions was not preferable to exclusive German participation.

The majority of Jewish police in areas with no partisans opposed resistance. This policy was not unpopular among the masses who, fearing Nazi mass reprisal, likewise opposed resistance, while in the eastern (Polish-Soviet) areas cases of cooperation with and assistance to *résistants* were rather frequent.

Perhaps the two extremes of the behavior of the Jewish policemen are epitomized in the ghettos of Warsaw and Kovno. The facts known about Warsaw (where, incidentally, a number of suicides and the evidence of an opposition group among policemen are recorded) differ in two respects from those in Kovno: police in the latter participated only perfunctorily in the collection of deportees while the former – with some exceptions – readily participated; and the Kovno police were in close contact with the *résistants* while no such contact is known in Warsaw (again with a few exceptions). The functions of Jewish supervisors in labor camps and *kapos* in concentration camps were essentially police functions and offered opportunities for supervisors to abuse and mistreat their charges. Some used their role to assist Jews; others let their power go to their head and behaved brutally; some did both.

The Soviet police in German prisoner-of-war camps combined, so to say, the functions of the councils and the police. It consisted of healthy, strong, and amoral prisoners. These men – with very few exceptions – knew no pity or compassion for their own comrades. They would beat up prisoners with impunity and frequently flog them to death. The black market of products "imported" to the camp was in their hands. They were the absolute masters of the camps.

Behavior of the Active Elite

In Poland, in both the German- and Soviet-occupied or annexed areas, the active elite consisted of representatives of party-affiliated and unaffiliated youth movements of various shades of opinion. It took some time for them to unite in a common cause; these groups were ideologically opposed to each other, and had to overcome the reasoning of the older generation to create contacts with the Polish underground, acquire arms from them, and use their channels of communication. These were exclusive groups, reluctant to receive new members for reasons of security and because there were not enough arms to go around.

The motives for integrated Jewish participation in the resistance in Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, Italy (where Jews had had previous contacts with left-wing anti-Fascist movements), France, and Slovakia (in the revolt of 1944) were both patriotic and subconsciously Jewish.

In particular, in the *Maquis* (the term for French resistance fighters) the Jews were welcome as French patriots, enemies of the Nazis, and victims of the German occupation regime. The Jewishness of a candidate was a guarantee of his devotion to the cause. He was more reliable than the average Frenchman from a security viewpoint. No wonder the Jewish role in the movement was out of all proportion to the percentage of Jewish population in France. The *Éclaireurs Israélites de France* was a small but an effective – avowedly Jewish – group of *résistants*. This was not the situation in the East. Whether ghetto fighters or partisans in the woods, the Jews were guided by unequivocally Jewish motives – rescue of national honor, "a few lines in history books." More sober – but again Jewish – was the motivation of Palestinian Jewish parachutists.

Physical Resistance and Flight

REVOLT. The behavior of the active resistance groups in the conditions sketched above manifested itself in various ways. With the exception of the Netherlands, where physical resistance – an act of sabotage – occurred early (January–February 1941) and was paid for with 400 Jewish lives (the people were seized at random by the Nazis and shipped to Mauthausen via Buchenwald where all but one perished within a few months), there was no organized armed resistance in the early years of the war. Revolts in Eastern Europe started in major ghettos at the beginning of 1943, at the time the majority of the Jewish population had already been destroyed, but significantly, at a time when France did not yet have its own *Maquis* and Tito's Partisans had not yet become a serious factor. The Warsaw ghetto revolt of April 1943 was the first direct confrontation of local forces with the Nazis. From the viewpoint of rescue, this and the following revolts were of little value (except for those few fighters who survived the unequal fight). The price was high, the influence of the uprising on the Nazis (who sped up the process of destruction) was inconsiderable, but the moral purpose – to demonstrate and affirm Jewish honor – was achieved.

FLIGHT FROM THE GHETTOS TO JOIN PARTISANS. The flights from Polish and Soviet ghettos were of practical rescue value in areas where partisan bands were active (woods and marshes), although the partisans were largely hostile to the Jews (Soviet partisans were more hospitable than Polish, but not always), as was the local population, which was the main source of food supply for the groups. The conditions for a Jewish partisan movement were most unfavorable; it could receive no help from a Jewish state or a Jewish army; it had no arms, and the few it could acquire were obtained with difficulties and at great sacrifice. No concerted action by the ghettos was possible, or even by Jews not confined in ghettos, given their isolation from the non-Jewish population. A Jewish partisan in a generally hostile environment had no outside help, no supply of food, no mobility. Despite these agonies, the Jewish partisans gave a good account of themselves and a far from negligible number of them survived.

FLIGHT OF ZIONIST YOUTH. A particular form of defiant behavior toward the Nazi and pro-Nazi authorities was that of He-Ḥalutz and other Zionist youth groups: escape to Palestine. Their escape was not merely personal, but communal and ideological; they intended to join the efforts to build a state. Those who chose to do this had to traverse dangerous routes, whether they came from the West as, for example, from the Netherlands, or from Eastern countries like Poland, and had to make their way via the Carpathian mountains, Slovakia, Hungary, or Romania, and the Black Sea.

FLIGHT FROM THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS. Finally, there was the successful flight of 76 Jewish prisoners (out of a total of 667 who made the attempt) from concentration camps to bring the world the news of the annihilation of their people. The risks were enormous. That a deaf ear was turned to their message reflects on the kind of world they had to appeal to.

Behavior of Jews in Allied Armies

No analysis of Jewish behavior or the "Jewishness" of certain types of behavior would be complete without a look at the behavior of the Jews in the Allied forces. From all the accounts, one conclusion emerges: not only did they do their duty, like their fellow citizens, but also they often excelled in acts of heroism because of their complete identification with the purposes of the anti-Nazi coalition, emotionally strengthened by the conviction that they were fighting for their countries and for their people too. Jews from Germany who had emigrated to Allied countries went back in uniform to fight the war. Some were chosen for special intelligence units, where their knowledge of the enemy and/or language proved valuable. They volunteered for dangerous missions. They demonstrated courage. This is true for all Allied armies and in particular for the Soviet Army, where the Jews distinguished themselves in the number and grade of decorations they were awarded. In addition, they were instrumental in the creation of national divisions in the Red Army, e.g., Lithuanian, Latvian, and Czechoslovak, constituting the majority of the volunteers there.

Jewish Collaboration

In the Netherlands, a Jewish court of honor tried members of the Joodse Raad and condemned them on several counts, including acceptance of membership in the council. Neither the Courts of Honor in the Displaced Persons (DP) camps, nor later Israeli law and practice, considered membership in Jewish councils or police reprehensible per se. The Joodse Raad members were further condemned for publishing the *Joodse Weekblad*, which had become a mouthpiece for the Germans, and for participating in the selection and transportation of the Jews to the East, but not for shipping them knowingly to their death. In Warsaw, members of the pre-Soviet invasion Jewish Council (deeply involved in anti-Nazi activities) who had fled abroad were considered by people like Czerniakow to be deserters.

In the DP camps, courts of honor and rehabilitation commissions were active for a number of years. They were connected with the central and local organizations of DPs in Germany and Italy. The functions of these institutions were complementary: while the courts considered alleged misdeeds and judged the defendants, the rehabilitation commissions, acting at the request of individuals who felt themselves unjustifiably maligned, investigated and ruled on their appeals. In both cases the basic approach was to find whether the persons concerned deserved a place in the postwar Jewish community. Persons found guilty were disqualified from participation in the new Jewish organizations, either permanently or for a number of years. In addition, they were denied DP benefits (material assistance, help in emigration) and, in particular cases, were even excommunicated. The number of trials of council members was minimal (as was their presence among the survivors); most of the trials were against ghetto policemen and *kapos* (prisoner supervisors or prisoner-functionaries in the camps). Some trials were also conducted in Poland and in some countries of resettlement, including Israel, where they were based on law and were conducted in the state courts.

Conclusions

The following conclusions emerge:

a) While participation in the Jewish councils was largely determined by a long tradition of communal responsibility, their members and those of the Jewish police were in the last stages faced with demands never made by the Nazis on other institutions created and used by them as instruments of local control. This general survey has discussed the effect of their participation on the final outcome of the Nazi policy of extermination. The morality of individual behavior and conscience has to be considered in context in each case.

b) In two aspects the behavior of the active elite was undoubtedly superior in spirit and objectives: (1) the conscious and deliberate element of self-sacrifice to save the honor of the Jewish people; (2) the quality of the Jewish share in the war on the side of the Allied powers.

c) The behavior of the Jewish masses in the various stages of the Holocaust is in a general way what could have been expected from any group having to face all-pervading terror by the overwhelming power of a ruthless enemy like the Nazi machine. In two respects it was, perhaps, above expectations. First, the instinctive will to live (in the ghettos where families were not separated) developed resourcefulness and inventiveness in combating famine and oppression hardly found elsewhere in comparable situations. Second, in spite of continuous terror and the bestiality of the persecutors, depersonalization only rarely reached the lowest level of animalization.

d) The behavior of the Jewish masses was not a result of inherited or "racial" traits, as some critics have contended, but was the product of Nazi terror unprecedented both in its objectives and methods.

[Jacob Robinson /Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)

Spiritual Resistance in the Ghettos and Concentration Camps

There were two types of resistance, armed resistance and unarmed resistance, called by many scholars of the Holocaust spiritual resistance. The term spiritual resistance is employed here in an all-inclusive sense. Rabbi Issac Nissenbaum of the Warsaw ghetto stated, "This is the time of the Sanctification of Life, and not of the Sanctification of the Lord's Name in death. In the past the enemies were after our souls, and Jews sacrificed their bodies in the Sanctification of the Lord's Name. Now the foe is after the body of the Jew, and the Jew is obligated to protect it, to keep himself alive." Rabbi Nissenbaum's distinction is all-important. Traditional martyrdom, *kiddush ha-Shem*, entailed a willingness to die for one's belief, to sanctify God's name. To defy the Nazis, who were determined to implement the "Final Solution to the Jewish Problem," Jews had to live. Ghetto inhabitants used a less theologically loaded, simpler but nevertheless powerful term, *iberleben*, to outlive, to survive. The preservation of the Jewish human image was the meaning of the spiritual resistance, which throughout the entire period of the Holocaust embraced most areas of life, and it was not confined to a small group. Even after active armed resistance had developed and involved a minority in many places, it was nevertheless passive resistance, spiritual resistance, that was embraced by Jews as a whole. This involved a number of factors. Jewish tradition was studied for lessons in the ways of spiritual defiance, how to endure despite oppression. Moreover, the situation in which the Jews found themselves on the outbreak of the war afforded hardly any possibility of armed resistance. The German doctrine of collective responsibility and disproportionate reprisal against acts of resistance meant that innocent fellow Jews would likely be killed. Armed resistance was most often a last resort, when death was already certain and imminent. Before that revelation dawned, there were many other means of defiance.

Yet, even later, as understanding of the situation slowly developed, when the only clear alternatives were armed resistance, which meant certain and immediate death, and attempts to gain time in the hope of staying alive, surviving and lasting out the war, it was only natural that the majority would choose the latter. Only a small minority of idealistic youth, usually those without responsibilities for young children or elderly parents, join an armed resistance. Spiritual resistance, in contrast to armed rebellion, was the only choice of the individual as much as it was the heritage of the group. From the many testimonies available, it emerges that the vast majority of the Jewish population in the ghettos and camps responded with a form of spiritual resistance.

Encompassing most areas of life, spiritual resistance comprised education and religion, underground publications, self-help kitchens, humor, cultural creativity, and efforts to create a historical record.

Education serves as an outstanding example of the Jews' attempt to preserve their humanity generally and the special Jewish ethos in particular.

In Germany, when Jews were expelled from the public schools, they created their own schools. When they could no longer perform in theaters or concert halls, Jewish community institutions, even synagogues, became forums for Jewish performers. This process also occurred in the ghettos of Eastern Europe. For a considerable period, in all the ghettos, systems of education were maintained either quasi-legally or clandestinely. Besides elementary schools, which were permitted, there were in the Warsaw ghetto, for example, two underground gymnasia or high schools (secondary education was permitted only in *Vilna and *Lodz); and advanced studies: a faculty of medicine and a pedagogical institute in which Jewish and non-Jewish subjects were taught. In Theresienstadt, all children were taught in a technical school-level program, with the addition of Jewish studies, despite the fact that the Germans prohibited teaching. Art was taught by Freida Dicker Brandeis as a form of self-expression and also as therapy and documentation. In the Kovno ghetto, there were two schools and a vocational ORT school. In the Piotrkow ghetto, there were a clandestine school and gymnasium. In the transit camp at Westerbork, the Netherlands, classes were organized for the children. A children's opera was produced and performed at Theresienstadt.

Normally, education constitutes preparation for the future, but in this instance there was little hope for the future. The various forms of instruction constituted proof of the desperate desire to maintain basic, elementary subsistence, but also general human and Jewish spiritual values. In the ghetto, it also represented the commitment to live with such values for as long as it was possible to live. With this aim in view, special emphasis was placed on Jewish studies, including Hebrew, Bible, and history, in the clandestine and quasi-clandestine schools. This curriculum gave a sense of meaning to the identity that was being assaulted by those outside the ghetto. In the elementary and secondary schools, traditional Jewish holidays and national events such as Hanukkah, Purim, and Tel-Hai Day were celebrated when their meaning had special application to the current situation. Students gave performances of readings from Yiddish and Hebrew authors, such as Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik, Mendele Mokher *Seforim and Y.L. *Peretz. Certain festivals, like Purim, took on new meaning, as, for instance, the new light in which the wicked Haman could be seen.

Mobile libraries continued to function clandestinely, with those in charge also organizing literary evenings on Jewish literature. The lending library at Theresienstadt had 65,000 books, and because it was a gathering place for the elite of central European Jews, its cultural creativity was extraordinary. Operas and plays were performed, and Rabbi Leo Baeck lectured on Jewish philosophy.

Ghetto humor was sardonic and defiant. Among the documents found in the archives of the Warsaw ghetto was the following story:

> A police officer comes into a Jewish home and wants to confiscate the possessions. The woman cries, pleading that she is a widow and has a child to support. The officer agrees not to

> take the things, on one condition – that she guess which of his eyes is the artificial one.
>
> "The left one," the woman guesses.
>
> "How did you know?"
>
> "Because that one has the human look."

Shimon Huberband collected the folklore of the ghetto, which used humor to defend against chaos and fight despair. "A teacher asks his pupil, 'Tell me Moyshe, what would you like to be if you were Hitler's son?' 'An orphan,' the pupil answers."

The Jews also used humor to describe their own situation. On life in the ghetto: "We eat as if it were Yom Kippur [the Day of Atonement, a day of fasting], sleep in sukkas [a temporary hut open to the sky without a roof] and dress as if it were Purim [when outlandish customs are the rule of the day]." Humor is always a tool of the oppressed to deal with their oppression.

YOUTH ACTIVITIES. Throughout the period the youth movements operated quite intensively clandestinely, not only in the East, in Poland, but in the West, including Germany. The most active among them were the Zionist movements, whose members later formed the nucleus of the armed rebellion. Before 1942, however, when the operations for total annihilation began, it was the ideology of the movement that was accepted by most of the public: affirmation of life, maintenance of physical existence, and Jewish pride. The youth movements founded schools and a gymnasium (Dror in the Warsaw ghetto) and there were secret study groups in the club. Libraries were organized; an underground publishing division of Dror published Y. Katznelson's play *Job* and also translated poems of Bialik, plays, and articles. The youth movements held clandestine seminars to prepare leaders and organized such cultural activities as songfests, choirs, readings, and Bible gatherings. An important function was fulfilled by the movements' liaison officers, who established contact with the ghettos and sent messages that helped fight the isolation imposed upon the Jews.

The youth movements were geared to a different time – the future – and to a different place – Erez Israel. They did not deny the reality of their situation, but rather formed a spot of light that illuminated vision, Jewish pride, and strong conviction in the great darkness.

NEWSPAPERS. The newspapers of the underground (in which the youth movements played a large part as well) were also instituted to counteract the feeling of helplessness and despair among the Jews, and at the same time attempted to persuade them that Germany would eventually suffer defeat. In the Warsaw ghetto for example, some fifty underground newspapers and journals were published, including those of various political parties and factions, and there was an illegal youth press as well. Publications in Polish, Hebrew, and Yiddish made their way to other ghettos, to the provinces, and even to closed camps, despite the dangers involved. They included works by poets and authors and they spread the idea of active resistance and armed rebellion. A large number of the underground ghetto papers were rescued and are housed in the Yad Vashem Archives.

RELIGIOUS LIFE. One of the most inspiring facets of Jewish public life was the maintenance of religious life in the ghettos and camps, even in the extermination camps. In the underground, in hidden bunkers, there were *ḥadarim* and *talmudei torah* and places where yeshivah students studied. There is ample evidence of organized public worship, kindling of Hanukkah candles, wearing of *ẓiẓit* (in the Kovno ghetto), and even observing *kashrut* in the camps. The *Sefer She'elot u-Teshuvot mi-Ma'amakim* by Rabbi E. Oshry of the Kovno ghetto includes responsa from the Holocaust period and bears remarkable witness to the depth and devotion of this religious life. In the very time of expulsions and fear, religious Jews addressed questions to the rabbis about how to conduct themselves according to the *halakhah* in their terrible situation. No statistics are available for Jews who observed the commandments in the ghettos or camps, but there is sufficient documentation, including responsa. Works like *Esh Kodesh* of Rabbi Kalonymus Kalmish Shapira, the *admor* (a Hebrew acronym used by Hasidim, meaning "our master, our teacher, our rabbi") of Piaseczno, which includes the Sabbath and holiday sermons he delivered in the Warsaw ghetto, make it clear that religion provided a moving demonstration of spiritual resistance, of the elevation of the human spirit in the face of an enemy who in addition to physical extermination sought to deprive the Jews of their humanity. For observant Jews, at least, it allowed their lives of suffering and their deaths to retain some meaning.

CULTURAL LIFE. Along with the religious, a cultural life was also maintained. Ghettos established theaters in which numerous performances were given on subjects relating to topical issues. In the Vilna ghetto, the theater presented *The Eternal Jew* by D. *Pinski. A Yiddish theater in 1942 gave 120 performances attended by 38,000 people, and there were similar theaters in Lodz and Warsaw. In the winter of 1941, the *Brit Ivrit* (Hebrew Union) was founded in the Vilna ghetto, and it organized gatherings and parties for the Jewish holidays. There was also a symphony orchestra and a choir. In March 1943, an exhibition of the works of the ghetto artists, painters and sculptors was held. In the Theresienstadt ghetto, varied artistic and cultural activities took place. Musicians performed, *inter alia*, Verdi's *Requiem.* An opera, *The Emperor from Atlantis*, the text of which has survived, was composed by V. *Ullman but never performed. By chance a number of intellectuals and writers were held in several camps in Estonia and they set the tone of the cultural atmosphere there. They included the writers H. Krook in Klooga, Z.H. *Kalmanovich in Narva and the poet H. *Glick, as well as teachers, *ḥazzanim*, composers, and conductors, and they organized diverse cultural evenings. In camps in southwest France, there were *Oneg Shabbat* parties ("Sabbath Delight," the name for the traditional celebratory Friday night gatherings) and Hebrew lessons.

A primary motivating force behind all this intense activity, in addition to the desire for spiritual meaning, was a desperate urge to document what was happening. It was an expression of a constant theme throughout Jewish history: "And thou shalt tell thy son"; "Remember that which Amalek did to thee"; but during the Holocaust period it took on a new dimension. In the face of the Germans' vile intention to leave no remnant or memory of European Jewry, the Jews felt the need to place on record all that was happening and to make it available to future generations.

Pictorial art that survived the war (probably only a small portion of the total), made in the ghettos and camps under impossible conditions, provides an impressive documentation of daily life: the fear, the hunger, death. The story of Theresienstadt is unique. The artists there worked officially for the Nazis, but clandestinely recorded what was happening to them. Their hidden works were recovered after the war and some are now in Yad Vashem. Some can also be found at the Auschwitz State Museum and in Theresienstadt. They cover every aspect of Holocaust existence – a transport arriving at the ghetto, the distribution of food, a funeral in the ghetto, hunger, death.

A unique documentarian was Mendel Grossman, a photographer from the Lodz ghetto who, ignoring danger to himself, immortalized with his camera all that transpired in the camps, taking 10,000 pictures during four and a half years. Grossman himself did not survive, but his photographs did, although a large proportion of them were lost in Israel during the War of Independence. Hirsh Kadushin, an engineer by training, became the photographic chronicler of the Kovno ghetto. He began his work after a dying neighbor drew a message on the ground with his blood: "*Yiddin Nekama!*" ("Jews Revenge!"). Kadushin felt that he had been summoned. "I don't have a gun," he said. "The murderers are gone. My camera will be my revenge." He built a small camera, carried it under his clothing and managed to photograph every aspect of ghetto life. He worked in a hospital where a nurse bartered film. As the ghetto was being destroyed, Kadushin buried his photographs. He retrieved them after the war and has given them to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum to stand as a permanent record of life and death in the Kovno ghetto.

Literary activity was equally notable, as professional authors and those who felt the need to write for the first time recorded their experiences and impressions of life in the ghetto. The approximately one hundred diaries in the Yad Vashem archives, as well as other material, attest to the strength of that urge. Among the most famous are the diary of Adam Czerniakow, the head of the community and of the Judenrat in Warsaw, covering the period from September 6, 1939 to July 23, 1942; those of Chaim *Kaplan of the Warsaw ghetto, Z.H. *Kalmanovich of the Vilna ghetto, and H. Krook of Vilna-Klooga, who recorded the testimonies of life in the various camps as related to him by those who arrived at Klooga from elsewhere; those of Mordecai *Tenenbaum from the Bialystok ghetto, and Justina Davidson-Darnger of Krakow.

The clandestine archives constitute the peak of this determination to document. The largest was that established and directed in the Warsaw ghetto by Dr. Emmanuel *Ringelblum, a journalist and historian, in October 1939 under the code name of "*Oneg Shabbat*"; the archive was maintained until the ghetto's destruction. Its materials were buried in milk cans and metal containers and found after the war (some are still missing). These archives include monographs on the lives of the Jews in the ghetto, information on the fate of destroyed cities and towns, hundreds of diaries, chronicles, underground newspapers, and a large amount of other documentary material. In the Bialystok ghetto, the Tenenbaum-Mersik archives were established at the initiative of Mordecai Tenenbaum. In addition to his own diary and ghetto poems, it includes copies of German documents and the protocols from Judenraete meetings. There was another archive in Vilna named after the author A. *Sutzkever and the poet S. *Kaczerginski, and in Lodz and Kovno. Even children kept diaries, as Alexandra Zapruder documented in her collection of children's diaries, *Salvaged Pages*. These diaries tell what happened from the perspective of those often too young to understand, but still determined to record the events.

These archives constitute one of the most important sources for research into the Holocaust as they recount the story of the Holocaust from the perspective of its victims.

In Theresienstadt, women dealt with starvation by writing down their recipes, a physical remnant of the world they once inhabited. In other camps, women composed cookbooks and saved them to preserve something of the life they had once led.

[Adina Dreksler / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

THE HOLOCAUST AND THE HALAKHAH. *Halakhah*, the collective rabbinic term for the prescriptive laws of Judaism, constitutes a unique witness to the destruction of European Jewry and its civilization in the years 1939–45. In the form of responsa (*she'elot u-teshuvot*) – written decisions of rabbinic authorities on questions of law and practice – the desperate struggle of observant Jews to maintain their way of life, and life itself, emerges in vivid relief.

Owing to the Nazi persecution of the rabbis and the grave condition of European Jewry as a whole, few extant responsa were actually written during these years. Aside from *Mi-Ma'amakim* by Ephraim Oshry (1914–2003), five volumes of finished essays published in New York (1949–79) and said to have originated in the Kovno ghetto, only scattered responsa remain from the period of German occupation. These are urgent communications in the form of correspondence, with little elaboration. More extensive documents, referring to incidents in the ghettos and death camps that obviously could not be addressed at the time, were published after 1945, primarily in Israel.

Both the sequence and the spiraling horror of the Jewish ordeal are mirrored in the questions posed to the rabbis, e.g., whether to comply with the German decree of forced steril-

ization; whether one may pose as a gentile to escape detection; whether one may commit suicide in order to assure Jewish burial; whether one must repent for inadvertently smothering a crying infant in a ghetto bunker; whether assignment in the direction of the crematoria is sufficient proof of death; whether a husband must divorce a wife who submitted to sex with her captors during the war. Less harrowing concerns are also attested, e.g., whether Nazi legislation invalidates kosher slaughter (*sheḥitah*); whether a ghetto dwelling requires a *mezuzah*; when a woman may visit a ghetto *mikveh*; the status of clothes left behind by the dead.

Because they pertain to the lives of Jews *in extremis*, rulings in such cases are in the category of *hora'at sha'ah*, emergency measures that do not serve as legal precedents. It had long been established that those who transgress the law under duress are exempt from punishment (Ned. 27a; BK 28b). Yet if the final judgment was invariably lenient, the rabbis imposed certain limits. When addressing severe prohibitions, the responsa frequently cite the *locus classicus* in rabbinic literature: "If they say to a man, 'Transgress or you will be killed,' he should transgress rather than be killed (*ya'avor ve-al yehareg*), with the exception of idolatry, unchastity, and murder" (Sanh. 74a). But even unambiguous *halakhah* could pose impossible dilemmas. While interned in Auschwitz, Ẓevi Hirsch Meisels (1902–1974) was reportedly asked to decide a matter of life or death: a father had the means to bribe the guards and rescue his son from a selection, but only if another boy were taken in the son's place. The father asked the rabbi's permission to pay the ransom. This was no theoretical ruling but a prescription for action (*halakhah le-ma'aseh*). Despite his awareness of the principle that the claim of one life cannot override the claim of another (cf. Mish. Oho. 7:6), Meisels, by his own account (*Mekadeshei ha-Shem*, "Sanctifiers of the Name," 1:7–9), could not bring himself to invoke it: "I do not decide either yes or no. Do as you wish as if you had not asked me at all."

That *halakhah* was considered, at least by some Jews, to apply even in such dire circumstances testifies to its comprehensive character and to its bitter acquaintance with oppression. Most manifestations of the Nazi persecution had been suffered by Jews in the past – murder, torture, rape, infanticide, forced labor, expulsion. However, the Germans devised some methods previously unknown: gas chambers and crematoria, compulsory sterilization, medical experimentation, the delivery of human ashes, the "selection" of victims. The responsa that address these matters open new, if tragic, territory in Jewish law.

Reeling from the Nazi onslaught, the rabbis groped for precedents. In the responsa, German Jews forced by Nazi legislation to abandon the laws of *kashrut* are analogized to captive Jewish women in antiquity forced to abandon their virtue. Slovakian Jews who chose apostasy for the sake of deportation exemptions are compared to **Conversos* who accepted Christian baptism to evade the Inquisition. Jews in hiding from the Nazis are compared to Judean hostages in the days of the Roman Empire. Nor are the parallels confined to *halakhic* issues. The danger of violating the ghetto curfew is compared to the danger of encountering lions at night in a Babylonian village. Engaging in forbidden conduct to escape deportation is likened to the ancient art of charming a snake to escape its sting. The mass execution sites in Poland are equated with the ruins of the Temple in Jerusalem. Biblical paradigms abound: the Third Reich is identified with Esau and Rome; the subjugation of Eastern Europe mirrors the Philistine conquest of Saul at Mount Gilboa; the agony of Jews in the ghettos and death camps recalls the torture of Zedekiah by Nebuchadnezzar; the ordeal of a condemned son in Auschwitz emulates the binding of Isaac. The Nazi persecution, like all the others, is absorbed into the realm of *halakhic* discourse. In the responsa there is no sign that the axiom of Israel's divine election has been shaken by annihilation. Rather it is "owing to our many sins" (*be-avonotenu ha-rabbim*) that the Jews of Europe suffer and perish. God is beyond reproach. The elaboration of divine law continues unabated.

The Holocaust responsa are to be distinguished from memoir, hagiography, or martyrology. Their juristic function imposes the obligations of composure and measured argument. Emotion is typically confined to liturgical coda and biblical pleas for vengeance and redemption. This is not to say that the rabbis were unmoved by the questions addressed to them: they could hardly be impervious to the anguish of those who sought their guidance. The responsa evince an unusual degree of tension between the duty to impose the law and empathy for the stricken.

After the war in Europe ended, the most immediate *halakhic* concerns included the enforcement of religious observance in the DP camps; the recovery of Jewish children entrusted to the care of gentiles; the disposition of execution sites and mass burial pits; proper forms of memorial; the status of Jews who strayed from Judaism or were accused of transgression or collaboration; and most frequently, the fate of *agunot*, wives whose husbands had vanished, rendering the women ineligible to remarry. This problem was epidemic in the wake of the catastrophe: enormous numbers of Jewish husbands had disappeared without trace, let alone witness. Despite the historical reluctance of *halakhic* authorities to grant permission to remarry without conclusive proof of death, the postwar responsa concerning *agunot* are much inclined to leniency. The overriding motive that emerges is the healing and rebuilding of the Jewish people.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Dworzecki, *Yerushalayim de-Lita ba-Meri u-va-Sho'ah* (1951); idem, *Maḥanot ha-Yehudim be-Estonia 1942–1944* (1970); A. Bauminger (ed.), *Ha-Yeled ve-ha-Na'ar ba'Sho'ah u-va-Gevurah* (1965); A. Czerniakow, *Yoman Getto Varshah* (1969; English, *The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow: Prelude to Doom*, 1979); Yad Vashem, *Ha-Amidah ha-Yehudit bi-Tekufat ha-Sho'ah* (1970); Sh. Esh, in: *Iyyunim be-Ḥeker ha-Sho'ah ve-Yahadut Zemanenu* (1973), 238–253; M. Tenenbaum-Tamarof, *Dappim min ha-Deleikah* (1974); E. Oshry, *She'elot u-Teshuvot mi-Ma'amakim* (1959–1976); Z. Kalmanovich, *Yoman Getto Vilna* (1977); Y. Kermish, *Itonut ha-Maḥteret ha-Yehudit be-Getto Varshah* (1980); Y. Szeintuch, *Jewish Creativity in the Holocaust* (catalogue, 1979). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Rudavsky, *To Live*

with Hope, To Die with Dignity: Spiritual Resistance in the Ghettos and the Camps (1997); *Spiritual Resistance: Art from Concentration Camps 1940–45: A Selection of Drawings and Paintings from the Collection of Kibbutz Lochamei Haghettaot* (1981); G. Flam, *Singing for Survival* (1992); M. Unger, *Spiritual Resistance of the Jews in the Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (1970); P. Schindler (ed. and tr.), *Yissakhar Shlomo Teichthal*, *Em Habanin* (1999); R. Kirschner, *Rabbinic Responsa of the Holocaust Era* (1985). HOLOCAUST AND HALAKHAH: M.Y. Breisch, *Ḥelkat Ya'akov* (1951); S. Efrati, *Mi-Gei ha-Haregah* (1961); M.M. Kirschbaum, *Ẓiyyun le-Menaḥem* (1965); R. Kirschner, *Rabbinic Responsa of the Holocaust Era* (1985); Z.H. Meisels, *Mekadeshei ha-Shem* (1955); E. Oshry, *Mi-Ma'amakim* (1949–79); Y.Y. Weinberg, *Seridei Esh* (1961–69); H.J. Zimmels, *The Echo of the Nazi Holocaust in Rabbinic Literature* (1977).

THE WORLD

There were only a handful of countries and Jewish communities that could be of assistance to Jews during the Holocaust. First and foremost was the Jewish community of the United States, then the largest and freest, and it had assumed international leadership in the aftermath of World War I. Great Britain was also in a position to assist. Other countries were in a position to receive refugees seeking a haven, when a visa meant the difference between life and death.

The Jewish communities of the neutral countries were of little help. They might do all they could to assist the Jews of Europe, but they had limited influence on their governments and their governments were deeply committed to their own neutrality for reasons of state that were unlikely to change. Spain, Turkey, and Switzerland were important listening posts for information regarding the fate of European Jewry, and the Jewish communities of Turkey and Switzerland cooperated fully with emissaries of the *Yishuv* (the Jewish community in Palestine) and of American Jewry in ascertaining the fate of European Jews and coming to their assistance with the limited resources at their disposal. There is no doubt that the Turkish government was aware of the *Yishuv*'s operations in Turkey and permitted them. Yet when the SS *Struma* was stranded in Istanbul in 1941, the Jewish community was not strong enough to pressure its government to accept the Jewish passengers as refugees or to offload them pending the arrival of a more seaworthy craft. Instead, they lingered, abandoned, until the ship was towed out to sea and a Soviet submarine ended the ill-fated voyage. Only one of its 759 passengers survived the sinking of the ship.

Spain had a small Jewish community that was in no position to be effective, but the Spanish government did not turn back Jews at the border. It allowed them through-passage to Portugal, where many were able to go on to the United States and elsewhere. A Portuguese diplomat, Aristides De Sousa *Mendes, used his good offices to assist the Jews, and was punished upon his return home and disgraced. The Swedish Jewish community did provide for Danish Jews in 1943 when their government accepted them into the country on their bold rescue by the Danes (made possible by the decency of the Danish people, the geographical proximity of Denmark to Sweden – some nine miles – the relatively benign German occupation of Denmark, the Danish resistance, and the fact that it occurred at a time when German victory looked dubious at best). A Swedish Jew provided the basic contact with Raoul *Wallenberg, who had worked for him, that enabled the famed diplomat to be chosen by the American War Refugee Board for his heroic yet fatal mission to save the Jews then herded in Budapest.

Little was expected of the Soviet Union, which had no interest in rescuing Jews and which later denied the specificity of Jewish victimization, lumping the fate of the Jews with the general Soviet population. There are no known requests from the Soviet Union to bomb Auschwitz, and once it took the offensive against German forces, it pursued its own strategic vision of the war, positioning itself for postwar regional dominance. There is ample testimony, however, of the assistance offered by Jewish personnel serving in the Red Army to rescue Jews and to provide for their needs.

THE UNITED STATES. U.S. policy during the Holocaust and, earlier, toward Jews seeking a haven in the United States, must be seen in a larger context. Restriction of immigration and the introduction of a proportional quota system based on the countries of origin of the population in the United States in the 1890 census were written into American law in the 1920s. The implications for the Jews were immediate: the large-scale immigration that had brought hundreds of thousands of Jews to the United States slowed to a trickle. The long-range implications were even more ominous: when the condition of German, and later Austrian, Jewry became difficult and then dire, the United States had a rigid quota system in place, making it an impediment to respond to the ever more desperate needs of European Jews.

American foreign policy was isolationist. In the early 1930s, the United States was unwilling to assume an international role commensurate with its actual power and or its growing responsibility. Antisemitism was a real factor domestically, more so than it had been in the first 250 years of Jewish life on the American continent. Henry Ford and the *Dearborn Independent* were a source of antisemitic propaganda; Father Charles Coughlin, a Detroit priest, was a powerful radio orator and an antisemite; and Charles Lindbergh, the first man to fly solo across the Atlantic, was an isolationist, deeply opposed to war with Germany and not favorably inclined toward the Jews. Anti-immigrant sentiment was widespread and after the Depression began in 1929 there was a fear that immigrants would take American jobs.

Jews went to Washington with Franklin D. *Roosevelt in 1933 because it was a place where the sons of immigrants could rise on the basis of their talent and not be barred from advancement because of their religion. Many lawyers and economists barred from prominent law firms or Wall Street houses joined the new administration. They became targets for those opposing the New Deal, often called the "Jew Deal." And for these Jews as well as for the U.S. government, there

was a fear that the war might be called a Jewish war rather than an American war and consequently there was a reluctance to highlight Jewish issues.

It would be a mistake to read back into history today's prominence and strength of the American Jewish community, which in the 1930s primarily consisted of immigrants or first-generation Americans weakened by the Depression and less than confident of their place in the United States. They were only slowly achieving their place in American society and were unprepared for the crisis that was to confront their brethren abroad.

Bystander, Abandonment, Acquiescence. The American historian Richard Breitman has suggested that in the neat division between perpetrators, victims, bystanders, and rescuers, the United States could be considered a bystander with regard to the European Jews, at least until the winter of 1944 when it actively began rescue efforts; that is, eleven years after the rise of Adolf Hitler, almost six years after *Kristallnacht*, two and half years after the Final Solution became the operative policy of Germany and the systematic murder of Jews had begun, and two years after the Wannsee Conference and the deportation of Jews from the ghettos of Poland and elsewhere. Only then did the United States actively pursue rescue options.

David Wyman was harsher in his judgment. In his influential book of that name, he suggested that American policy must be described as "the abandonment of the Jews."

On January 13, 1944, three senior non-Jewish Treasury Department officials (Randolph Paul, John Pehle, and Josiah DuBois) submitted a memo to Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., the president's neighbor in Hyde Park and among Roosevelt's closest Jewish advisers, describing American policy. They called their 18-page document "Report to the Secretary on the Acquiescence of this Government in the Murder of the Jews."

The memo charged that State Department officials:

> …have even gone so far as to use this Governmental machinery to prevent the rescue of these Jews.
>
> …have taken steps designed to prevent these [rescue] programs [of private organizations] from being put into effect.
>
> …in their official capacity have gone so far as to surreptitiously attempt to stop the obtaining of information concerning the murder of the Jewish population of Europe.
>
> They have tried to cover up their guilt by:
>
> (a) concealment and misrepresentation;
>
> (b) the giving of false and misleading explanations for their failures to act and their attempts to prevent action; and
>
> (c) the issuance of false and misleading statements concerning the "action" which they have taken to date.

Their judgment was harsh, but not inaccurate.

During the 1930s the United States took a series of small steps, mostly with regard to the admission of Jews who were termed refugees. The quota system restricted immigration, and the consular offices that were charged with administering these laws made life even more difficult for the potential immigrants. Wyman termed these difficulties "paper walls," creating barriers to immigration. One provision of U.S. law required that immigrants be excluded who were likely to become public charges (LPC), meaning that it was likely they could not obtain employment in the United States. In some consular offices this was interpreted not as a question of probability but of possibility, so that even able professionals with marketable and desired skills were not admitted, because if they could not find a job they might then become public charges. German Jews were required to provide a certificate of good conduct, attesting to their character. This attestation was to come from the German police. Affidavits were required to vouch for the economic viability of the immigrant. Financial hurdles had to be satisfied; they too were open to interpretation. High standards were set. Not once until 1938 did the number of immigrants from Germany equal the full quota eligible for admission to the United States.

Public opinion polls taken at the time revealed widespread opposition to loosening the quotas, even among people who were critical of the Nazis. According to Roper polls taken in 1938 and 1939, while 95 percent of Americans disapproved of the German regime, fewer than nine percent supported changing the system to allow more refugees into the country. After *Kristallnacht*, even more Americans opposed any change. Because the United States did not discriminate on the basis of religion, German Jews desiring admission were officially termed refugees. It made the situation more palatable to Americans even though everyone understood that the refugees were Jews.

Once the war began, German Jews seeking asylum could be considered enemy aliens and excluded as Germans – something that they surely were not considered to be in their native land – and hence of suspect loyalty.

Three events stand out during the prewar years to illustrate American policy: the *Evian Conference, the Wagner-Rogers Bill and the voyage of the SS **St. Louis*.

With the refugee crisis mounting the United States convened an international conference at Evian, France in July 1938. (See "Evian Conference," above.) The invitation specified that no country would be required to change laws, there would be no expenditure of additional funds, as all refugee resettlement would be paid for by philanthropic sources. Britain was assured that Palestine would not be on the agenda. The United States was clearly unwilling to change its own laws. Other nations followed the American example. The Evian Conference gave the appearance of concern for the refugees, but in reality it indicated to the Germans that no one wanted the Jews; their policy of forced emigration would fail and the countries willing to accept Jews could not keep pace with their desire to be rid of them.

Even efforts to rescue children were not successful. In February 1939, Senator Robert Wagner of New York and Representative Edith Rogers of Massachusetts introduced a bill that would grant special permission for 20,000 German children under the age of 14 to emigrate to the United States. The bill specified that the children would be supported pri-

vately, not by the government. The bill was designed to emulate Great Britain's successful *Kindertransport* that brought 10,000 children to England. President Roosevelt never spoke a word of support for it. The Wagner-Rogers Bill died in committee. Its opponents argued that it was not right to separate children from their parents; others felt, among other things, that the children would grow up to be adults and might then take American jobs.

On May 13, 1939, the SS *St. Louis*, a luxury liner of the Hamburg-America Line, left Germany for Cuba carrying 936 passengers, all but six of them Jews. Each had a visa for Cuba. They seemed to be the lucky ones among the hundreds of thousands of Jews seeking to leave the Reich after *Kristallnacht*. Yet upon arrival the Cuban government refused to honor their visas, which had been canceled. The ship was forced to return to Europe after the United States refused to open its doors to the refugees, despite great clamor in the press.

The American journalist Dorothy Thompson wrote: "It is a fantastic commentary on the inhumanity of our times that for thousands and thousands of people a piece of paper with a stamp on it is the difference between life and death."

American isolationism ended with the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, and the United States became fully committed to winning the war in Europe as well as one with Japan. Unconditional surrender was demanded; total dedication was required. Jews joined their fellow Americans in the war effort wholeheartedly, giving it complete and fervent support. As Lucy Dawidowicz has pointed out, the Germans fought two wars, the world war and the war against the Jews. The Allies fought the first war. They did not, officially, recognize the second.

Yet even the harshest critic of American policy, and Roosevelt, must concede that the most important contribution the United States made toward ending the Holocaust was winning the war. Few recall how difficult it was to prepare the country for war and also to initiate the Lend-Lease program of aid to Britain and others.

During the war years, there was some reluctance to focus on the Jews because it was an American war; the former isolationists sought to portray it as a Jewish war. The reasoning of Washington was that the best way to help the refugees was to win the war – and then address the refugee problem. This proposition and order of priorities was not reexamined even after the receipt of compelling proof regarding the systematic murder of the Jews.

For although the Allies had received information on the murder of the Jews, they had made no special military efforts to rescue them or to bomb the camps or the railroad tracks leading to them. They felt that only after victory could something be done about the refugees, their term for the Jewish situation. That decision was made early in the war; it was not reexamined even as additional information regarding the Final Solution and the killing centers was received. There was much information available to everyone. Perpetrators saw what was happening; some spoke guardedly of the unpleasant tasks they faced, others enthusiastically. Ordinary Germans and nationals of other countries witnessed the deportations; at some level they understood that the Jews would not return. In some cases they took over their homes and their possessions, knowing full well but never quite admitting that the Jews were gone. The victims had a natural propensity to deny bad news, to search in any bit of information for some tiding that could bring them back from the edge of despair. Hungarian Jews were victimized in March of 1944 more than 30 months after the *Einsatzgruppen* had begun to kill, more than two years after the killing centers began to function mercilessly. They had heard some rumors, the testimony of those who arrived from Poland and elsewhere, but they did not believe that it could happen to them. The bystanders could observe what was happening. Only the rescuers perceived that their actions were a matter of life and death, and they acted to save lives.

On August 11, 1942, Dr. Gerhart Riegner, the World Jewish Congress representative in Bern, Switzerland, sent a secret cable through secure channels to the State Department and to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, president of the World Jewish Congress, informing them:

> That there has been and is being considered in Hitler's headquarters a plan to exterminate all Jews from Germany and German controlled areas in Europe after they have been concentrated in the east. The numbers involved is said to be between three and a half and four million and the object to permanently settle the Jewish question in Europe.

The information had reached Riegner through a highly placed German industrialist, Eduard Schulte, general manager of the Georg von Giesche Mining Company, who was in a position to know what was happening. In fact, the cable was an understatement. The Final Solution was already operative policy within the German government; the numbers discussed at Wannsee some eight months earlier were 11 million Jews and gassing had already been going on at Chelmno since December 1941 and at other camps since later that winter in early 1942.

The State Department never gave the cable to Rabbi Wise. Stamped on the document were instructions not to pass it on. Instead, Wise received the same information on an unsecured telegram from a Jewish member of the British Parliament, Samuel Silverman. When he went to the State Department to inquire as to its accuracy, Sumner Welles, undersecretary of state, asked him not to go public with the information until it could be confirmed. In November Wise was told that his deepest fears could be confirmed. He called a press conference and revealed the information. The State Department did not confirm Wise's report in public, and the press thus received the information from a Jewish source, which it considered somewhat dubious or exaggerated, rather than from a government official and therefore to be trusted.

Shortly thereafter, unknown to Wise, the State Department tried to shut down the secret channel of information regarding the Jews by signaling to consulates its own lack of

interest. (This incident was later referred to in the 1944 Treasury Department report, mentioned above.)

President Roosevelt and Jewish leaders met only once, on December 8, 1942, during the height of the killing process. Six death camps were operating at the time. A memorandum from the president of the Jewish Labor Committee, Abraham Held, gave details of the meeting. It began at noon. An Orthodox rabbi led a prayer. Rabbi Wise informed the president of a memorandum spelling out the condition of the Jews in German-occupied Europe. The president indicated that he was aware of the facts. He asked if the group had any suggestions. Held urged the use of a neutral party to intercede on behalf of the Jews. The president did not reply. During the 29 minutes of the meeting, Roosevelt spoke for 23. The Jews pressed their case for six minutes, and perhaps half that time was used for prayer.

In April 1943, at the time of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising – but unrelated to it – another conference was convened by the British and American governments. This time the location was somewhat remote for wartime: Bermuda. The island in the Atlantic was chosen in part because press scrutiny and domestic pressures could be avoided. It was a pleasant place for officials of the Foreign Office and the State Department to spend time in April. The results were unimpressive.

Jan Karski, a Polish courier, met with Roosevelt to convey information on the situation in Poland. The young courier went beyond diplomatic protocol and his own sensitive assignment to convey a message from the Jews of Warsaw. Roosevelt told him: "You tell your people that we will win the war and then we will take care of the refugees." Statements were made, declarations were offered, and commitments were undertaken to bring the perpetrators to justice, but no concrete action was forthcoming. In truth, there was great despair that anything could be done. In fact, nothing was done.

Only in January 1944, an election year, when Treasury Secretary Morgenthau pressed the president and brought forward the concerns of his staff that had been so forcefully conveyed to him, and when domestic pressures were increasing, did the president establish the *War Refugee Board, charged with implementing an American policy of rescue. The members of the board were the secretaries of state, treasury, and war. All funds for the board's work had to come from private sources. The president gave one million dollars toward its initial efforts.

The board lobbied the White House to elicit statements from Roosevelt condemning the murder of Jews, drew up plans for postwar war-crimes trials, and conveyed requests for the bombing of Auschwitz. Through its European operatives, one of whom was Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat, the War Refugee Board played a crucial role in saving perhaps as many as 200,000 Jews. It established a haven for 1,000 Jews at Oswego, New York.

Yet when John Pehle, its dedicated director, viewed the work of the refugee board from the perspective of 12 years of American efforts, he commented: "What we did was little enough. It was late. Late and little, I would say." Until the establishment of the War Refugee Board, American policy toward the Jews was constrained by antisemitism within the State Department, domestic nativist sentiment (perceived or real), the relative powerlessness and disunity of American Jews, and a 1941 decision that absolute priority should be given to the war effort. Its premise was that the only way to save the refugees was to win the war.

As American troops entered and liberated the concentration camps on German and Austrian soil, they were forced to deal with the survivors, bury the dead, heal the wounded, and nurture the bereaved. Over time, larger decisions had to be made with regard to the fate of the survivors: where and how they were to live, what was to be their postwar destination – to return home, to migrate to Palestine, to find refuge elsewhere – and whether to open American-held territory to refugees fleeing pogroms in Poland and the rise of Communism. In an ironic way, the United States had to deal with the refugees after it had won the war, but with far fewer than it would have if it had given them a haven before the war or rescued them during it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Breitman and A. Kraut, *American Refugee Policy and European Jewry 1933–1945* (1987); H. Feingold, *The Politics of Compromise: The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust* (1970); idem, *Bearing Witness: How America and Its Jews Responded to the Holocaust* (1995); D. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews* (1984); idem, *Paper Walls* (1985).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

The American Jewish Press. The American Jewish press was the primary source of news about Jews around the world. In particular, the Yiddish press, which had a circulation of around 400,000 nationally, with a readership that was probably two to three times higher than that, was the place where Jews turned for information about Jewish matters. In addition, the Jewish press was what is known as an "organ press" in that its publications were mainly organs of particular parties, organizations, or segments of the community and reflected what they were thinking and doing.

For example, the **Jewish Daily Forward* was the voice of Jewish labor; the **Jewish Day* was reflective of liberal thinking and Zionist affiliation; the **Jewish Morning Journal* contained a combination of a religious outlook, patriotic Americanism, and Zionism; the **Morning Freiheit* was the official Communist Yiddish daily; the *Congress Bulletin* was the voice of the American Jewish Congress; the *National Jewish Monthly* was published by B'nai B'rith; *Opinion* was an independent monthly edited by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise; *Hadoar* was the Hebrew language weekly; the *Sentinel* was a weekly newspaper in Chicago, which had the second largest Jewish population in America; the *Jewish Exponent* was published in Philadelphia, the third largest Jewish community; the *Jewish Advocate* was published in Boston, the fourth largest community.

As the tragedy of European Jewry was unfolding, the American Jewish press provided contemporary accounts.

Beginning with *Kristallnacht* on November 9–10, 1938, and continuing through the Hungarian Jewish deportations in the spring of 1944, the newspapers conveyed the news in a timely fashion, editorialized about the news with varying degrees of passion, and reported on what American Jews were doing in response to the crisis of European Jewry.

For example, the announcement by Rabbi Wise on November 24, 1942, when he was finally allowed to go public with the content of the Riegner telegram of August 1942, stating that two million Jews had already been killed in Poland and four or five million more (depending upon the estimate of Jews under German control) were destined for annihilation, was carried by every Jewish newspaper and magazine. The Yiddish newspapers initially publicized the news, editorialized about it, and called upon American Jews to participate in a day of prayer and fasting on December 2. The December 4, 1942 edition of *Congress Weekly*, published by the American Jewish Congress, appeared with a black cover on which the Hebrew words from Lamentations, "Rivers of water flow from my eyes over the destruction of my people," were emblazoned in white. The *Reconstructionist*, then one of the most intellectually influential Jewish journals, on December 11, 1942, listed on its front page in a black box headed by the word *Yizkor* ("remember") the numbers of Jews from individual European countries who had already been murdered. There was no possibility of avoiding the news and no mistaking its importance.

However, reflecting a certain lack of urgency, the story soon disappeared from the front pages. In local newspapers like the *Jewish Advocate* local issues superseded the news from Europe. In the December 4 issue, the major subject was the Coconut Grove nightclub fire in Boston that claimed the lives of nearly 500 people. The newspaper wrote: "Nothing in our memory has so severely shocked and so completely stunned, bewildered and confused the whole community as this great calamity… even the tragedy of the global war cannot obscure the horror of the local catastrophe which has plunged hundreds of homes into sudden mourning." This appeared in the same issue with the report of Wise's disclosures of two million Jews murdered and four or five million more to be annihilated. The subject of European Jews, in fact, was not even carried in the newspaper in the next two issues and appeared again only in the December 25 issue.

A look at the order of the editorials in the *Jewish Advocate* on December 4 is instructive. The first seven editorials were in the following order: a Hadassah donor luncheon; victory loan (war) bonds; writing to soldiers; Hannukah; our women and bonds; what we are (concerning a Department of Justice ruling that Jews constitute a race); and a memorial to Professor Nathan Isaacs (a prominent teacher and scholar) on the eve of the unveiling of his gravestone. The eighth editorial dealt with the Wise revelations.

During the years of the Holocaust, in the eyes of the Jewish press, Jews were often preoccupied with other matters, local concerns, antisemitism, and the normal issues of daily life rather than the terrible plight of their Jewish brothers and sisters in Europe. Judah Pilch, writing in the weekly *Hadoar* in January 1943, summed up this pattern of response in the following words: "And what will happen when my son asks me tomorrow: 'What did you do while your brothers were being exterminated and tortured by the Nazi murderers?' What will I say and what will I be able to tell him? Shall I tell him that I lived in a generation of weaklings and cowards who were neither moved nor shocked when they heard of hundreds of thousands of their brothers being led to their slaughter hour by hour, day by day, year by year? I shall, however, certainly not dare to tell my son about the 'business as usual' conduct of our lives at a time when the press was informing us about the extermination of complete communities. I would be ashamed to face him with such a description." These and similar editorial comments by writers such as Chaim Greenberg, Trude Weiss Rosmarin, and Samuel *Margoshes suggest that what was going on in America during the Holocaust was a painful reenactment of a scene described by the poet Ḥayyim Naḥman Bialik in his "City of Slaughter":

> The sun was shining
> The trees were flowering
> And the murderer kept on killing.

[Haskel Lookstein (2nd ed.)]

GREAT BRITAIN. Britain had many considerations as it fought the war against Germany: the appeasement of Germany prior to the war, its policy of restricting the immigration of refugees to Palestine and of accepting some at home, most especially the *Kindertransport*; the role of Anthony *Eden and Prime Minister Winston *Churchill in the requests to bomb Auschwitz; and finally the role of British troops in the liberation of the concentration camps and in the rehabilitation of the survivors they happened upon.

Until 1939, Britain followed a policy of appeasement. Weakened by World War I, its resources stretched by the empire, British forces were not ready for another world war and public opinion was unprepared to support one. Some within Britain felt that the conditions imposed upon Germany in the aftermath of World War I were unduly harsh and that an attempt by Germany to rid itself of those restrictions was clearly justified. Britain attempted to avoid war and, perhaps equally important, to mask its weakness by a policy of appeasement. This policy reached its height in the aftermath of the German *Anschluss*, the incorporation of Austria in March 1938. Great Britain did nothing. When it became clear in the months after that this annexation would not satisfy Hitler's territorial ambitions, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain tried his best to avoid war. At the Munich Conference of September 1938, he consented to the German annexation of the Sudeten region of Czechoslovakia. Returning home, he said he had brought "peace in our time."

When Germany occupied the rest of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, Chamberlain's policy of appeasement was recognized as a total failure. British policy shifted. A mutual de-

fense pact was established with Poland and Romania. And then Britain waited.

When Germany invaded Poland in September 1939, Britain and France declared war on Germany, but little happened – this period was known as the "phony war." Britain used this time to get on a wartime footing by improving its military preparedness.

Britain was also willing to appease the Arabs by restricting the entry of Jews to Palestine. In March 1939 it issued a *White Paper restricting Jewish immigration and Jewish land purchases in Palestine, limiting its usefulness as a haven for Jews fleeing Europe. David Ben-Gurion voiced the Zionist response, saying that the Jews would fight with Britain against the Germans as if there were no White Paper and fight the White Paper as if there were no Nazi menace.

The German invasion of Western Europe in May 1940 led to the removal of Chamberlain and to Winston Churchill's becoming prime minister. From then on, Britain was fully committed to war. Germany put out peace feelers to Britain, which refused all negotiations. It successfully evacuated 200,000 troops from Dunkirk, in France, and regrouped at home. From 1940 onward, until the U.S. entry into World War II, Britain stood alone against Germany, which had established a nonaggression pact with the Soviet Union, and the United States remained neutral, at least in name. In reality, it was busily supplying Great Britain with war materiel and slowly putting itself onto a war footing. By 1941 the Lend-Lease program was formalized. The Germans attacked Britain by air, but the Luftwaffe failed to defeat the Royal Air Force and the people of Britain stood firm despite repeated bombing.

With the U.S. entry into the war in December 1941 after Pearl Harbor, World War II became global and the U.S.-British alliance firm. Three conditions were attached that were to prove decisive to the conduct of the war, decisive as well to the fate of the Jews within German-occupied Europe. There was a total blockade of German-occupied Europe; the Allies would not negotiate with Hitler; and the fight was unconditional, for total surrender. These made negotiations regarding Jews far more difficult and in fact led to the leaking of information to English newspapers regarding an overture by the Germans in 1944 offering 1,000,000 Jews in return for 10,000 trucks, which killed any possibility, however remote, of an agreement.

Refugees. With the rise of Hitler to power, the British public was sympathetic to the Jews, and the Jewish community was willing to assume the burden of supporting the refugees. No government funds were required. Britain also consented to being a way station for Jews going elsewhere. More than 80,000 Jewish refugees reached the country by September 1939. During the war years, only 10,000 arrived. Among those who went to Britain were 10,000 Jewish children on the *Kindertransport*, who left their parents behind to seek safety in England. Some were given to non-Jewish families and some were adopted by Jews. Many were kept in an institutional setting. The financing of refugee resettlement was undertaken by private, nongovernmental funds; British Jewry was generous.

When facing Germany alone, the British public and its leadership became quite worried and imposed restrictions on anyone from Germany. They did not differentiate between Jews and non-Jews. Some 30,000 "enemy aliens," many of them Jews, were confined to camps in England. Eight thousand were deported to Canada and Australia. When the threat of a German invasion passed, these prisoners were released.

The British government learned about the Final Solution when it broke German secret codes, but it would not act on the information unless it could be confirmed from another source and thus not reveal to the Germans that their code had been broken. It would not act on such information, even to save its own troops.

In fighting the war, Britain undertook no special action on behalf of the Jews. But clearly the fight itself was essential to Jews.

In the summer of 1944 Chaim *Weizmann and Moshe Shertok urged Foreign Minister Anthony Eden to bomb Auschwitz. Eden brought the issue to Churchill, who responded: "Get anything you can out of the RAF. Invoke my name if necessary." With such approval, the British turned to the Americans, but nothing happened. Factories near Auschwitz factories were bombed, but not the death camp.

Liberation of Bergen-Belsen. The British liberated Bergen-Belsen on April 15, 1945. They happened upon the camp in the course of their military operations. Since no special steps were taken to liberate the camp, no preparations had been made to deal with its inmates. What the troops saw created an indelible impression. The camp had been ravaged by a typhus epidemic. Thousands of bodies lay unburied, rotting in the sun. Sixty thousand prisoners were still alive, many in critical condition. In the first days of freedom, thirteen thousand died. About 14,000 more died in the weeks that followed despite valiant efforts by British doctors to save them.

As the British entered, the camp commandant, Josef Kramer, greeted his conquerors in a fresh uniform. He expressed his desire for an orderly transition and his hopes of collaborating with the British. He dealt with them as equals, one officer to another, even offering advice as to how to deal with the "unpleasant" situation. As he toured the camp, Derrick Sington, a junior British officer, said to the commandant: "You've made a fine hell here." Kramer responded: "It has become one in the last few days." But the ruse did not last for long.

The uncontrollable epidemic was so lethal that the camp had to be burned down. Former inmates were moved to a Panzer tank corps school two miles down the road, and it became the site of a displaced persons camp. The British were horrified by what they had found. Mass graves were dug and bulldozers were brought to shovel in the dead. Local civilians were marched into the camp and taken on a tour. Before

they began their visit, the colonel in charge of medical efforts spoke to them.

> You must realize that according to those wretched victims who experienced other camps, this camp was in some respects one of the better ones. Chiefly because in this camp it was possible in most cases, though not in all, to die fairly quietly from hunger or typhus. In certain other camps, the inmates were done to death and hurled into mass graves, sometimes before they were dead…
>
> What you will see here is the final and utter condemnation of the Nazi Party. It justifies every measure the United Nations will take to exterminate that party. What you will see here is such a disgrace to the German people that their names must be erased from the list of civilized nations…
>
> It is your lot to begin the hard task of restoring the name of the Germans… But this cannot be done until you have reared a new generation amongst whom it is impossible to find people prepared to commit such crimes; until you have reared a new generation possessing the instinctive good will to prevent a repetition of such horrible cruelties.
>
> We will now begin our tour.

The images of Bergen-Belsen and its bulldozers are among the most unforgettable of the Holocaust.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Breitman, *Official Secrets: What the Nazis Planned, What the British and the Americans Knew* (1988); M. Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (1981); L. London, *Whitehall and the Jews, 1933–48* (2000); M. Sompolinsky, *Britain and the Holocaust* (1999); B. Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe, 1939–1945* (1999).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

CANADA. In a book called *None Is Too Many*, the Canadian historians Irving Abella and Hersch Troper sum up Canada's record in the Holocaust. Their judgment is dramatic, perhaps harsh but not inaccurate. Canada fought valiantly and courageously in World War II. It joined the war effort shortly after the invasion of Poland, more than two years before the United States, and once they entered the battle Canadian forces fought with dedication and determination. But the battles of World War II did not include the second war that the Germans were fighting, what Lucy Dawidowicz termed "the war against the Jews." Abella and Troper argue that Canada had the worst record among the Western states of opening its borders as a haven to Jews. It was a reluctant participant in the Evian Conference, a virtual nonfactor in its deliberations. Support for the war effort did not translate into sympathy for the Jews.

The reasons were primarily domestic. Until 1923, Canada actively recruited European immigrants to emigrate to Canada as workers for its vast territory, most especially its agricultural lands in the West. Jews were urbanized and therefore less desirable because of their lack of agricultural experience. With the end of recruitment of agricultural workers and the onset of the Depression, Canada sought to restrict immigration and to protect its domestic workforce. As an urban population Jews were competitive with its professionals and artisans and hence undesirable candidates for immigration. The Canadian government did not respond to special pleadings on behalf of Jews, even though the Jewish community, primarily centered in Montreal and Toronto, urged Canada to open itself to immigration.

Those Jewish refugees who went to Canada arrived by accident. During the war, Jews of German and Austrian birth who had sought a haven in Great Britain were interned as "enemy aliens" – as German and Austrian nationals. They had achieved a status in Britain and Canada that they could not achieve in their native lands. British-held enemy aliens were sent to Canada, which received them not because they were Jews but because Great Britain wished to expel them.

Canada was willing to receive a thousand refugee Jewish children from Vichy France, but by the time the arrangements were made, it was too late. The Germans had entered the Vichy zone and the Jewish children were deported to the death camps. The opportunity for rescue had passed.

Only after the war did the policy change. Canada did receive a thousand orphans. It allowed a liberal definition of family reunification and received clothing workers and furriers. But by then there were other options, immigration to the United States or *aliyah* to the newly formed State of Israel, which opened its gates to Jews seeking a haven. The Jews who did arrive after 1948 – and Canada did receive a sizable survivor population – were welcomed as part of a larger flow of East European immigrants. In short, in the Jews' great hour of need, Canada was unavailable. Among the few it did receive was the distinguished Jewish philosopher Emil *Fackenheim.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. In response to Hitler's antisemitic policies, Pope *Pius XI, like the German episcopate, seems to have limited his concern to Catholic non-Aryans. The encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* ("With Burning Anxiety") of March 1937 rejected the myths of "race" and "blood" as contrary to revealed Christian truth, but neither mentioned nor criticized antisemitism per se. Nor was antisemitism mentioned in the statement of the Roman Congregation of Seminaries and Universities, issued on April 13, 1938, attacking eight theses taken from the Nazi doctrine as erroneous. In June 1938, the pope asked the American Jesuit priest John LaFarge to prepare an encyclical condemning antisemitism, but, although the first draft was delivered in September, it was not issued before Pius XI died in February 1939. It remained unissued and sequestered by his successor. On July 15, 21, and 28, and again on August 21, 1938, as Mussolini was preparing his anti-Jewish laws (despite the membership of thousands of Jews in the Fascist Party), Pius XI made four speeches often cited by his supporters as condemning antisemitism. In fact, while the pope expressed his disapproval of "exaggerated nationalism" in all four speeches, he mentioned racism or the single human family in only two of them, and antisemitism not at all. In September 1938, during a reception for Catholic pilgrims from Belgium, Pius XI is said to have condemned the participation of Catholics in antisemitic movements and to have

added that Christians, the spiritual descendants of the patriarch Abraham, were "spiritually Semites." This statement, however, was omitted by all the Italian papers, including the Vatican's own *L'Osservatore Romano*, from their accounts of the pope's address.

The elevation of Cardinal Pacelli to the papacy as *Pius XII in the spring of 1939 brought to the throne of St. Peter a Germanophile who, in contrast to his predecessor, was unemotional, dispassionate, and a master of the language of diplomatic ambiguity. On October 20, 1939, eight weeks after the German Army invaded Poland, Pius XII issued his encyclical *Summi Pontificatus*, allegedly a replacement for Pius XI's "hidden encyclical," but while he lamented human suffering particularly in "Our Dear Poland," condemned statism, spoke of "the human race in the unity of one common origin in God," and called for compassion for all victims of the war, he did not mention Jews or antisemitism. In another encyclical, *Mystici Corpus Christi*, on June 29, 1943, Pius XII again declared that "Our paternal love embraces all peoples, whatever their nationality and race," but specifically about the Jews he only quoted Corinthians, "for in one spirit were we all baptized into one Body, whether Jews or Gentiles, whether bond or free."

The Vatican was in a unique position to have accurate and early information on the war. It had priests in each country, in many towns and villages. As a neutral entity, it also had local representatives of the pope in each area. Chaplains traveled with the military. Priests knew what was happening in their locales. The neutral Vatican had papal nuncios or Apostolic delegates in almost all countries. The Vatican received detailed information about the murder of Jews in the concentration camps from 1942 on, but Pius XII restricted his public utterances to carefully phrased expressions of sympathy for the victims of injustice and to calls for a more humane conduct of hostilities. In his Christmas message of 1942, the pope spoke of his concern for the hundreds of thousands who, without personal guilt and merely on account of their nationality or descent, were doomed to death. Again, addressing the College of Cardinals on June 2, 1943, the pontiff mentioned his twofold duty to be impartial and to point out moral errors. He had given special attention, he recalled, to the plight of those who were still being harassed because of their nationality or descent and who, without personal guilt, were subjected to measures that spelled destruction. The pope repeated this concept in an address to the College of Cardinals a year later, on June 2, 1944, two days before Rome was freed of German occupation, referring to his compassion and charity that extended to all, "without distinction of nationality or descent."

The pope's policy of neutrality encountered a crucial test when the Nazis began rounding up the 8,000 Jews of Rome in the autumn of 1943. Before the arrests, the Nazis told the Jewish community on September 26 that unless it raised 50 kilograms of gold within 36 hours, 300 hostages would be taken. When it seemed that the Jews themselves could raise only part of this ransom, a representative of the community asked for and received an offer of a loan from the Vatican treasury. As events later transpired, this help did not have to be invoked, for the Jewish community was able to raise the entire amount. Despite this ransom, on October 16, 1943, German police rounded up 1,259 Roman Jews. Contrary to German fears, Pius XII, while he threatened to protest publicly, did not do so. On the morning of October 16, the Vatican Secretary of State, Cardinal Luigi Maglione, asked the German ambassador to the Holy See, Ernst von Weizsacker, to "intervene in favor of those poor people," explaining that the "the Holy See would not want to be obliged to express its disapproval." But on October 18, over 1,000 Roman Jews – more than two thirds of them women and children – were transported to the death camp at *Auschwitz, and the pope was silent. Only on October 26 and 29, 1943, after most of the deported Roman Jews were dead, did *L'Osservatore Romano* write of the pope's compassion and charity for those who were suffering for reasons of their "nationality, religion, or descent." This was the first time that persecution on the grounds of religion had been mentioned. About 7,000 Roman Jews were able to go into hiding. More than 4,000, with the knowledge of the pope, found refuge in the numerous monasteries and houses of religious orders in Rome, and a few dozen were sheltered in the Vatican itself. The rest were hidden by their Italian neighbors, among whom the anti-Jewish policy of the Fascists had never been popular. *L'Osservatore Romano* mentioned the persecution of the Jews only two more times, in two articles in December 1943. It did not protest the deportations and destruction of European Jewry at the hands of the Nazis, but objected to recent Italian measures ordering Italian police to arrest Jews and intern them within the country.

Pius XII's failure to publicly protest against Nazi atrocities, especially against the murder of the Jews, drew criticism. In July 1942, Harold H. Tittmann, the assistant to Roosevelt's personal representative at the Holy See, Myron C. Taylor, pointed out to the Vatican that its silence was endangering its moral prestige. In January 1943, Wladislaw Raczkiewicz, president of the Polish government in exile, appealed to the pope to issue an unequivocal denunciation of Nazi violence in order to strengthen the willingness of the Poles to resist the Germans and help the Jews. Bishop Preysing of Berlin, a man of courage and compassion, urged the pope on at least two occasions to issue a public appeal on behalf of the Jews. A similar request with regard to the Hungarian Catholics was directed to Pope Pius in September 1944 by Isaac *Herzog, the chief rabbi of Palestine.

After the end of World War II, Pius XII was again criticized for his silence. It has been argued – among others, by the German playwright Rolf *Hochhuth – that the pope could have saved numerous lives, if indeed he could not have halted the machinery of destruction altogether, had he chosen to take a public stand and confront the Germans with the threat of an interdict or with the excommunication of Hitler, Goebbels, and other leading Nazis belonging to the Catholic faith. As an example of the effectiveness of public protest, it is possible to cite the resolute reaction of the German episcopate to

the euthanasia program. In Slovakia, Hungary, and Romania, the forceful intervention of papal nuncios, who threatened the pro-Nazi governments with public condemnation by the pope, was also able, temporarily, to halt the deportations. At the very least, it has been suggested, a public denunciation of the mass murders by Pius XII broadcast widely over the Vatican radio would have revealed to Jews and Christians alike what deportation to the east actually meant. Many of the deportees might thus have been warned and given an impetus to escape, many more Christians might have helped and sheltered Jews, and many more lives might have been saved. There is no way of proving these arguments. Whether a papal decree of excommunication against Hitler would have dissuaded Hitler from carrying out his plan to destroy the Jews is doubtful, and revocation of the Concordat by the Holy See would have bothered Hitler still less. However, a flaming protest against the massacre of the Jews, coupled with an imposition of the interdict upon all of Germany, or the excommunication of all Catholics in any way involved with the apparatus of the Final Solution, would have been a more formidable and effective weapon. This was precisely the kind of action that the pope could not take, however, without risking the allegiance of the German Catholics.

The pope had other, perhaps still stronger, reasons for remaining silent. In a world war that pitted Catholics against Catholics, the Holy See, as Mr. Tittmann was told by highly placed officials of the Curia, did not want to jeopardize its neutrality by condemning German atrocities, and the pope was unwilling to risk later charges of having been partial and contributing to a German defeat. Moreover, the Vatican did not wish to undermine Germany's struggle against the Soviet Union. Late in the summer of 1943, the papal secretary of state declared that the fate of Europe was dependent upon a German victory on the eastern front. The apostolic delegation in Washington warned the American Department of State in a note dated August 20, 1943, that Communism was making steady headway in Italy and Germany, and Europe was in grave peril of finding itself overrun by Communism immediately upon the cessation of hostilities. Father Robert Leiber, one of Pius XII's secretaries, later recalled (in *Stimmen der Zeit*, March 1961) that the pope had always looked upon Russian Bolshevism as more dangerous than German National Socialism. Hitler, therefore, had to be treated with some forbearance. The reluctance of Pius XII to be drawn into a public protest against the Final Solution stands in contrast to the often energetic rescue activities of several of the papal nuncios in Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Turkey. In particular, Monsignor Roncalli, the apostolic delegate in Istanbul, who later became Pope *John XXIII, wrote to the king of Bulgaria on behalf of Bulgarian Jews, and issued thousands of safe-conduct certificates for the Jews of Budapest. The extent to which these men acted upon instructions from Rome is not clear, but the motives for the Vatican's solicitude seem to have been mixed. It appears that from late 1942 on, the Vatican was aware that an Allied victory was inevitable. Considerations of expediency began to reinforce whatever moral revulsion the pope may have felt at the massacre of the Jews, and Pius began to drop hints to the bishops of Germany and Hungary that it was in the interest of their people, as well as the church, to go on record against the slaughter of the Jews. For example, he wrote an Austrian churchman on Oct. 15, 1942, that to intercede for those suffering in the conquered territories was not only a Christian duty but ultimately could only be of advantage to the cause of Germany.

The Nazis' assault on European Jewry occurred in a climate of opinion conditioned by centuries of Christian hostility to the Jewish religion and people. At the same time, other factors, such as varying patterns of nationalism, had an important bearing on the attitude of the Catholic churches of different European countries toward the Jewish tragedy. Thus it is important to differentiate between the situation in Germany and in the various German-occupied countries of Europe. During the nineteenth century some elements of German Catholicism contributed toward the emergence of modern antisemitism, and in the 1920s many Catholic publicists agreed with the Nazis on the importance of fighting Jewish liberalism and the Jews' alleged destructive influence in German public life (see *Church, Catholic, Modern Period). This antisemitic trend received a powerful impetus after Hitler's accession to power in 1933. Seeking to counter the Nazis' offensive against the Catholic Church as a rival for the loyalty of the German people, many churchmen attempted to gain favor with the Nazi regime and its followers by adopting certain aspects of Nazi ideology. They stressed the "elemental" values of race and racial purity, and limited their dissent to insisting that this National Socialist goal be achieved without resort to immoral means. The sacred books of the Old Testament, they argued, were not only beyond the Jewish mentality but in direct conflict with it. Jesus, they conceded, had been a non-Aryan, but the son of God was fundamentally different from the Jews of his time, who hated and eventually murdered him. They also said that the Jews had had a demoralizing effect on Germany's national character; the press, literature, science, and the arts had to be purged of the "Jewish mentality." In the face of the Nazis' antisemitic legislation, the Church retreated, even when the ordinances touched on vital domains of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, such as matrimony. The diocesan chancelleries helped the Nazi state to detect people of Jewish descent by supplying data from church records on the religious background of their parishioners. The bishops facilitated the emigration of non-Aryan Catholics, but little, if any, solicitude was shown for non-Aryans who were not of the Catholic faith. Similarly, when mass deportations of German Jews began in October 1941, the episcopate limited its intervention with the government to pleading for Christian non-Aryans. When the bishops received reports about the mass murder of Jews in the death camps from Catholic officers and civil servants, their public reaction remained limited to vague pronouncements that did not mention the word Jews. An exception was the Berlin prelate Bernhard *Lichtenberg, who prayed publicly for the Jews.

The joint pastoral letter of the German episcopate of August 1943, for example, spoke of the right to life and liberty, which should not be denied even to "men of foreign races and descent," but such statements could be interpreted as referring to the Slavs. Almost half the population of the greater German Reich (43.1 percent in 1939) was Catholic and even among the SS, despite Nazi pressure to leave the Church, almost a quarter belonged to the Catholic faith.

While in the past the episcopate had issued orders to deny the sacraments to Catholics who engaged in dueling or agreed to have their bodies cremated, the word that would have forbidden the faithful, on pain of excommunication, to go on participating in the massacre of Jews was never spoken. A few bishops, most notably Clemens August Count von Galen of Muenster, had demonstrated their willingness to risk a serious clash with the Nazi regime by protesting the extermination of the insane and retarded in the "euthanasia" program. This intervention had been successful in large measure because it had had the backing of public opinion. In the case of the Jews, however, it was far from clear whether the episcopate could count on the support of the faithful, and this was probably one of the main reasons why a clear public protest against the Final Solution was never issued. Only a few Jews were hidden by the clergy or helped by individual Catholics in Germany. In Poland, where no official policy on the part of the Catholic Church has been discerned, it would seem that, as in Germany, the initiative to help Jews was taken only by individuals. This situation stands in marked contrast to that prevailing in German-occupied Western Europe, where declarations of solidarity and help for the Jews were almost universally regarded as signs of patriotism and resistance to the Germans. Here some of the highest church dignitaries condemned the persecution of the Jews.

In Holland, where the church as early as 1934 had prohibited the participation of Catholics in the Dutch Nazi movement, the bishops in 1942 immediately and publicly protested the first deportations of Dutch Jews, and in May 1943, they forbade the collaboration of Catholic policemen in the hunting down of Jews, even at the cost of losing their jobs. In Belgium, members of the episcopate actively supported the rescue efforts of their clergy, who hid many hundreds of Jewish children. In August and September 1942, several French bishops in the unoccupied zone used their pulpits to denounce the expulsions of foreign Jews to the north of the country. Throughout Western Europe numerous priests and members of the monastic clergy organized the rescue of Jews, and hid them in monasteries, parish houses, and private homes. French priests issued thousands of false certificates of baptism. Many lay Catholics in France, Holland, Belgium, and Italy acted similarly, thus saving thousands of Jewish lives. The concern of the population of these countries for their Jewish fellow-countrymen was undoubtedly a key factor behind the bold protests of the French, Dutch, and Belgian bishops.

In Eastern Europe, antisemitism had deeper roots, and the record of the Catholic churches there is more ambiguous. In Slovakia, a Catholic priest, Dr. Josef Tiso, was president of a pro-Nazi regime; the church there was more interested in saving souls than lives, although some members of the episcopate did protest the deportations as a violation of human and divine law. Several Hungarian bishops protested to the authorities the deportation and mistreatment of the Jews but at the same time put difficulties in the way of issuing conversion certificates that would have saved many Jews from deportation. Large numbers of Jews, nevertheless, owed their lives to the courageous rescue activities of lesser clerics, monks, and Catholic laymen.

After the War. After the war, some Vatican officials assisted in an operation to save former Nazis and transfer them to South America. There is evidence in the British Public Record Office that Pope Pius XII was personally involved in this operation. According to those documents, the pope was aware that former Nazi and Ustasha (Croatian fascist paramilitary) war criminals were being offered asylum in Roman Church institutions. Also, he personally intervened in transfer operations organized by the Confraternity of St. Girolamo degli Illirici, a Croatian order, and by the nearby Pontifical Croatian College.

Among those helped at St. Girolamo was Ante Pavelic, the former chief of the Croatian puppet state during the war, who fled to Austria and probably hid in a monastery in Klagenfurt. At that time, Father Krunoslav Draganovic, a former colonel in the Ustasha, was operating from the Pontifical Croatian College in Rome to produce false identity cards at the local Franciscan printing press. Draganovic brought Pavelic to Rome in April 1946 and hid him. Draganovic then obtained an International Red Cross passport for Pavelic, and on October 11, 1948, the Ustasha chief left Genoa for Argentina.

The Nazi escape route to Argentina was organized with help from Cardinals Giovanni Battista Montini, Eugène Tisserant, and Antonio Caggiano, the Bishop of Buenos Aires, according to documents in the recently opened archives of the International Red Cross. Bishops and archbishops such as Alois Hudal, Giuseppe Siri, and Augustin Barrère helped in the bureaucratic procedure, while priests signed requests for passports from the International Red Cross. About 5,000 war criminals were helped in this way.

Another major organizer of help to Nazi war criminals was Monsignor Alois Hudal, the Austrian director of the Germanicum College of Santa Maria dell'Anima in Rome. In 1945, Hudal wrote: "I thought it was my duty to direct my charitable work first of all to former Nazis and Fascists and in particular to the so-called Criminals of War." Hudal was personally involved in assisting the flight to Brazil of Franz Stangl, the Austrian commandant of Treblinka, who was responsible for the murder of about 750,000–870,000 Jews. Hudal was host to Stangl in Rome and gave him some money. Among many other important Nazis Hudal helped were Eduard Roschmann, Friedolin Guth, Erich Priebke, Gerard Bohne, and Adolf Eichmann.

In addition to his involvement with clandestine operations in Rome, Pius XII intervened secretly in Washington and London in August 1945 on behalf of Nazi criminals, with letters sent by the Secretariat of State and at least one in his own name. The letters asked for urgent consideration to avoid extradition from Italy to Yugoslavia of Ustasha and Croatian war criminals. Between 1946 and 1952, Pius XII also tried to intervene in favor of former Nazis condemned in several trials, in order to change their death sentences. This he did for Arthur Greiser, condemned for killing 100,000 Jews in Poland; Otto Ohlendorf, whose Einsatzgruppe D had killed 90,000 Jews in the Soviet Union, and Oswald Pohl, the chief of the SS-*Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptsamt* (SS-WVHA; SS Central Economic Administration Office, the organization administering the concentration camps).

In May 1949, Monsignor Montini wrote to Monsignor Hudal that the pope was favorable to an extensive amnesty for the Germans imprisoned in the camps of Fraschette d'Alatri and Farfa Sabina, both near Rome. On that occasion, the German bishops opposed the involvement of the Church.

Jewish Children. The war was not yet over when Jewish organizations and soldiers from the *Jewish Brigade, a unit within the British Army made up of Zionist volunteers from Palestine, in Italy started looking for Jewish children who had been hidden in Catholic monasteries or colleges. The children had been saved by Catholic priests, monks, and nuns, but many were orphaned when their parents were deported. Some children were discovered and brought to Jewish institutions. For example, Eliahu Lowiski, a soldier, of Kibbutz Bet Alfa found and took some Jewish children from Catholic schools and monasteries in Florence in 1944. There are also records of some cases in Poland, where priests and adoptive parents sent Jewish children who had not been baptized during the war to Jewish institutions. More often, however, Jewish children throughout Europe remained unclaimed by Jewish organizations because there was no record of their whereabouts. Members of those organizations tried again and again to find them. There are thousands of adults in Poland who discovered only in the 1980s and 1990s, after their adoptive parents had died and after Communism fell and such knowledge was no longer dangerous, that they had been born Jews and had been saved by Polish non-Jews.

On September 21, 1945, Leon Kubowitzky of the World Jewish Congress met with Pius XII to ask him to publish an encyclical on the Jews and to give back the children who had been saved by the church. The pope asked for a memorandum, but did nothing.

In November 1945, Gerhart Riegner, also of the World Jewish Congress, was received by Monsignor Giovanni Battista Montini of the Vatican Secretariat of State. Riegner, too, asked for help in locating and returning the children, but again the children were not returned.

In 1946, the Vatican's Holy Office sent a letter to the papal nuncio in Paris, Monsignor Angelo Roncalli, forbidding him to give baptized Jewish children back to Jewish institutions. This letter was published in January 2005 by the Italian historian Alberto Melloni. In 1953, in apparent obedience to the letter, Cardinal Giuseppe Pizzardo, secretary of the Holy Office, opposed giving back two brothers in France named Finaly, because they had been baptized. After eight years of struggle, the Finaly brothers finally went to their relatives in Israel.

The Kielce Pogrom. In 1946, about 50 Jews were killed in Kielce, Poland, after a rumor was spread about the supposed killing of a Catholic boy by the Jews. The American Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein together with his fellow military chaplain Herbert A. Friedman visited the pope at Castel Gandolfo at the behest of the United States military to discuss the impact of this pogrom. No public expression of sorrow or condemnation of antisemitism ever came from Pius XII.

[Guenter Lewy / Sergio Itzhak Minerbi (2nd ed.)]

Changes in Catholic-Jewish Relations since the Holocaust. The controversy over the role of the Roman Catholic Church has not ended. In the decade 1995–2005, a significant number of books have been published examining the behavior of the church during the war. Among them were Susan Zuccotti's *Under His Very Windows*, Daniel Jonah Goldhagen's *A Moral Reckoning: The Role of the Catholic Church in the Holocaust and Its Unfulfilled Duty to Repair,* James Carroll's *Constantine's Sword*, David I. Kertzer's *The Pope against the Jews*, Michael Phayer's *The Catholic Church and the Holocaust 1930–1965*, Carol Rittner, RSM and John K. Roth's edited volume *Pope Pius XII and the Holocaust*, and Gary Wills' *Papal Sin: Structures of Deceit*, which raises anew the historical questions and the accountability of the church for its actions, and inactions, during the Holocaust. The debate has only intensified with the efforts to canonize Pope Pius XII.

One consequence of this debate has been the change in the church's own perception of its actions and inactions during the Holocaust, implicit in initiatives undertaken since to rectify those factors within the church itself that contributed to the circumstances that allowed the Holocaust to happen. These initiatives were undertaken by two popes, including Pius XII's immediate successor, John XXIII, who had been exposed to the Holocaust and its victims and who had endeavored to be of assistance to Jews.

The convening by Pope John XXIII of Vatican Council II (1962–65) and the council's proclamation *Nostra Aetate*, which seeks to eliminate the accusation that Jews are Christ-killers and universalize responsibility for the crucifixion, was a significant step. Roman Catholic liturgy has been amended to change scriptural readings that reinforce that perception and to eliminate the libel "perfidious Jews." John XXIII also made a point of stopping by a Rome synagogue to greet Sabbath worshippers and thus to show publicly the church's friendliness toward the Jews, and to recognize the continuity of Jewish tradition after the time of Jesus.

Pope John Paul II continued the initiatives of John XXIII. He attended services at the synagogue in Rome, the first time the bishop of Rome had ever entered a synagogue. He established diplomatic relations with Israel, albeit after the Oslo Accords. He visited Israel in 2000 (Pope Paul VI had visited the Holy Land and apologized for the antisemitism of Christians, but did not acknowledge that of Christianity). At Yad Vashem, Israel's memorial to the Holocaust, he said: "I assure the Jewish people that the Catholic Church, motivated by the Gospel law of truth and love and by no political considerations, is deeply saddened by the hatred, acts of persecution and displays of antisemitism directed against the Jews by Christians at any time and in any place." Furthermore, he gave a religious justification for mutual respect: "The church rejects racism in any form as a denial of the image of the Creator inherent in every human being." His words were carefully chosen; his gesture broadcast to the entire world.

Pope John Paul II wrote:

> On numerous occasions during my Pontificate I have recalled with a sense of deep sorrow the sufferings of the Jewish people during the Second World War. The crime, which has become known as the Shoah, remains an indelible stain on the history of the century that is coming to a close.
>
> As we prepare for the beginning of the Third Millennium of Christianity, the church is aware that the joy of a Jubilee is above all the joy that is based on the forgiveness of sins and reconciliation with God and neighbors. Therefore she encourages her sons and daughters to purify their hearts, through repentance of past errors and infidelities. She calls them to place themselves humbly before the Lord and examine themselves on the responsibility which they too have for the evils of our time.

The church has now committed itself to Holocaust remembrance. In 1998 it issued "We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah," a document carefully crafted by the Holy See's Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews.

Critics of "We Remember" – both Jewish and Catholic – argue that the statement, while welcome, does not go far enough. It does not explain that anti-Judaism came from the Vatican; in fact, it implies that it did not, that it is secular, social, and political. It states that Pope Pius XII saved hundreds of thousands of Jews, a statement that is contrary to historical fact. It does not mention past centuries of Catholic persecution of Jews. It omits all mention of indirect Catholic responsibility for the Holocaust as well as the failings of the Catholic hierarchy. It short, it blames the Holocaust on the failings of individuals and absolves the church of any responsibility.

Individual church leaders and national churches have been more forthcoming, bolder, braver, and less restrained. Cardinal Etchegaray, Archbishop of Marseille, said in 1980: "The roots of antisemitism are in major part of religious nature," and German bishops have stated that "the church which we proclaim as holy and which we honor as a mystery, is also a sinful church and in need of conversion."

The French bishops at Drancy on September 30, 1997, said in their "Declaration of Repentance":

> It is important to admit the primary role, if not direct then indirect, played by the consistently repeated anti-Jewish stereotypes wrongly perpetuated among Christians in the historical process that led to the Holocaust.

The French bishops also continue to stress the "serious consequences" of "a tradition of anti-Judaism [that] affected Christian doctrine and teachings," admitting that priests and leaders of the Church "bear a serious responsibility."

The Vatican has clearly been more cautious, and more protective of the memory and record of Pope Pius XII, even at the expense of its credibility.

In response, the Jewish community has come to recognize a shift in Catholic-Jewish relations. In 2000, rabbis engaged in dialogue with Roman Catholic priests issued the call "*Dabru Emet*" (Speak the Truth) to recognize and welcome these changes. Irving Greenberg, a prominent post-Holocaust theologian and former chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, wrote of this change in his work *For the Sake of Heaven and Earth.*

It would be an exaggeration to suggest that Catholic-Jewish relations are without conflict, but it is no exaggeration to affirm that Catholic-Jewish relations at the turn of the twenty-first century are probably the best they have been in two millennia of conflict and tension-filled coexistence.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES. *Germany.* In Germany, the "German Christians" (*Deutsche Christen*) emerged in 1933 as a minority group that promoted the nazification of the German Evangelical Church and sought to exclude Christians of Jewish origin from membership, in direct support of Nazi anti-Jewish policy and in opposition to church doctrine. They were opposed by the Confessing Church (*Bekennende Kirche*), which defended the rights of Christians of Jewish origin within the church and opposed the intrusion of the Nazi state into church policies. The Confessing Church quickly divided between those calling for a broader political opposition to Nazism, including opposition to its anti-Jewish measures, and those who confined their critique to church-related matters. Some of the more radical anti-Nazi Confessing Christians eventually offered underground aid to Jews by hiding them and helping them leave Nazi Germany, and a few were involved in resistance groups against the regime itself.

In general, however, the Confessing Church refrained from public criticism of Nazi anti-Jewish laws and few Confessing Church leaders ever condemned the persecution of the Jews. An exception was the memorandum sent by the Confessing Church to Hitler (May 1936), which stated that "when, in the framework of the National-Socialist ideology, antisemitism is forced on the Christian, obliging him to hate the Jews, he has nonetheless the divine commandment to love his neighbor." In 1938, while a few individual clergy preached

sermons condemning the *Kristallnacht*, there was no official church statement protesting the violence. Indeed, when Bishop Wurm of Wuerttemberg wrote a private letter of protest to the German minister of justice, he nonetheless added that he was not criticizing the state's right "to fight Judaism as a dangerous element." During the war, the Protestants in Germany maintained their cautious silence, the notable exception being Bishop Wurm, who in a 1943 sermon finally decried the churches' silence about *Kristallnacht* and announced that the Allied bombing of Germany was "God's revenge for that which was done to the Jews."

German-Allied and -Occupied Countries. The Lutheran Church in Slovakia protested in November 1939 and in May 1942. Romania had a long record of antisemitic activities in which leaders and members of the church frequently participated. In Hungary, the bishops of the Reformed and Lutheran churches voted in the upper house for the first and second anti-Jewish laws in 1938 and 1939. They protested when mass deportations began in 1944, but after pressure from the government, a prepared public statement was not read out from the pulpits.

The Lutheran churches in Norway and Denmark issued public protests when the deportations from their countries began. The Protestant churches in the Netherlands, together with the Roman Catholic Church, sent several protests, some of which were read from the pulpits. In France, the president of the Protestant Federation, the Rev. Marc Boegner, sent letters to the French chief rabbi, to Admiral Darlan, Marshal Pétain, Pierre Laval, and others. A message was read from the pulpits twice. The non-Roman Catholic churches in Austria, Belgium, the Protectorate (Bohemia-Moravia), Finland, Italy, and Poland apparently did not issue any public protest during World War II.

The Allies, Neutral Countries, and International Organizations. Between 1933 and 1939, Protestant church bodies and their leaders in France, Denmark, Switzerland, Sweden, Britain, and the United States issued official condemnations of antisemitism and, in several cases, explicit condemnation of events in Nazi Germany, including the promulgation of the *Nuremberg Laws of 1935 and **Kristallnacht* in 1938. In Great Britain, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Chichester, and other Anglican Church leaders voiced strong protests, but their demands for practical steps, such as easing immigration restrictions on refugees, were of no avail. The same is true of the United States, where church leaders issued many protests. A December 1942 "resolution on antisemitism" was passed by the Federal Council of Churches (the precursor of today's National Council of Churches) that condemned the "virtual massacre" of European Jews.

Churches in the Soviet Union (which were tightly controlled by the government) apparently did not issue any public protest during World War II.

In the neutral countries during the war, the Church of Sweden strongly protested against the deportation of the Norwegian Jews. In Switzerland, protests of the Protestant churches were a factor leading to the alleviation and ultimate canceling of the government measures against Jewish refugees entering Switzerland "illegally," who were at first sent back to their doom. The churches also rendered material aid to the refugees.

Some of the earliest protests against the Nazi anti-Jewish policies emerged from ecumenical and interdenominational groups. At its meeting in September 1933, the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, an ecumenical organization, condemned the "state measures against the Jews in Germany." Regional church branches of this organization in Holland, Belgium, France, and Switzerland issued similar statements in 1933.

The World Council of Churches, then still in process of formation, had offices in New York, London, and Geneva. In particular, its director for refugee work, Adolf Freudenberg, worked closely with Gerhart Riegner at the World Jewish Congress to compile information about the genocide and disseminate it to church leaders and diplomats. Freudenberg and the WCC general secretary, Willem Visser't Hooft, sent three letters to the International Red Cross, in which they reported on deportations and mass executions of Jews and pleaded for help. Together with Riegner, Visser't Hooft sent an aide-mémoire to the governments of the U.S. and Great Britain, informed church leaders in these countries about the extermination of Jews, intervened with the Swiss government on behalf of Jewish refugees, and helped send gift parcels to Jews in concentration camps.

Postwar Statements. Most of the early postwar Protestant statements were generalized acknowledgements of the churches' failures under Nazism. The 1945 Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt, the earliest Protestant statement in postwar Germany, acknowledged the German Lutheran church's complicity with the Nazi regime but failed to mention explicitly the persecution and genocide of the Jews. The 1948 Darmstadt "Message Concerning the Jewish Question" condemned antisemitism and recognized the evil of the Nazi persecution of the Jews, but still spoke of "the Jew as an erring brother destined for Christ." The German Evangelical Church first addressed the problem of Christian anti-Judaism – and the need for a new relationship to the Jews – at its 1950 Weissensee Synod.

There were parallels to this development in the Protestant statements that began to emerge outside Germany. "The Christian Approach to the Jews," the statement approved at the first assembly of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1948, condemned antisemitism but explicitly approved evangelization of Jews as part of the churches' mission. The earliest document ("The Ten Points of Seelisberg") calling for a new Jewish-Christian relationship and a Christian acknowledgement of the validity of the Judaic faith was made in 1947 in Seelisberg, Switzerland, at the founding conference of the International Conference of Christians and Jews.

In the decades since then, over 100 statements have been made by Protestant and Orthodox churches throughout the world that have addressed the long-lasting legacy of the Holocaust for Christians and have used this legacy as a starting point for rethinking Christian teachings.

ORTHODOX CHURCHES. The persecution of the Orthodox Serbs in Yugoslavia by the Ustasha matched in cruelty the persecution of Jews. Orthodox Church leaders reportedly stood up for the Jews, but hardly any details are available. In Greece, the archbishop of Athens, Damaskinos, headed a group of prominent citizens who sent a strong protest against the deportations of the Jews to the prime minister of the puppet regime and to the German representative in Athens. The contents of these protests show that they were based mainly on national, rather than on religious, considerations. Damaskinos was personally active in the rescue of individual Jews. The bishop of Salonika, Genadios, also intervened on behalf of Jews. The attitude of nonresistance of the population of Salonika, however, shows that the faithful did not always follow the example of their leaders.

The metropolitan of the Bukovina region, Tot Simedrea, the metropolitan of Transylvania, Balan, and Patriarch Nicodemus personally and successfully intervened with the Romanian government on behalf of the Jews after fervent appeals from Chief Rabbi Safran. In Bulgaria, the metropolitan of Sofia, Stephan, and the metropolitan of Plovdiv, Kyril, intervened personally with King Boris, using extremely forceful expressions. The Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church repeatedly sent strong protests in writing to the government. According to a Jewish spokesman, Joseph Geron, the Orthodox Church played a major role among the "collective factors" that helped in the rescue of the Bulgarian Jews.

Individual Christians rendered material help. The moral importance of such deeds are sterling, though their practical importance should not be overrated; only a small minority of the Protestant and Orthodox Christians in occupied Europe risked their lives on behalf of the persecuted Jews. It is difficult to assess the practical results of interventions and protests by churches and church leaders. In German-allied countries, where they could turn to their own governments, the interventions of church leaders were of some avail. In the occupied countries, the protests hardly influenced the German authorities; but, insofar as they were read out from the pulpits, the protests contributed to breaking the silence and complacency that surrounded the extermination of the Jews and stirred the faithful to noncooperation with the Germans and to render individual aid to the Jews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: THE CATHOLIC CHURCH: S. Friedlaender, *Pius XII and the Third Reich* (1966); G. Lewy, *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany, 1933–1945* (1964), ch. 10; P. Blet et al. (eds.), *Lettres de Pie XII aux évêques allemands* (1966); E. Bentley (ed.), *Storm over the Deputy* (1964), incl. bibl.; J. Nobécourt, *"Le Vicaire" et l'histoire* (1964); Rothkirchen, in: *Yad Vashem Studies*, 6 (1967), 27–53; P. Friedman, *Their Brothers' Keepers* (1957); M. Faulhaber, *Judaism, Christianity and Germany* (1934); Carpi, in: *Yad Vashem Studies,* 4 (1960), 43–56. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Zuccotti, *Under His Very Windows* (2002); D.J. Goldhagen, *A Moral Reckoning: The Role of the Catholic Church in the Holocaust and Its Unfulfilled Duty to Repair* (2002); J. Carroll, *Constantine's Sword* (2001); D.I. Kertzer, *The Pope against the Jews: The Vatican's Role in the Rise of Modern Antisemitism* (2001); M. Phayer, *The Catholic Church and the Holocaust 1930–1965* (2000); C. Rittner, RSM, and John K. Roth (eds.), *Pope Pius XII and the Holocaust* (2002); G. Wills, *Papal Sin: Structures of Deceit* (2000); M. Aarons and J. Loftus, *Ratlines* (1991); U. Goñi, *The Real Odessa: How Perón brought the Nazi War Criminals to Argentina* (2002). PROTESTANT AND GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCHES: J.M. Snoek, *The Grey Book…* (1969), incl. bibl.; W.A. Visser 't Hooft, *Struggle for the Dutch Church…* (1944); *Les Eglises Protestantes pendant la guerre et l'occupation* (1946); *Die Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland und die Judenfrage* (1945); M. Leviev, *Nashata Blagodarnost* (Bul., n.d.). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Adler, "The French Churches and the Jewish Question: July 1940-March 1941," in: *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 46:3 (Sept. 2000), 357–77; V. Barnett, *For the Soul of the People: Protestant Protest Against Hitler* (1992); H. Genizi, *The Holocaust, Israel, and Canadian Protestant Churches* (2002); M. Hockenos, *A Church Divided: German Protestants Confront the Nazi Past* (2004); O.D. Kulka and P.R. Mendes-Flohr (eds.), *Judaism and Christianity under the Impact of National Socialism* (1987); M.R. Marrus (ed.), *Bystanders to the Holocaust*, vol. 1, part 6: "The Churches" (1989), 1201–1415.

[John M. Snoek / Victoria Barnett (2nd ed.)]

THE YISHUV. One cannot approach the role of the Jewish settlement in Palestine, the *Yishuv*, during the Holocaust by comparing it to the state of Israel with its current military might and self-proclaimed mission of serving as a guarantor that a second Holocaust will never be allowed to recur. The *Yishuv* was poor and struggling. It had just absorbed German Jewish immigrants fleeing Hitler. In fact, more Jews were absorbed into Palestine between 1933 and 1937 – only in 1938 and afterwards did the numbers coming to the United States surpass Palestine – than anywhere else in the world. It faced Arab riots and armed resistance in 1936 and was rightfully concerned about its own safety and state-building activity in addition to the fate of the Jews in exile.

On the eve of World War II the *Yishuv* was in deep internal crisis. The British government had implemented the recommendations of its 1939 White Paper by limiting Jewish immigration to Palestine to 75,000 over five years, 15,000 a year, thus cutting off a haven for Jews precisely when it was most needed. The dangers facing the Jewish communities of Central and Eastern Europe were keenly felt and impacted upon the reservoir of potential immigrants (*olim*, lit. "ascendants") and on material support for the *Yishuv*, which then numbered some 470,000 people. Conditions were only to deteriorate with the onset of war.

Despite the problems with British mandatory rule, there could be no doubt that the Nazis were incomparably worse, and thus David Ben-Gurion charted *Yishuv* policy with his famous statement: "We shall fight for the British against the Germans as if there were no White Paper and fight against the White Paper as if there were no Nazis." He also charted a Zionist policy to link the war and secure the support of British and American Jews – Zionists and non-Zionists alike – to

the Zionist aim of creating a Jewish "commonwealth" in Palestine. That aim was realized in the darkest year of Jewish history in May 1942 with the Biltmore Resolutions, which adopted the Zionist vision of a Jewish homeland in Palestine as the agenda for postwar Jewry. These were passed as the deportations to the death camps of German-occupied Poland were in full swing.

To fight against the White Paper, the *Yishuv* engaged in *illegal immigration. The sinking of the *Patria* and the struggle of the *Struma* to stay afloat and keep its passengers alive before a Soviet torpedo sank the ship were the most visible and problematic manifestations of the British determination to enforce the White Paper despite the war.

Still there was a symmetry of interests, and the Jewish community could hardly be neutral in the struggle between Britain and Nazi Germany. Thirty thousand Jews, men and women, some 6.8 percent of the Palestinian Jewish population, signed on for service as part of the British Army. It was only well into the war in September 1944 that a separate Jewish fighting unit, the *Jewish Brigade, was formed. The service of the Jews, whether in British or independent units, was important to the Zionist cause as it demonstrated commitment to fighting Nazi Germany. It also gave the soldiers who were later to fight in Israel's War of Independence important military experience.

The condition of the *Yishuv* was perilous, and this was legitimately of primary concern. In June-July 1942 German forces were within 62 miles of Alexandria and it was clear that if the British were forced to flee Alexandria, they would leave the Middle East and abandon the *Yishuv* to fight alone and virtually unarmed against the Germans. For the *Yishuv* the fight would be unto an all-but-certain death.

Only when the British were victorious at El Alamein in October and the Allies landed in North Africa in November was the fate of the *Yishuv* assured. Then it shifted its attention elsewhere.

Ever since the publication of Walter Laqueur's important work *The Terrible Secret: The Suppression of Information Regarding the Final Solution* (1982), historians have distinguished between information and knowledge. What was heard and what was understood in Palestine is an important comparison for assessing the action or inaction of the Allies and of neutral countries, for Palestinian Jews were surely not disinterested. Palestinian Jews dismissed early reports of the *Einsatzgruppen* massacres as crude Soviet propaganda.

The sources of their information regarding the fate of the Jews were many, including newspaper articles and other news accounts, but Jews in Palestine also received letters from parents and siblings – until they received them no longer – and listened to broadcasts from Europe in their native tongues. They could discern in what was said some of what was left unsaid.

During the early years of the war, the fate of the Jews was considered incidental to the war, the suffering of any civilian population as a result of military conflict, exacerbated by the unique venom that the Nazis felt toward the Jews. By 1941, as Jews were ghettoized in Poland and living under German occupation in most of Europe, the *Yishuv* sensed that the conditions of Jews had stabilized and would remain miserable but stable until the war ended. No better nor any sooner than the Allies did they perceive the existence of the Final Solution, the German plan to annihilate the Jews.

The *Yishuv* learned about the Final Solution in the same way the Allies did, through reports from the Soviet Foreign Ministry, the London-based Polish government-in-exile, and the cable that Gerhart Riegner sent to Samuel Silverman in London and Rabbi Stephen Wise in New York. No copy was sent to Jerusalem. The repatriation of Palestinian Jews exchanged for Germans in the fall of 1942 brought a new source of shocking information to the *Yishuv.* National days of mourning were proclaimed, demonstrations were held, and it is fair to say that the *Yishuv* felt a deep sense of despair. Families left abroad were being killed and the Jewish people as well as the Zionist enterprise were facing a massive defeat.

A Joint Rescue Committee was established and attempts were made at rescue and clandestine immigration. There was a struggle for limited financial support. Were resources to be allocated to the *Yishuv* and its development or to rescue efforts that seemed doomed to failure? Only in 1943 did actual rescue, however limited or unlikely, seem even remotely possible and hence warranted the use of resources.

A decision was made to allocate resources to the rescue outside of the normal budget of the *Yishuv,* and the amount was modest. Dina Porat, an Israeli historian, estimated that it was $32 million in 1980 dollars, which would be used inside occupied Europe. One third was earmarked for bringing Jews to Palestine.

There were three major efforts; the first was to bring assistance to 70,000 Romanian Jews inside Transnistria; the second was to cooperate with the Working Group (see above) in Slovakia as part of the Europa plan, bribing German officials to postpone the deportation of Jews. In both of these attempted rescues, the *Yishuv*, however well intentioned, was just not able to deliver the sums needed on time. The third was the attempt to deliver small parcels of money, medicine, and documents into neutral and Axis states. The work of a small group of rescuers in Turkey led by Chaim Barlas and including Jacob Griffel, Akivah Levinsky, Teddy *Kollek (later famous as the mayor of Jerusalem), and Venja Pomerantz (later a nuclear physicist involved in Israel's nuclear program) was most notable. Yet there too, the furious effort, noble as it was, saving an estimated 15,000 lives, was simply incommensurate with the need. As an old man who had witnessed much history, Kollek described it as the most frustrating period of his life.

The *Yishuv* was ready to respond to any other opportunity for rescue. One such opportunity seemed to present itself with the mission of Joel *Brand to Turkey with Adolf Eichmann's offer – we now know that it was ordered by Himmler –

of one million Jews for 10,000 trucks to be used against the Soviet Union in the East. Neither the *Yishuv* nor the American Jewish community had the power to effect the trade; only the Allies could do it. But the *Yishuv* did press to maintain the illusion, for as long as possible, that the offer would be considered. In the end, the Allies understood that the offer was designed to achieve a separate peace with the West. When word of the offer was leaked in London, the deal was dead.

Two other efforts were noteworthy, the dropping of Palestinian parachutists who spoke the native languages into enemy territory to warn the Jewish community of their fate, and the request to bomb Auschwitz. The former included Hannah *Szenes, dropped into Yugoslavia and captured in Hungary, where she was tortured and executed, becoming a symbol of courage and devotion in modern Israel.

While Israeli historians have focused on the requests in July 1944 to bomb Auschwitz, they overlooked an important and instructive document, the minutes of the Jewish Agency meeting of June 11, 1944, in which the proposal that the Jewish Agency request that Auschwitz be bombed was rejected. David Ben-Gurion said, "We do not know the truth concerning the entire situation in Poland and it seems that we will be unable to propose anything concerning this matter." Dr. Schmorak said, "It is forbidden to take responsibility for a bombing that could very well cause the death of even one Jew." The summation of the meeting, at which Yitzhak Gruenbaum was criticized for advancing the idea with the American counsel, was "not to propose to the Allies the bombing of sites in which Jews are located."

Clearly as late as June 1944 the Jewish Agency in Palestine had no clear idea of what was happening in Poland and of the fate of Hungarian Jews then being deported to Auschwitz. The information available to them was not compelling enough to give them knowledge certain enough to request action that might kill Jews on the ground.

Yet within a month Moshe Shertok and Chaim Weizmann requested of the British that Auschwitz be bombed.

One possible explanation for this action is that the contents of the Vr'ba Wetzler Report – the Auschwitz Protocols – had made their way to Palestine and changed what was known about the nature of Auschwitz, making the ill-informed Jewish Agency's decision of June 11 inoperative.

Only in September 1944 was the Jewish Brigade formed, a Jewish force inside the British Army. The utility of such a force was less important in the war than in the postwar effort to rehabilitate the survivors of the camps and to facilitate the resumption of immigration into Palestine.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Bauer, *From Diplomacy to Resistance: A History of Jewish Palestine 1939–1945* (1973); idem, *Jews for Sale? Nazi-Jewish Negotiations 1933–1945* (1994); D. Porat, *The Blue and the Yellow Stars of David: The Zionist Leadership in Palestine and the Holocaust, 1939–1945* (1990); D. Ofer, *Escaping the Holocaust: Illegal Immigration to the Land of Israel, 1939–1944* (1990); T. Segev, *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust* (1993).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

AFTERMATH

Displaced Persons

At the end of the war, Allied armies found seven to nine million displaced persons living in countries not their own. More than six million people returned to their native lands; one million refused repatriation. Collaborators feared retaliation; some feared emerging Communist domination. The situation of the Jews was radically different.

The Jews had no homes to return to. It was only with the end of the German assault that they could take account of their losses and that they could begin to mourn. As one survivor put it in Auschwitz, "If you cried, you died." The communities of Jewish survivors had been shattered, their homes destroyed or occupied by strangers, and their families decimated and dispersed. Those who returned home found their homes occupied by others, their return unwelcome. First came the often long and difficult physical recuperation from starvation and malnutrition, then the search for loved ones lost or missing, and finally the question of the future.

Many Jews lived in Displaced Persons camps, at first among their killers, because the Allies did not differentiate on the basis of religion, but by nationality. Their presence on European soil and the absence of a country willing to receive them raised the pressure on Britain to resolve the issue of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. The Harrison Report, an investigation of the conditions in the DP camps undertaken on behalf of President Harry S. Truman, recommended the admission of 100,000 Jews immediately to drain the overcrowding of the DP camps. Well-publicized yet clandestine efforts were made to bring Jews to Palestine. And within the Displaced Persons camps, Jews – even those who chose not to go to Palestine and later emigrated elsewhere – demonstrated their commitment to Zion. In fact, it was not until after the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948 and the liberalization of American immigration laws in 1948 and 1949 to allow the admission of refugees from Europe that the problem of what to do with the survivors was solved.

Perhaps the most profound response of the survivors could not be appreciated at the time. In the aftermath of death, they chose life and to bring children into the world. Overwhelmingly, they chose to live as Jews and to reaffirm Jewish life. They could have done otherwise, but as a rule they did not.

For a fuller discussion of the DP camps, see *Displaced Persons.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

U.S. Army Chaplains

American Jewish chaplains were among the first Allied troops and Jews to encounter the battered remnant of European Jewry at the end of World War II. This encounter took place when the survivors' fate, and that of Palestine under the British Mandate, were being determined. The Holocaust survivors were grappling with myriad issues, including emigration, matters of faith, and an attempt to reclaim their lives while coping

with the needs of basic survival, like finding work and food, shelter and even latrines. The chaplains from abroad provided a link to the familiar, a recognition of their cultural survival, and assistance with their first steps toward recovery. Above all, they also cared for them as Jews.

The American military was not prepared for what it found in the concentration camps and labor camps or alongside the roads of Europe, as it met the death marches. A very few chaplains believed that they might find some Jews in dire straits, but it never occurred to them that they could be in a position to assist them. There were 311 rabbis who were chaplains with the U.S. forces in Europe; 267 served in the Army, 43 in the Navy, and one in the Maritime service. Ninety, fewer than one in three, had had any contact with Jewish DPs, and they were completely unprepared, even if they were not surprised by what they encountered.

Chaplains were trained to work with Jewish troops, who were a minority group in the military, not the Holocaust survivors. Because interacting with Holocaust survivors was not within the job description, each chaplain had to decide on the level of his own involvement. Complicating matters was the nonfraternization clause that prohibited American soldiers from socializing or interacting with civilians. This measure was finally rescinded on October 1, 1945, seven months after the liberation. In this chaotic period after the war, not all commanding officers were aware of the extent of their subordinates' work with the survivors.

Jewish chaplains worked with survivors as individuals and as groups, especially as liaisons on issues between survivors and the military that were of a personal nature. They also supplied survivors with food, clothing, and shelter; assisted them in finding their families; allowed them to illegally use the Army mail service to send letters to relatives abroad; found children hidden by the church and returned them to their families; and served as escorts on trains that took children away from Buchenwald. These rabbis accompanied transports that removed Jews from Eastern Europe to the American zone of occupation and were aboard ships that transferred Jewish children to Palestine. They also intervened with the U.S. Army to have DPs released from prison or get their sentences reduced.

Some chaplains stopped the military from launching a number of black market raids in DP camps; conducted services, performed weddings, and in some cases acted as community rabbis. They also printed educational materials and established Jewish schools and summer camps.

Yet the chaplains could not alter American policy toward the DPs, because the Army had no long-range policies for the DPs in the first place. Without such guidelines, they floundered. Still, the Jews fled to the American zones of Germany and Austria because they knew the Americans would treat them better than the British, the French, or the Russians. Many American officers, especially at the beginning of the postwar period, put on blinders and allowed the chaplains to work with the DPs, which made it possible for the rabbis to become effective advocates for them. Some chaplains were more creative than others, and some were more willing to test the limits.

This was the first time chaplains were actively involved on behalf of American and European Jewry not in the military while still serving in the Army. Nothing in their backgrounds suggested how they might respond, and in the end their responses were not denominational or institutional, but those of individuals acting on their own. When the survivors needed help, the chaplains demonstrated that American Jews cared about them and that they were not alone. Some chaplains made a huge difference in the survivors' lives.

For example, in August 1944, Chaplain Abraham Haselkorn, a 39-year-old Reform rabbi, was attached to U.S. Army Headquarters, Loire Section. In that region, Father Devaux of Notre Dame de Sion in Paris had hidden many Jewish children on farms near Bonnetable, France, not far from Le Mans. Haselkorn used his powers of persuasion and his reserve funds from the Jewish Welfare Board to force the farmers to release those children. Then he established an orphan home for them. American Jewish GIs provided most of the funds to subsidize the home and got their families and communities to send clothing from the U.S.

Rabbi Herschel *Schachter, an Orthodox rabbi, arrived in Buchenwald on April 12, 1945, with the Third Army. Going from one barracks to the next, he declared in Yiddish, "*Sholom Aleichem, Yidden, ihr zint frei*" ("Hello, Jews, you are free"). He officiated at the first Friday night service after liberation and conducted a *seder* for the survivors. He established a *ḥevra kaddisha* (burial society), and acquired a plot of land for a Jewish cemetery, organized a list of Jews in the camp and others who came through, set up a mail service and a package program.

After much discussion, he convinced the military to allow young people in Buchenwald to establish a kibbutz to prepare for life in Palestine. In this he worked with Chaplain Robert Marcus, another Orthodox rabbi. Marcus and Schacter each accompanied transports of Jewish children from Buchenwald to France.

Eugene Lipman, a Reform rabbi assigned to Headquarters, XII Corps, found 200 Jews in the Cologne area who had survived Dachau, Buchenwald, and Theresienstadt. To help them, he enlisted the aid of Jewish soldiers throughout the area. At night, he and a number of Jewish soldiers would go to army storage areas and steal large quantities of food so that the survivors would be nourished.

In northern Bavaria, he found many Jews scattered in towns and villages. He helped get them clothes and assisted them with medical, social, and legal problems, including violation of the black market laws. He assisted children's groups and helped establish *hakhsharot*, the kibbutzim to prepare people for Palestine. He launched a package program, and between October 1945 and May 1946 he received 175 to 180 tons of packages. Mailboxes were placed in every community and 2,000–2,500 letters were mailed out of Germany clandes-

tinely each week, since DPs were not permitted to send mail by themselves.

While in Pilsen, Czechoslovakia, Lipman was recruited to work with the Beriḥah (the *illegal immigration movement to Mandate Palestine). He helped forge documents, appropriated military trucks to transport survivors, and led transports on the route from Prague, through Pilsen, Salzburg, and Italy, where they embarked on the final leg of the voyage. When he heard there were 15,000 to 20,000 Jews in Terezin (Theresienstadt), he arranged for them to be taken to the American Zone in Germany and set up a mail service so they could communicate with their families.

Rabbi Herbert L. Friedman, a 27-year-old Reform chaplain, worked with Beriḥah in Berlin, arriving in April 1946. He had been specifically asked by the organizers to help smuggle Jews into the city. He also provided them with trucks, gasoline, false papers, and cigarettes, to bribe Russian soldiers. He also got them clothing and hiding places and provided them with excuses – just in case they were caught.

Friedman was the troubleshooter for Philip S. Bernstein, a Reform rabbi and adviser on Jewish affairs to the military government beginning in July 1946. Friedman traveled throughout the American zones in Germany and Austria to explain the needs of the survivors to the American military. The military also assigned him to act as an adviser at the Landsberg trial, in which 20 Jews were arrested for attacking Germans after two guards disappeared from the kibbutz in Dissen, about six miles from the camp. Friedman arranged for the most qualified Jewish military lawyer to be assigned to the case.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Grobman, *Rekindling the Flame: American Jewish Chaplains and the Survivors of European Jewry*, 1944–1948 (1993); idem, *Battling for Souls: The Vaad Hatzolah in War-Torn Europe* (2004); *American Jewish Yearbook*, vol. 47 (1945–46); Archives of Temple Emanu-El, Yonkers, New York; L. Barish (ed.), *Rabbis in Uniform* (1970); P.S. Bernstein, *Rabbis at War* (1971); S. Burstein, *Rabbi with Wings: Story of a Pilot* (1965); M. Kertzer, *With an H on My Dog Tag* (1947); I. Klein, *The Anguish and the Ecstasy of a Jewish Chaplain* (1974).

[Alex Grobman (2nd ed.)]

Postwar Trials

As for the killers, upon entering the camps, many Allied units were so shocked by what they saw that spontaneous punishment was meted out on some SS personnel who remained. Others were arrested and held for trial. The most famous – and indeed the most important – of the post-war trials was held at Nuremberg, the former site of Nazi party rallies, one of the very few cities that had not been reduced to rubble. The American prosecution team was led by Justice Robert Jackson, on leave from the U.S. Supreme Court. Twenty-two major Nazi officials were put on trial by an International Military Tribunals for War Crimes, Crimes against the Peace, and a new category of crimes, Crimes against Humanity. These crimes were categorized as "murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation against any civilian population… persecution on political racial or religious grounds… whether or not in violation of the domestic laws of the country where perpetrated." The Holocaust was not yet defined; the crime had not been given a name and the war against the Jews was not perceived outside of the World War and the general criminal nature of the Nazi regime. After the first trials, 185 defendants were divided into 12 groups, including physicians responsible for medical experimentation (but not euthanasia), judges who preserved the facade of legality for Nazi crimes, and *Einsatzgruppen* leaders. They were brought to trial almost by accident and without a serious budgetary commitment by the Allies because one young prosecutor, Benjamin Ferencz, had reviewed their reports and felt he could convict them by their own contemporaneous records. German generals and business leaders who profited from slave labor were tried. They were a minuscule fraction of those who had perpetrated the crimes. Their trials were an effort to restore a semblance of justice – perhaps even the illusion of justice – in the aftermath of so great a crime. Nuremberg established the precedent, later enshrined by international convention, that crimes against humanity are punishable by an international tribunal. In the post-Holocaust world, time and again the precedent has been invoked as nations struggle to rebuild in the aftermath of genocide, after the entire legal system was implicated in the crime. The trial of the Nazi doctors also broke new ground in medical ethics. The judges affirmed ten principles that have become commonplace in modern medicine; among them is the right of informed consent, the right to consent to one's treatment and to stop treatment.

FURTHER TRIALS. Over the ensuing sixty years, additional trials further documented the nature of the crimes. They had a public as well as judicial impact. The 1961 trial in Jerusalem of Adolph Eichmann, who was responsible for the deportations of Jews to the death camps, not only brought him to justice but made a new generation of Israelis keenly aware of the Holocaust. The Auschwitz trials held in Frankfurt, Germany, between 1963–76 increased the German public's knowledge of the killing and its pervasiveness. The trials in France of Klaus Barbie and Maurice Papon, and the deathbed revelations of Francois Mitterrand concerning his indifference toward Vichy's anti-Jewish policy, exploded the myth of French resistance and forced the French to deal with the issue of collaboration. These trials also became precedents as world leaders dealt with a response to other crimes against humanity in places like Bosnia and Rwanda.

Trials continued into the 21st century. In the 1990s, efforts were made to account for property losses and the expropriation by the perpetrators and by neutral powers of entire industries of Jewish property, possessions, art works, bank accounts, and insurance policies during the Holocaust and its aftermath.

For a full discussion of the efforts to achieve justice, see *War Crimes Trials.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

Children of Jewish Survivors

INTRODUCTION. Widespread commemoration of the Holocaust in the form of observance of Yom Ha-Shoah (Holocaust Memorial Day), establishment of Holocaust museums and study centers, teaching of university courses and writing of fictional works are phenomena that started in the mid-1970s. Prior to the early 1970s, although there were select observances in Israel and in a few places in North America and Europe, the Holocaust was hardly on the Jewish communal agenda. Eva Fogelman has described this as a period of denial not unlike a stage in the mourning process (see Bibliography).

Neither the Jewish community nor the world at large was prepared to confront the catastrophe. Consequently, many survivors were reluctant to speak publicly about their shattered lives, fearing, often correctly, they would not receive an empathetic hearing. Survivors, particularly those who emigrated to Canada, the United States, or Australia, placed great emphasis on adjusting to their new surroundings, learning the language and culture, finding a means of monetary support, and rebuilding the shattered web of their destroyed lives. Those who emigrated to Palestine had the added task of fighting for Israel's independence and then building the country.

Holocaust survivors were not only reluctant to speak publicly. Many were also hesitant to speak to their children about their persecution and losses. Society at large maintained an indifferent demeanor. As a result, children whose Jewish parents lived under the Third Reich in Germany or in German-occupied countries during World War II could not understand or explain the consequences of their legacy. Moreover, as Menachem Rosensaft, the founder of an organization of survivors' children, observed, "It is difficult to define the children of Holocaust survivors as a separate entity in any comprehensive or accurate sense. We come from different backgrounds, covering virtually the entire European continent. We live in countries throughout the world, pursue a multitude of careers, and have diverse interests. Even our attitudes toward Judaism are vastly dissimilar. In brief, we are no more homogeneous than the survivors themselves."

There were some exceptions to this silence. The World Federation of Bergen-Belsen Associations, under the leadership of Josef (Yossel) *Rosensaft, encouraged the children of the survivors of Bergen-Belsen, beginning in the early 1960s, to participate in commemorative events and activities. During the Eichmann trial in Israel, incessant focus on the destruction of European Jewry encouraged Israelis to seek out their survivor neighbors and family members for discussions. Also before the Six-Day War and the Yom Kippur War, as Israeli citizens feared a Holocaust in their own midst, they sought out survivors to determine how they had coped with near-death experiences. There was, however, little recognition of the impact the Holocaust might have had on the children of the survivors and on the family dynamics.

The emergence of a "children-of-survivors' consciousness" started in the United States in the mid-1970s. Eva Fogelman traces the source to the emergence of the "roots" movement, particularly among black students and feminist groups. Many young Jews found themselves either rebuffed by other ethnic groups or discovered that these groups did not address their specific political or social concerns. As a result, many Jews, particularly those in university settings, began to seriously examine their Jewish identity and their relationship to the broader Jewish community. As they did so, they began to discover subsets within their own communities – feminists, radicals, educators, Soviet Jewry activists, and Zionists, among others. Though the range of activities and interests of this postwar Jewish student population varied greatly, they shared a sense of self-exploration and a renewed interest in Jewish life. They began to publish their own newspapers and magazines and to seek ways of making their mark on Jewish communal life.

It was from this cauldron of change that the children of survivors' movement began to emerge. In the fall of 1974, a small group of graduate students in New York discovered in the course of a casual conversation that their parents were all survivors of the Holocaust and that as their children they had shared certain common experiences. Conscious of the fact that it would soon be 30 years since the end of the war and that no serious analysis of the children of survivors' experience had been attempted, they conceived of what they believed to be a modest first step. Unaware of the *Bergen-Belsen Youth Magazine*, edited by Menachem Rosensaft in 1965, they proposed to the editorial board of the student-run Jewish publication *Response* an issue devoted to the Holocaust in general and children of survivors in particular. The centerpiece of the publication was a conversation among five children of survivors about growing up with Holocaust survivor parents. They explored their relationship with their parents and sought to define how their perspective on the world might differ from that of their contemporaries who were not children of survivors. This dialogue evoked great interest in the involved Jewish student community.

This issue of *Response* was eventually published in book form, and the discussion it generated prompted two Boston-based mental health professionals who were children of survivors, Eva Fogelman and Bella Savran, to organize therapeutic groups for that population. It was the first attempt to convene a children of survivors' group. They began in 1976 and within a year had met with more than one hundred children of survivors.

These groups were designed to allow children of survivors to share their thoughts and feelings with one another, and to do so in an environment that would be sensitive to the events themselves and the impact that they had had on the family and the child. Similar groups were organized in major American cities like Los Angeles, Chicago, and elsewhere.

Another step in the emergence of a collective children of survivors' consciousness occurred in 1976 when sons and daughters of members of the Warsaw Ghetto Resistance Organization (WAGRO) founded a second generation organization

in the United States. On Yom Ha-Shoah 1977, group members discussed their childhood on a New York television station, WNET. The response was overwhelming.

A major turning point occurred with the publication in the *New York Times Magazine* of an article by Helen Epstein on children of survivors. Epstein, both of whose parents had been in concentration camps, had been trying for some time to convince the *Times* to publish such an article. She found little interest until spring 1977, when reports began to be published in the general press on the work of an Israeli psychiatrist, Shamai Davidson, then at Stanford. Davidson had worked with children of survivors in Israel and found that many had "symptoms similar to the concentration camp survivor syndrome." At that point Epstein found the *New York Times* interested in the topic and her article appeared on June 19, 1977. The article was syndicated and appeared in papers throughout the world, including the *Jerusalem Post*. Epstein estimates that it reached close to a million people.

Epstein's article made an unidentifiable group identifiable. Children of survivors who had been unaware of earlier efforts to organize groups suddenly felt themselves linked to a larger community. Epstein was deluged with letters. Since then, the psychological dynamics of being a child of Holocaust survivors has become a research topic in more than a hundred doctoral dissertations in addition to other research projects. Soon, groups were being established throughout the United States. In 1978 Eva Fogelman led a group at the counseling center of Hebrew University.

The groups played an extremely important role, allowing some to learn new ways of communicating with their parents about their war experiences. These groups took the basic structure of the Fogelman-Savran group model and shaped it into different forms. Some have a therapeutic structure, with leaders who are mental health professionals. Others are self-help groups. And there are discussion groups, which provide an arena for the sharing of feelings and to learn how the parents' experience may have affected them. A number of the groups are designed to undertake specific projects, such as recording oral histories, organizing conferences, conducting dialogues with postwar Germans, and seeking ways to educate themselves and others about the vast complex of events associated with the Holocaust. All evidence indicates that in the main these groups have attracted well-functioning Jewish young adults. Though they were only a way station for many, they played a seminal role in the emergence of a children of survivors' consciousness.

But a number of children of survivors felt that a broader response was warranted, one that would reach those who did not have a place for communal expression of their situation. Savran and Fogelman were among a small group of children of survivors who turned to Rabbi Irving (Yitz) *Greenberg, the founder of and major force in the United States National Jewish Resource Center (now the National Jewish Center for Learning and Leadership, CLAL), to help plan a conference on children of survivors. On November 4–5, 1979, more than 600 people, the vast majority of them children of survivors, gathered in New York for the First International Conference on Children of Holocaust Survivors.

The reaction to the conference varied markedly. Many participants were elated by the sense of having "found" a community that shared similar experiences and attitudes. According to David Szonyi, who was involved in organizing the conference, "people who felt very alone discovered that there were lots of people like them out there." For some, a long unarticulated feeling that somehow they were different from third- and fourth-generation American Jews now began to crystallize. Epstein's article together with the conference helped many identify what it was that made them feel unique. The gathering served as a galvanizing point and resulted in the creation of additional second generation groups and organizations. Even though the participants were diverse and came from a multitude of backgrounds, it was increasingly clear that despite their heterogeneity children of survivors shared a commonality of experience that derived from their specific process of socialization.

The reaction, however, was not unanimously positive. Some were greatly distressed because the event started off as a "mental health" conference. This reaction was aggravated by the fact that on the first day there was a series of presentations by psychologists and psychoanalysts who had worked with children of survivors. Helen Epstein, who delivered the keynote address, is convinced that many who attended "needed to hear from people like themselves," i.e., those whose parents had survived the Holocaust. Yossi Klein (now Halevi), writing in the *Jewish World* (New York), said: "We invited speakers to our meetings who told us not of our potential contributions to the Jewish people but of our emotional problems… The leaders we had hoped to become were reduced to subjects for clinical study."

A shock wave hit the mental-health professionals when they became the targets of anger. Members of the audience expressed rage at the speakers, who explained the psychological impact of the Nazi persecution and tragic losses on the second generation. The children of survivors, by then, for the most part successful young professionals, felt that mental health professionals were taking clinical cases and generalizing symptoms to the entire group. "It was," Menachem Rosensaft observed, "as if one were to determine the drinking habits of all adult Americans based on a study of Alcoholics Anonymous participants."

During the second day, the emotions were transformed into the final phase of mourning – a search for meaning – as the post-Holocaust generation presented its views on politics, spirituality, and professional commitment to helping others. The gathering culminated with Henry Krystal speaking not only as a psychoanalyst but also as a survivor-parent who attested to the capacity for love and harmony. When group reconciliation was realized, the theologian Michael Berenbaum led in the chanting of a communal *kaddish* (prayer for the dead). Tears were shed for those not present.

The validation of a collective identity galvanized the mental-health professionals in the audience to introduce self-help kinship groups, as well as second-generation therapy groups throughout the country.

In June of 1981, over 1,000 people participated in the World Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors in Jerusalem, conducting their own programs and holding plenary sessions and smaller breakout sessions of their own. In September 1981, a group of children of survivors, led by Rosensaft, met in New York to establish the International Network of Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors. Thereafter, members of the second generation played key roles in the organization of the *American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors in Washington, DC, in 1983, and at similar events in Philadelphia and New York in 1985 and 1986. The International Network conducted conferences in 1984 in New York, in which 1,700 people participated, and in 1987 in Los Angeles, and several in Israel subsequently.

Through the International Network, children of survivors, as a group, became a moral voice in the American Jewish community and in the international political arena. "One of my goals," Rosensaft said, "was to make sure that the second generation not be introverted, but instead also look out to human and social issues affecting the community as a whole, which is why we were the first group to organize a New York City-wide rally on behalf of Ethiopian Jewry 1982." He adds, "We also were a lead factor in the opposition to President Reagan's decision to visit the German military cemetery at *Bitburg in 1985, probably the one organized group to be consistently and vocally opposed to the President laying a wreath at the graves of the Waffen SS." On May 5, 1985 Rosensaft led a demonstration of second generation members at Bergen-Belsen against what he called President Reagan's "obscene package deal" of Bitburg and the Bergen-Belsen mass graves. Rosensaft, who advocated publicly that restitution funds be used to provide comprehensive health care to Holocaust survivors, also played a key role in the early stage of Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. In December 1988, he was one of five American Jews who met with Yasser Arafat and other senior leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Stockholm, Sweden, resulting in the PLO's first public recognition of Israel.

Other prominent children of survivors who have publicly identified with their parents' experiences include Leon Wieseltier, literary editor of *The New Republic*, the late *New York Post* columnist Eric Breindel, World Jewish Congress Executive Director Elan Steinberg, and David Harris, executive director of the American Jewish Committee, former U.S. Representative Sam Gejdenson, and U.S. Senator Ron Wyden, the son of a refugee from Nazi Berlin.

Some children of Holocaust survivors became rabbis. Among them are Rabbi Abie Ingber (Reform), executive director of the Hillel Jewish Students Center at the University of Cincinnati and instructor of homiletics at Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Rabbi Kenneth A. Stern (Conservative), rabbi of Park Avenue Synagogue in New York City and past president of the Greater Pittsburgh Rabbinical Association, and Rabbi Marc Schneier (Orthodox), founding rabbi of the Hampton Synagogue in Westhampton Beach, Long Island, and president of the Foundation for Ethnic Understanding.

The creative responses of the group have led to a second-generation genre in literature. Those without their own memories have taken to writing fiction, memoirs, biographies of their own parents, plays, screenplays, poetry, and operas. The best-known is Art *Spiegelman's Pulitzer Prize-winning *Maus.* Thane Rosenbaum has written a trilogy of Holocaust-inspired fiction, *Elijah Visible, Second Hand Smoke*, and *The Golems of Gotham.* Other second generation novelists include Melvin Jules *Bukiet, Rochelle Krich, Nava Semel, and Lev Raphael. The art historian and museum director Jean Bloch Rosensaft has curated numerous exhibitions of art by children of survivors as well as an international traveling photo-exhibition about the displaced persons camp of Bergen-Belsen. Individuals have produced films about how their parents' lives influenced them, such as Steve Brandt's *Kaddish*, Angelica Lillenthal's *Dark Lullabies*, Eva Fogelman's *Breaking the Silence: The Generation after the Holocaust*, and Menachem Daum's *Hiding and Seeking*. Other filmmakers, such as Aviva Kempner, who made *Partisans of Vilna*, focused on the historical past.

In the late 1980s, Israel's leading rock singers Shlomo *Artzi (*Germany before the War* and *Romania*) and Yehudah *Poliker and Ya'akov Gilad (*Ashes and Dust*) began including lyrics of remembrance. Poliker, whose parents were survivors from Salonika, intersperses bazouki music into his repertory to connect to the pre-Holocaust culture of his family. Orna Ben Dor directed a documentary on the lives of Poliker and Gilad, *Because of That War.* At the start of the twenty-first century, the subject lives on, in many creative works in poetry, dance, theater (Yossi Hadar), film (Tzipi Trope), art (Mirit Cohen, Raphael Lomas), fiction (Nava Semel, Savyon *Liebrecht), museum exhibitions (Yitzhak Mais), and architecture (Daniel *Libeskind).

EARLY RESEARCH ON CHILDREN OF SURVIVORS. In 1966 Vivian Rakoff, a psychiatric resident in the screening clinic of Jewish General Hospital in Montreal, alerted his colleagues that 25 percent of the families seeking help in their department were Holocaust survivors. This number seemed out of proportion to their representation in Montreal.

Soon after, the *Montreal Star*, in a news story titled "Children of Survivors Are Delinquents," reported Rakoff's impressions of psychopathology among children of survivors. The mid-teenagers were found to manifest behavioral and other disturbances and inadequate coping skills.

Rakoff's first article described the problems of the adolescents whose parents brought them in for treatment. These clinical cases portrayed an extreme inability to cope. "It would be easier to believe that they, rather than their parents, had suffered the corrupting, searing hell," he wrote. The presenting

symptoms were attempted suicide, severe phobias, migraines, chronic depression, and anger. Rakoff concluded: "With the accumulation of knowledge and the unfolding of the concentration camp experience through the damaged generations, one may fairly ask if indeed there were any survivors."

These findings evoked an intense and varied emotional reaction. Some seeking psychological treatment felt that they were finally being understood. Others were enraged at the clinicians, and attacked them for generalizing severe psychiatric symptomatology to the entire population. The critics of mental health professionals tended to disregard the empathetic reaction of the clinicians who observed patients in distress.

During the same period, Henry Krystal, a psychoanalyst and an Auschwitz survivor himself, organized several conferences for doctors, social-service providers, and German government officials on the aftereffects of "massive psychic trauma" for survivors of Nazi concentration camps and the nuclear disaster at Hiroshima. In the course of these deliberations, Krystal also became aware of the intense and unique family dynamics centered on the children of survivors. Krystal noted that there were no provisions in the German restitution laws for the rehabilitation and treatment of survivors' children. He observed that the survivors concentrated on their children as replacements for murdered children and relatives:

> …related to the subject of object-loss [of beloved relatives] is the yearning (hope) that the lost people would be restored magically. The most common expectation is that such love objects would return in the form of children… in such situations the children represent the new versions of parents, close relatives or offspring lost in the Holocaust.

While organizing his second conference, Krystal learned of the team of mental health professionals in Montreal and invited them to make presentations. Rakoff's colleague, John Sigal, spoke about the emotional problems of survivor families. Sigal explained that children in Holocaust survivor families suffer from parental deprivation. Although he too cautioned against generalizations, he announced plans for a more scientific study.

Sigal's findings were contradicted by a psychiatrist from Israel, Hillel Klein, who conducted a research project on Holocaust survivor families on a kibbutz in Israel after the Six-Day War. Klein maintained that survivors spent more quality time with their children than other parents, and that survivors' children resorted to a rich fantasy life that enhanced security and provided a cathartic relief from anxiety.

With the passage of time, and as new clinical and research findings were accumulating, the limits of the early work came into sharper focus. However, in much of the work there seemed to be a certain assumption that psychological damage *must* have been perpetrated upon the children. Critics point to this as the weakest aspect of the early work. As more children of survivors came forward to talk about their experiences, the interacting variables that must be considered became evident. They include:

(1) *The environments in which the children grew up.* Was there a larger community of survivors present? Was it a place that was hospitable to the parents' European culture? David Mittelberg argues that in those places where survivors constituted a significant portion of the community, e.g., Melbourne, they were likely to talk frequently of their experiences with their children and with other members of the community. Consequently there was not the "conspiracy of silence" of which many children of survivors speak. Ingrid Tauber studied how the identities were influenced by whether they grew up in communities with many other such children, communities in which they were isolated from their second-generation peers, or communities that were mixed. A more positive identity as children of survivors seemed to develop when such children had mixed with each other while growing up. Those who were isolated from other such children gravitated to other Jews to reduce their sense of alienation.

(2) *The ways in which the postwar society mediated the survivors' wartime experiences.* What was the prevailing attitude of the host culture towards immigrants in general and refugees in particular? Were they welcomed as in Israel or shunned as in the United States or Europe? (Even in Israel the welcome was mixed. They were embraced by the state and its population as "the saving remnant" but were implicitly condemned for not having fought back or for having "gone like sheep.")

(3) *The parents' prewar personalities.* Can it be determined to what degree the children's problems evolved from personality issues that were independent of the parents' wartime experiences?

(4) *The stage in the families' history when the children were born and the children's position in the families.* Were the children born immediately after the parents were liberated or when they were settled in their new lives? Were they the first or only children?

(5) *The parents' wartime experiences.* Were they in concentration camps, in hiding, or partisans? Did they escape before the war ended? Were they children, adolescents, young adults or adults during the war? Did they lose their entire families or did members of their nuclear families remain alive? Were both parents survivors? (Recent research has shown that in certain cases children whose parents escaped or were partisans have had a different experience from those who were in ghettos or camps. The former may have found it easier to have a more positive image of their parents, who can tell them what they did with pride.)

(6) *Stress of a new environment.* To what degree are the children's problems attributable to familial stress that resulted from the parents' being immigrants and having to adjust to a new and radically different society? The impact of adjustment on the host culture can be illustrated by examining some of the findings on survivors living in Israel. Hillel Klein concluded that survivors in Israel were better adjusted than those who came to the United States because the latter perceived themselves, at least initially, as strangers in a strange land. They

focused their energies on integrating themselves into a non-Jewish population. In contrast, in Israel survivors and their children could fight for their own country, release their aggression in a communal mode, and participate in state-sponsored commemorations. All of these provided them with the opportunity to work through some of their shame, anger, and fear. Survivors on kibbutzim had a particular pride in being part of a small community's achievements and at the same time identified with a new Jewish society.

The country in which the children of survivors grew up and reside as adults also has had an impact on their identity and relationship to the past. In different countries, societal barriers have either impeded or enhanced their personal ability to mourn. In Israel, because of the negative image of the survivors as weak Jews who went "to the slaughter like sheep," children of survivors tended to identify with the new Israeli image of vigor and strength, and remained in a stage of denial in their own mourning. Essentially, Israeli children of survivors had minimal information about family members who were murdered, and no details of their parents' lives. In 1978, when Eva Fogelman led the first group of children of Holocaust survivors at the Counseling Center of Hebrew University, attended mainly by foreigners, she was told by professional colleagues that she was bringing an American phenomenon to Israel; "second generation" members in Israel do not have any issues to confront. When Israeli novelist Nava Semel published *Glass Hat* (1985), a book of short stories on being a child of Holocaust survivors, newspapers were full of questions as to why being a son or daughter of survivors ought to be an issue.

It was not until the showing of Claude *Lanzmann's 1985 film *Shoah* and the 1987–88 *Demjanjuk trial (of an accused Ukrainian death camp guard) that full public dignity was restored to the survivors. Children of survivors were empowered to move from denial to confrontation of family history and losses. It was the *third* generation that began to ask questions of their parents, realized that they knew very little, and began asking their grandparents. Psychologically, the individual feels unable to undo the past, feels sadness, depression, rage, and guilt. Ultimately, these feelings need to be channeled into some constructive and meaningful activities to become a source of energy toward the future and not helpless toward the past that cannot be undone. In the late 1980s, Amcha, a social service agency for Holocaust survivors, was started in Israel.

Germany and Austria after the liberation did not provide a supportive environment for children of survivors. It was difficult to mourn the dead openly or to express rage at the persecutors who were still next-door neighbors and parents of schoolmates. Peter Sichrovsky, a journalist who has written about children of survivors in these countries, describes them as constantly waiting with a packed suitcase. In Western Europe, renewed fear of antisemitism caused similar feelings. In Eastern Europe many children of survivors grew up as children of Communists rather than children of Jewish Holocaust survivors. It would not be until *glasnost* in the U.S.S.R. and the Solidarity movement in Poland that confrontation with the past began and survivor families were able to grieve over the dead and embrace their true identities, and their links to a past that was destroyed.

In Sweden, children of survivors did not identify as children of survivors until 1991 when Hedi Fried, herself a survivor of Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen, invited Eva Fogelman to start groups for children of survivors. At the first meeting 350 children of survivors, survivors, and the third generation showed up from Scandinavian countries. Many reported that it was the first time they had attended any Jewish gathering. Their parents had warned them to keep a low profile as Jews.

In Australia in the 1990s, children of survivors started groups, research projects, films, museums, and Holocaust education. George Halaz was a leading contributor to these projects.

In Western Europe, children of Holocaust survivors did not coalesce into a movement with a moral voice that spoke out on human rights issues, or fought antisemitism, hunted Nazi criminals, or helped other oppressed groups as they had in the United States. There are, however, individual artists, novelists, philosophers, filmmakers, and politicians who are active in their own spheres.

Despite the shortcomings, the initial research on children of survivors laid the foundation for subsequent studies and reformulation. Even though only small samples of clinical cases were used and generalized from, it called attention to the existence of a unique population whose childhood had been shaped by the legacy of the Holocaust. By virtue of its specific focus on pathologies it also illustrated the need for a more broadly based body of material, one that would delve into various aspects of the lives of children of survivors and into coping, adaptation, and resilience.

RESEARCH ON CHILDREN OF SURVIVORS: SECOND STAGE. What became clear from the early studies is that in order to understand the psychological effects of the Holocaust on subsequent generations, a different paradigm was needed. The concentration camp survivor syndrome identified by William Niederland and more recently referred to as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) cannot be applied to children of survivors. Psychological research based on large control studies conducted in the United States and Israel indicates that children of Holocaust survivors are just as well adjusted emotionally as a comparative group of American Jews or Israelis of the same age whose parents did not live through the Holocaust. In other words, children of Holocaust survivors are not more depressed or anxious or paranoid than their peers. What has been found is that children of survivors may ruminate about sad topics more than others in their generation, and that in some separation from parents may take longer. The psychological process of separation-individuation also stirs up themes of death. These findings do not constitute a personality syn-

drome. A syndrome connotes disease or disorder, which being a child of survivors is not.

As for the majority of children of survivors whose psychological makeup is not replete with severe symptoms, a noteworthy explanation of their psyche is a "second generation survivor complex." It is a natural process in the development of children of survivors to identify with their parents as victims of massive persecution and loss, and simultaneously, as survivors of a historical catastrophe. Furthermore, children of survivors undergo a mourning process, knowingly or unknowingly, for people they never knew. Most children of survivors are named after someone who was killed in the Shoah. For some, becoming aware of their namesake evokes a flood of feelings that ultimately need to be transformed into positive meaning. Integrating the loss into their identity in a constructive, life-affirming way is the ultimate challenge.

Psychological problems in children of survivors are most frequent in those individuals who are stuck in the feeling stage of mourning. The symptoms that can develop are grief reactions: debilitating depression, anger that may become uncontrollable rage, survivor guilt that prevents enjoyment, lack of trust that interferes with the development of intimate relations, or failure to become independent from parents because separation is equated with death.

When children of survivors overidentify with the victimization and suffering of their parents they sometimes place themselves in situations in which they too will have to suffer and survive. For example, it has been found that children of survivors in the Israel Defense Forces have more often volunteered to serve in the front lines of combat. The research also showed that they did not recover as well from combat as other soldiers. This phenomenon, of living in the present and recreating situations of victimization and survival, has been called "transposition" by Judith Kestenberg. It is the result of unconscious intergenerational transmission of trauma: the past reality of a parent intrudes into the present psychological reality of the child. Interpreting this unconscious process for a child of survivors often facilitates an unburdening, over time, of his intense negative connections to the past.

Most of the psychoanalytic and clinical material reached conservative findings. The post-Holocaust generation had begun to make significant achievements and, researchers noted, it included "more often than not … professionally successful, intelligent, and caring individuals," people of "considerable achievements" among whom there were some "pathological enclaves" within "the mosaic of an otherwise synthetically operating ego." Moreover, in contrast to earlier work, investigators no longer assumed the inevitability of intergenerational transmission of pathology. There was a fairly widespread rejection of earlier stated assumptions that the price of survival for the parents was "deep rooted disturbances within the families they formed after liberation" (Harvey Barocas and Carol Barocas, "Manifestations of Concentration Camp Effect on the Second Generation," in: *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 130 (1973), 820–21).

Because there was a larger body of information and so many children of survivors had come forward to relate their experiences, it became clear that while vast numbers had achieved great intellectual, communal, and political success, a complex of related issues had played a role, to varying degrees, in the evolution of most of their identities, perceptions, attitudes, and relationships.

SEARCH FOR MEANING. The process of mourning that children of survivors undergo is an adaptive rather than a maladaptive mechanism. It culminates with an active transformation of feelings into activity ensuring continuity with the Jewish heritage, remembering those who were killed, and working towards preventing the recurrence of genocide. These goals have taken on many forms in the arts, education, politics, social action, law, historical research, and the helping professions. Raising consciousness about the Holocaust and genocide is the first goal of many of these efforts.

Doctoral dissertations on the impact of the Holocaust on the generations and how people cope with massive psychic trauma have been written by children of survivors. This body of work is being used to understand the survivors of more recent historical catastrophes. Some of their authors have been called on as consultants to those working with children whose parents survived genocide in Southeast Asia, Vietnamese "boat people," children of Japanese Americans who were interned during World War II, Native Americans, Armenians, and African Americans whose parents experienced lynchings.

Speaking up for moral causes, as Menachem Rosensaft and his International Network of Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors have done, is a constructive way to channel feelings of mourning aroused in the members of the second generation. Although they did not experience direct loss, they still do mourn relatives who were murdered and for whom most of them are named. As Rosensaft has observed, "the sons and daughters of the survivors are unique in that although we did not experience the Holocaust, we have, thanks to our parents, a particular knowledge of and sensitivity to its significance and consequences." The mourning is also for the destroyed communities, roots, possessions, family heirlooms, and with it, a destroyed vibrant Jewish tradition and culture. For some children of survivors, the unfulfilled hopes and dreams of their parents and the dead are an inspiration to prevail and thrive. For others, it becomes a burden. The moral voices of the second generation are absorbed in a myriad of endeavors – from Jewish community leadership to dealing with domestic violence issues on a one-to-one basis. Such behavior has for many become the core of their being.

A special segment of their generation whose existence was hardly recognized in the 1960s has made a significant contribution to the societies in which they live. They have furthered the world's understanding that the impact of historical catastrophe such as this one is not confined to the single generation that experienced it directly. Their lives, di-

verse as they are, are one of the continuing legacies of the Holocaust.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Bergman and M. Jucocy, *Generations of the Holocaust* (1982); H. Epstein, *Children of the Holocaust: Conversations with Sons and Daughters of Holocaust Survivors* (1979); A. Berger and N. Berger, *Second Generation Voices: Reflections by Children of Survivors and Perpetrators* (2001); E. Fogelman, *Survivors and their Children: Psychosocial Impact of the Holocaust* (1979); L.Y. Steinitz with D.M. Szonyi, eds., *Living after the Holocaust: Reflections by Children of Survivors in America* (1979); H. Krystal, *Massive Psychic Trauma* (1982); A.L. Berger, *Children of Job: American Second-Generation Witnesses to the Holocaust* (1997).

[Deborah E. Lipstadt / Eva Fogelman (2nd ed.)]

LESSONS

Singularity of the Holocaust

Look about and see
Is there any agony like mine
Which was dealt out to me
When the Lord afflicted me
(Lamentations 1:12)

The question of the uniqueness of the Holocaust has been raised by those seeking to grapple with its theological implications. For the theologian Richard Rubenstein, the event was shattering, with implications for understanding of God, Israel, and Torah. And while the philosopher Emil *Fackenheim was unwilling to share Rubenstein's conclusions, theological or otherwise, they did fully share the belief that they had lived through an epochal event with the power to shape a new national and religious reality. The event of the Holocaust was so unique that it required a new theology, new perceptions of God and humanity. So too, there were scholars as diverse as Eliezer *Berkovits, who saw the Holocaust as raising issues that only God would resolve, Arthur A. *Cohen, who saw it as the *mysterium tremendum*, and Irving *Greenberg, who spoke of its revelatory power. Elie *Wiesel, the chronicler of the Holocaust, spoke of Sinai and Auschwitz, the former where all of Israel encountered God and the latter where again all of Israel encountered the anti-God and anti-man and heard the anti-revelation that shatters and that leaves a void. Even the Messianists in late twentieth and early twenty-first-century Judaism, whether in the form of *Chabad or *Gush Emunim, see the destruction of the Holocaust as so extraordinary as to constitute the anguish that precedes the redemption – *ḥevlei mashi'aḥ*.

Others were more hesitant and sought to downplay the theological significance and deny its uniqueness. In part, they were fearful of its shattering effect, and sought to mitigate it.

The notion of singularity has been part of public discourse in the United States since 1979, when the creation of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, led by Elie Wiesel, raised the question of who the victims of the Holocaust were. Was Jewish fate singular or should the proposed memorial to the Holocaust under federal sponsorship include other groups victimized by the Nazis during World War II and other genocides that preceded and followed it?

The debate was framed in the question of definition and of numbers. What was the Holocaust? For Wiesel, the Holocaust was the systematic murder of six million Jews – Jews and Jews alone. Simon *Wiesenthal had long been arguing that the definition must be broadened to include the five million non-Jews murdered by the Nazis, among them Soviet prisoners of war, Sinti and Roma (gypsies), German male homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses and political prisoners, and mentally retarded, physically handicapped, and emotionally disturbed Germans who were killed in the so-called euthanasia (T-4) program. The issue was further enjoined when Yehuda *Bauer challenged the definition offered by President Carter, who appointed the commission, which sought to universalize the Holocaust and by inference to dejudaize it. Bauer feared that the memorial as envisaged by the president (not the commission) would commemorate all the victims of the Nazis, Jews and non-Jews alike, and submerge the specific Jewish tragedy in the general sea of atrocities committed by the Nazi regime.

Facing pressure and division in the commission, Wiesel sought a poetic solution. He said, "While not all victims were Jews, all Jews were victims condemned to total annihilation." In the *Report to the President* of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, he personally made one change to the staff draft, suggesting a new definition: "The state-sponsored systematic destruction of the Jews by the Nazis and their collaborators during World War II; as night descended millions of others were swept up in its wake."

The definition served to affirm the primacy of Jewish victimization, its centrality in the Nazi plan of annihilation, and preserved in Wiesel's mind the uniqueness of Jewish victimization. The problem was that it was ahistorical, but Wiesel was aiming at a metaphysical understanding of what transpired. The problematic element was that the assault against other groups preceded the murder of the Jews. Concentration camps were created to incarcerate political prisoners; they were only later used in the "Final Solution to the Jewish problem." Gassing was used in the T-4 program, in which both mobile gas vans and stationary gas chambers were employed. Only when the T-4 program was formally halted did the gassing of Jews begin and the staff of the T-4 program, well trained in the art of killing, deployed to murder the Jews. Most Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were killed before the killing of Jews began in earnest. The killing of the POWs was halted because of the German need for labor, just as the gassing of Jews began.

Wiesel's definition involved other problems. The number 5 million was created to give primacy to the Jews while including other victims of Nazism. If Wiesenthal intended to speak of non-Jewish civilian casualties, then the number 5 million was too small, and if he intended to refer to those who were killed in the Nazi apparatus of destruction that ensnared the Jews, then the number was too large. Clearly, he too was interested in a goal other than history; his aim was to give gov-

ernments a stake in the persecution of Nazi war criminals by demonstrating that their people too were killed.

Others who wished to diminish the importance of the Holocaust in order to mitigate its most disturbing implications shared Wiesenthal's view. Thus, Ismar *Schorsch, then chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary, wished to avoid the problem of uniqueness altogether. He regarded it as both historically unproductive and politically counterproductive, for it "impedes dialogue and introduces issues that alienate potential allies from among other victims of organized depravity."

Israeli Prime Minister Menaḥem *Begin (1977–82) wished to abolish a special Yom ha-Shoah and incorporate it into the observance of Tishah be-Av (the Ninth of Av, the traditional Jewish day of sorrow and remembrance) because he wished to de-emphasize the idea of the Jew as victim.

The Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer proposed that the uniqueness of the Holocaust resides in two central elements: the planned total annihilation of an entire community and the quasi-apocalyptic religious component, whereby the death of the Jews became an integral ingredient in the drama of German salvation. "To date," he said, "such an act has only been directed against the Jews."

The problem of how to walk the narrow path of emphasizing the singular fate of the Jews while including all of the Nazis' victims was resolved by turning toward history and away from some of the political, philosophical, and metaphysical questions.

In order to demonstrate the uniqueness of the Holocaust, all the victims of Nazism must be included; only by comparing and contrasting German policies toward each of the victim groups could one come to understand what was singular about the fate of the Jews. Within the Holocaust Memorial Museum, a simple practice is adhered to. All of the Nazis' victims are included and respected. At the center is the murder of European Jews – men, women, and children – killed not for the identity they affirmed or the religion they practiced but because of the "blood" of their grandparents. However, we cannot understand the evolution of either the concept of genocide or the technology that made it possible without addressing the victimization of people other than Jews. How the fate of each group compares and contrasts with the fate of the Jews illustrates what was singular about the Jewish fate. Gypsies were also killed in the Birkenau gas chambers in family units, men, women, and children. Yet their annihilation was not a central focus of Nazi ideology nor viewed as essential to the national salvation of the German people. Inbred, "pure-blooded" gypsies were often spared because they posed no threat to German blood, and in German-occupied territory their murder was not a priority and certainly not an obsession. Without the contrast we cannot understand the full nature of the German commitment to the Final Solution. No such Final Solution was proposed or implemented regarding the Sinti and Roma. Jehovah's Witnesses died as martyrs for their faith. Those who were willing to renounce their faith could leave the camps. Jews were victims, not martyrs. Even those who had embraced another religion, such as Sister Edith Stein, were murdered because of their Jewish blood. Homosexuals were incarcerated for reeducation or for punishment. Once their time was complete, or if they could perform with a woman, they could leave. Soviet prisoners of war who survived their first winter of 1941–42 were then exploited as useful labor rather than being sent to their deaths, or killed by the forced labor itself. For the Germans, the determination to kill all Jews meant that they were unwilling to become dependent on Jewish labor. What was unique about the Jewish fate was the depth of the German determination to kill the Jews; its relationship to German national salvation in Nazi ideology; the relentlessness with which the Germans pursued the killing, even to the detriment of the war effort; and the instrumentalities that were employed, including the death camps, where systematic murder took in a factory-like, assembly-line process.

The decision to include all victim groups while still emphasizing the singularity of the Jewish fate constituted a satisfactory policy at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, as all victim groups felt included and honored and no survivor groups felt that the Holocaust had been dejudaized. This became the norm at Holocaust museums built both in the United States and elsewhere, including Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.

Coinciding with the opening of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum was the philosopher Steven Katz's attempt to demonstrate the uniqueness of the Holocaust in his major work, *The Holocaust in Its Historical Context*. Katz placed the Holocaust in the context of the history of mass murder and what others call genocide. He compared the fate of the European Jews with the extermination of Native Americans, their death in large numbers by disease and their confinement to reservations; with the victimization by enslavement of Africans brought to America; with the Armenian genocide of 1915; as well as with the mass murder of other victim groups under Nazism. The murder of the Jews, Katz demonstrates, is unique because:

> The murder was the intention of German policy, not an inadvertent outcome of it. Most Native Americans died as a result of their lack of antibodies for diseases that the Europeans brought with them; this was not the goal of those settling the New World.
>
> The murder was total – men, women, and children, *all Jewish men, women, and children, everywhere*. By contrast, Armenians were killed in the eastern territories of Turkey; those in Istanbul faced persecution, not murder, while German policy toward the gypsies varied from place to place and was inconsistent in its enforcement.
>
> It was an end in itself, the very purpose of German policy, undertaken not for economic or territorial gains.
>
> It was the first priority of German policy.
>
> It was sustained. The policy was implemented over several years, only ending with the defeat of the Reich and the suicide of Hitler.

Katz cautions that he does not wish to compare suffering, to engage in what critics have termed the "Olympics of suffering." Suffering is personal, and to say that I suffer more than you is to exclude you and demean your experience, something Katz does not wish to do: "There is no way to quantify suffering," he says. He also stresses that the case for establishing the uniqueness of the Holocaust is not intended to be either moral or metaphysical. That is, it is *not the case* that the Holocaust is *more* evil than certain other events, or that God caused the destruction in some special way or for some particular purpose. Katz's work is controversial because he seems to suggest that the Holocaust is the only genocide, defining genocide by the criteria that he has established for the Holocaust, saying that because there was no mass murder equal to the Holocaust, there was no other genocide.

Some of Katz's critics are infuriated by all arguments of uniqueness, which they regard as belittling the suffering of others, demeaning the experience of others, or perpetuating Jewish particularism. The sociologist John Murray Cuddihy sees this as a masked expression of chosenness. Jews may no longer believe in chosenness by God, but they experienced chosenness by the anti-God and anti-man at Auschwitz. For some defenders of the uniqueness of the Holocaust, the metaphysical question is fundamental. They countenance no comparisons to the Holocaust. Yet comparisons are not equivalences. To compare is also to contrast, to show how things are similar and how they differ.

Recent scholarship on comparative genocide has skirted the issue, seeking to underscore what the cases share in common and not what distinguishes them in an effort to discern what can be done to identify early warning signs of genocide and find the means of prevention. For example, Gregory Stanton has identified eight stages of genocide, each stage representing a potential or actual problem and suggesting a strategy for prevention. They are:

1. Classification (us versus them) 2. Symbolization 3. Dehumanization 4. Organization (hate groups) 5. Polarization 6. Preparation (identification, expropriation, concentration, transportation) 7. Extermination 8. Denial

1. *Classification*: Stanton writes: "All cultures have categories to distinguish people into 'us and them' by ethnicity, race, religion, or nationality: German and Jew, Hutu and Tutsi. Bipolar societies that lack mixed categories are the most likely to have genocide."

The main preventive measure at this early stage is to develop universalistic institutions that transcend ethnic or racial divisions and preserve the unity of all people. They can be based on ideas as simple as the notion that all are created equal or in the image of God.

2. *Symbolization*: "We give names or other symbols to the classifications. We name people 'Jews' or 'Gypsies,' or distinguish them by colors or dress; and apply them to members of groups." Classification is universal, not necessarily but potentially genocidal. The danger is intensified when symbolization is combined with hatred. During the Holocaust, the imposition of the yellow star was a pristine example of symbolization. "Wear It with Pride" was designed to combat the negative effects of symbolization, or at least the internalization of the negative symbols by the victim group.

3. *Dehumanization*: "One group denies the humanity of the other group. Members of it are equated with animals, vermin, insects or diseases." The language of the Nazi universe was a means of dehumanization; so too what Terrence Des Pres, author of *The Survivor: An Anatomy of Life in the Death Camps*, called "excremental assault." When asked, Why did you dehumanize them if you were going to kill them anyway, the Commandant of Treblinka answered, "It made it easier." Dehumanization can be resisted by humanization and by the punishment of hate crimes and atrocities. One of the reasons most often given for rescue was the simple assertion that "he was a fellow human being."

4. *Organization*: "Genocide is always organized, usually by the state, though sometimes informally." Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg has detailed the German mastery of organization in the destruction of European Jews. Stanton advocates that membership in militias be outlawed, visas denied, and arms embargoes instituted.

5. *Polarization*: "Extremists drive the groups apart. Hate groups broadcast polarizing propaganda…. Extremist terrorism targets moderates, intimidating and silencing the center." What is required to combat this polarization is protection for the center and the assistance of human rights organizations.

6. *Identification*: "Victims are identified and separated out because of their ethnic or religious identity. Death lists are drawn up. Members of victim groups are forced to wear identifying symbols. They are often segregated into ghettos, forced into concentration camps, or confined to a famine-struck region and starved." This is a signal of potential genocide.

7. *Extermination*: Extermination "begins, and quickly becomes the mass killing legally called 'genocide.' It is 'extermination' to the killers because they do not believe their victims to be fully human. When it is sponsored by the state, the armed forces often work with militias to do the killing." It is at this stage that armed forces are needed to combat genocide. Anything less is to enable it to take place.

8. *Denial*: Denial "always follows a genocide. It is among the surest indicators of further genocidal massacres." Memory, documentation, and legal proceedings are the surest way to combat denial.

The human rights advocate Samantha Parker writes of *The Problem from Hell: America in the Age of Genocide*. She sees a common thread in inaction and indifference. Others find it fruitful to make comparisons and study differences in order to understand many forms of evil. Thus, Richard Rubenstein contrasts American slavery, in which African slaves were regarded as capital investments by their masters and thus at least minimally given the basic necessities with which to live and permitted – indeed encouraged – to procreate in order to produce additional assets, to the Nazi policy of the annihilation of the Jews, who were literally worked to death and

considered a consumable raw material to be expended in the process of manufacture and recycled into the war economy.

These scholars are less concerned with differences than commonality and believe that the argument regarding uniqueness is less than fruitful for the common task of prevention.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Katz, *The Holocaust in Historical Context* (1994); A. Rosenbaum, *Is the Holocaust Unique? Perspectives on Comparative Genocide* (2001); R.L. Rubenstein, *The Cunning of History: Mass Death and the American Future* (1995); M. Berenbaum, *After Tragedy and Triumph: Essays in Modern Jewish Thought and the American Experience* (1990).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

Jewish Faith after the Holocaust

INTRODUCTION. An essential dimension of the manifold experiences of the Jewish people throughout history has been that of personal and communal suffering. Martyrdom "for God's name" (*kiddush ha-Shem*) and martyrdom because of God's name are familiar features of Israel's enduring struggle to remain true to its faith, its destiny, and its God. As a consequence, Jews of every generation have been living witnesses to man's passionate inhumanity and to the inescapable presence of evil. Against this background and as an integral part of this somber tradition, Jews consoled themselves with many thoughtful reflections and responses, coped with the world's evil, interpreted the hostility and irrationality of their non-Jewish neighbors and, above all, vindicated the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Through these responses the Jews gave expression to their deepest commitments and, more importantly, made it possible for Jews and Judaism to survive by making Jewish history and its inherent tragedy intelligible. All that transpired was given shape and meaning within the accepted parameters of the Jewish tradition.

In the current era the whole of past Jewish tradition and the religious responses it evoked have been called into question. Two events – the Holocaust and the emergence of the state of Israel – have radically altered all that has gone before. These two events have provoked many to ask whether the traditional Jewish reactions to tragedy and evil are still viable options or whether the faith of past generations must, at least, be called into judgment. What were once accepted as authentic postures for the person of faith in the face of calamity are no longer valid – now these postures need to be defended against vigorous charges that they are insensitive, inauthentic, and fail to face facts. More generally, there is a widespread recognition that to live as if unaffected by the cataclysmic and revolutionary import of contemporary Jewish history as worked out in the death camps of Europe and in the birth of the State of Israel is to be insensitive not only to the rhythm of history and to history's martyrs and saints but also, above all, to the God of Israel, who is primarily known and identified in and through that common historical environment in which God and humans meet and that defines both His reality for Jews and Jews' reality for Him.

Everything seems to have been altered by the Holocaust and the inestimable horror that it symbolizes to the survivors – and every Jew in the concreteness of his own life knows him- or herself to be a "survivor." Yet the inescapable irony of contemporary Jewish existence is that the "survivors" of the Holocaust, the heirs of Treblinka and Auschwitz, are also the heirs of the fighters of the Warsaw ghetto and the actual builders of the State of Israel. Jews are what they are because they have inherited and been formed by a unique contemporary experience; they inform the very essence of Jewish history and consciousness, both personal and communal. For Jews to understand themselves requires coming to some understanding of these events and their relationship to them, however fragmentary, limited, or personal this understanding may be.

Those who would enquire what it means to be a Jew today must ask not only, or even primarily, vague and unformed questions about Jewish identity and the relationship of Judaism and modernity and Judaism and secularity, but must articulate the much more precise and focused question through which all other dimensions of Jewish post-Holocaust identity are refracted and defined: "What does it mean to be a Jew after Auschwitz?" Auschwitz has become an inescapable datum for all Jewish accounts of the meaning and nature of the covenantal relation and God's relation to man. Likewise, those who seek substantial answers must also give due weight to the "miracle" that is the State of Israel. They must enquire whether God is speaking to the survivors through it, and if so, how. This means that while they may be awed by the very fact of its existence, they must interrogate the State's philosophical, theological, and, perhaps, messianic, implications. Alternatively, they must also consider the possibility that despite the human and even religious meaning of the return to and rebuilding of Israel, any attempt at theodicy in the face of the full horror of the *ḥurban* ("destruction") is impermissible; even more, it is blasphemy!

The full depravity of the Holocaust, once exposed in its tragic immensity, left Jewish thinkers numb, at least at first. Moreover, what energies they and world Jewry could marshal were more urgently needed to help the survivors, and in particular, to create a refuge in the State of Israel. The cry of the living demanded precedence over the sacred duty of remembering the dead. Jewish existence, not explanation, was the prerequisite obligation. It was just as well, for the horror and immediacy of it all had been too great to understand, too unbelievable to fashion into any coherent form, too seemingly impossible to allow of any meaning. Still more, who could speak with authority on Auschwitz? Of those who were there, few remained who were able to speak, and then even the survivors knew not what to say. Of those who were not there, could any speak without sacrilege and with justification? Could any even understand the issues involved? And yet, if not to explain but only to remember and to make others remember, Jewish thinkers had to begin to talk about the Holocaust. Once the conversation began it was clear that it could not stop, nor could the issues it forced into prominence be avoided, for what was being called into question was nothing less than the

three historic coefficients of traditional Judaism: God, Torah and the people of Israel.

Out of the still nascent and still uncertain conversation on the Holocaust several general responses have emerged. They can be enumerated as follows:

(1) The Holocaust is like all other tragedies and merely raises again the question of theodicy and the problem of evil, but it does not significantly alter the problem or contribute anything new to it.

(2) The classical Jewish theological doctrine of *mipenei ḥata'einu* ("because of our sins we were punished"), which was evolved in the face of earlier national calamities, can also be applied to the Holocaust. According to this account, Israel was sinful and Auschwitz is her just retribution. This "explanation" has been advanced especially by rabbinic sages and theologians of a more traditional bent. The Ḥasidic (Satmar) Rebbe, Joel Teitlebaum, for example, puts this claim forward clearly and with certitude: "Sin is the cause of all suffering."

(3) The Holocaust is the ultimate in vicarious atonement. Israel is the "suffering servant" of Isaiah (ch. 53 ff.) – it suffers and atones for the sins of others. Some die so that others might be cleansed and live.

(4) The Holocaust is a modern *Akedah* (sacrifice of Isaac) – it is a test of faith.

(5) The Holocaust is an instance of the temporary "eclipse of God" – there are times when God is inexplicably absent from history or unaccountably chooses to turn His face away.

(6) The Holocaust is proof that "God is dead" – if there were a God, He would surely have prevented Auschwitz; if He did not, then He does not exist.

(7) The Holocaust is the maximization of human evil, the price mankind has to pay for human freedom. The Nazis were human beings, not gods; Auschwitz reflects ignominiously on humanity; it does not touch God's existence or perfection.

(8) The Holocaust is revelation: it issues a call for Jewish affirmation. From Auschwitz comes the command: Jews survive!

(9) The Holocaust is an inscrutable mystery; like all of God's ways it transcends human understanding and demands faith and silence.

These nine responses are usually used in various interrelated and interdependent combinations and explanatory accounts by those who try to grapple with the philosophical and theological issues raised by the Holocaust. These complex explanatory models recognize that no single response seems adequate for the variety of challenges and questions raised. Furthermore, it is clear that no one method of dealing with the issues, nor any specific response – no matter how perspicuous and authentic – has become the norm. Out of the ongoing debate, however, a number of thinkers have emerged as of particular importance. Each has his own perspective, arguments and aims, and each uses a provocative configuration of the above outlined responses.

RICHARD RUBENSTEIN (1924–). Richard Rubenstein reflects the times. Coming to the Hebrew Union College (Reform) seminary in 1942 and sharing its optimistic vision of man and its liberal ideal of human progress, he has been converted by the Holocaust to a Jewish "death of God" theology. His sensitivity to the reality of evil embodied by the death camps has forced him to call into question the very foundations of Judaism. "The one preeminent measure of the adequacy of all contemporary Jewish theology," Rubenstein writes, "is the seriousness with which it deals with this supreme problem (the Holocaust) of Jewish history." No one has taken the problem more seriously and no Jewish theologian has drawn more radical conclusions from it.

The theological problem raised by the Nazi extermination of Jews can be simply described: if God is the God of history and Israel is His chosen people, what responsibility does God bear for Auschwitz? Did God use the Nazis, as He used Assyria of old, as "the rod of His anger?" (Isaiah 10:5) If He did not, how could such a thing happen in the face of the living God? It is the ancient problem of evil to which men of faith have responded with countless theodicies; now it is raised with maximum vigor, clarity, and urgency. In Germany, in August 1961, Rubenstein was confronted by a well-meaning anti-Nazi Protestant clergyman, Dean Heinrich Grueber, with the declaration that God had indeed used the Nazis as the instrument of His will. This assertion shocked Rubenstein. It was, he tells us, "a theological point of no return." The consequences seemed clear and Rubenstein felt compelled to reject the presence of God at Auschwitz rather than believe that Hitler was God's instrument: "If I believed in God as the omnipotent author of the historical drama and Israel as His Chosen People, I had to accept Dean Grueber's conclusion that it was God's will that Hitler committed six million Jews to slaughter. I could not possibly believe in such a God nor could I believe in Israel as the chosen people of God after Auschwitz."

Rubenstein was thus driven to the same conclusion as that of the talmudic heretic Elisha ben Avuyah, "*Let din ve-let dayyan*" (There is neither Judgment nor Judge).

In Rubenstein's view the only honest response to the death camps is the rejection of God and the open recognition of the meaninglessness of existence. Life is neither planned nor purposeful, there is no divine will nor does the world reflect divine concern. The world is indifferent to men. People must now reject their illusions and recognize the existential truth that life is not intrinsically valuable, that the human condition reflects no transcendental purpose, that history reveals no providence. The theological account of Auschwitz that sees it as retribution, that re-echoes one side of the ancient theology of Judaism that Israel's suffering is "because of our sins," is to blaspheme against both God and man. What crime could Israel have committed, what sin could have been so great, as to justify such retribution? What God could have meted out such justice on His chosen ones? All such "rationalizations" of Auschwitz pale before its enormity, and for Rubenstein the only response that is worthy is the rejection of the entire

Jewish theological framework: there is no God and no covenant with Israel.

People must turn away from illusions and face their actual existential situation. Drawing heavily upon the atheistic existentialists, Rubenstein interprets this to mean that in the face of the world's nihilism people must assert value; in response to history's meaninglessness people must create and project meaning; against the objective fact that human life has no purpose people must subjectively, yet meaningfully, act as if there were purpose. All that people have are themselves and one another: Auschwitz has taught that life itself is the great value, there is no need to see it as valuable only because of its reflection of transcendental values or metahistorical meanings. What worth there will be, will be of our own creation. This radical thesis is not new, but it is new in a Jewish theological context.

Had Rubenstein merely asserted the denial of God his would not be a Jewish theology. What makes it Jewish are the implications he draws from his radical negation with respect to the people of Israel. It might be expected that the denial of God's covenantal relationship with Israel would entail the end of Judaism and so the end of the Jewish people. From the perspective of traditional Jewish theology, this would certainly be the case. Rubenstein, however, again inverts traditional logic and argues that with the death of God the existence of "peoplehood," of the community of Israel is all the more important. Now that there is nowhere else to turn for meaning, men need each other all the more to create meaning: "It is precisely because human existence is tragic, ultimately hopeless, and without meaning that we treasure our religious community." Though Judaism has to be "demythologized," i.e., it has to renounce its defining historic claim to a unique "chosen" status, at the same time it paradoxically gains heightened importance in the process. Now that God is dead, religious community is all the more important.

It is precisely the ultimate hopelessness and gratuity of our human situation which calls forth our strongest need for religious community. If all we have is one another, then assuredly we need one another more than ever.

The Jew after Auschwitz, despite his having now transcended the mythic structure of historic Jewish experience, is still a Jew and as such carries within him the "shared vicissitudes of history, culture and psychological perspective" that define a Jew. Like all people, Jews are rooted in concrete life situations. For the Jew, Rubenstein argues, only Jewish experience can be authentic. It is in the traditional forms of life that Jews best express all our aspirations and ideals, and participate in a "community of shared predicament and ultimate concern."

Rubenstein sees the renewal of Zion, and the rebuilding of the land with its return to the soil by the Jew, as a harbinger of this return to nature on the part of the Jew who has been removed from the soil (symbolic of nature) by theology and necessity for almost two thousand years. The return to the earth points towards the final escape of the Jew from the negativity of history to the vitality and promise of self-liberation through nature.

Rubenstein puts forward a program for Jewish renewal and spiritual re-integration. Among the aims of this program is the eradication of those elements that create the explosive mix that produces a Holocaust. One of the most significant lessons, to be drawn from the demythologization of Jewish history and its rejection of history in favor of nature, is its overcoming of the root cause of antisemitism. Rubenstein argues that antisemitism is a product of the mythic structures of Jewish and Christian theology. The contributing Jewish myth is its claim to be a "chosen people." This created a "specialness" about Jews, which has been disastrous. The contributing Christian myth was predicated on its acceptance of the antecedent Jewish one – the church accepted the "chosenness of Israel" and was therefore able to see it only in theological terms; paradoxically it saw Israel as providing "both the incarnate Deity and His murderers." The most potent of all Christian myths – the Crucifixion – is indissolubly linked to the deicidal activity of the "chosen people" – the Jews. Wherever the Christian story is retold, a powerful antisemitic seed is planted. In order, therefore, to put an end to antisemitism once and for all, it is necessary for the Jew to renounce his mythic self-image as a "chosen people" so that his relation to his Christian neighbors may be normalized and the Christians will be able to see him in the same light as he sees others. This process needs to be paralleled in Christianity; it too has to correspondingly "demythologize" its image of the Jews. Yet to do this is to its rupture historic incarnational theology and its claims of Jesus as the promised Christ coming out of the body of historic Israel. This is to ask a great deal of Christianity but, Rubenstein argues, unless it occurs there will be future tragedy.

Rubenstein, in *After Auschwitz*, has given us a powerful image of what it means to draw the extreme conclusion from Auschwitz: "God is dead."

EMIL FACKENHEIM (1916–2003). No philosopher or theologian wrote as extensively or as with as much feeling about the Holocaust as did Emil Fackenheim. Having experienced life in a camp – albeit before World War II, before the Final Solution – Fackenheim, seemingly out of a sense of compulsion, tried to grapple with the overwhelming events of the death camps in order to draw some meaning for post-Holocaust Jewry. In a series of essays, and especially and most clearly in his *God's Presence in History* (1970), Fackenheim tried to find a way to avoid both the absolute faith of the pious who do not see any special problem in the Holocaust and those like Rubenstein who argue that the only reasonable conclusion to be drawn from Auschwitz is the death of God and the ultimate absurdity of history. If the former alternative blasphemes against Hitler's victims, the latter blasphemes against the God of the victims. Both victims and God have to be held together in dialectical tension after Auschwitz; neither can be devalued without resulting distortion and loss of truth.

To keep God and Israel together is the demand of Jewish theology and it is still an imperative after the Holocaust: the problem is how it is to be effected. If Rubenstein's solution of Jewish communal existence without the God of historic Judaism is no answer, then what is the answer? Fackenheim is adamant in his refusal to allow any theological explanation of the Holocaust. In no sense, he argues, can any particular theodicy be propounded in which God's goodness can be vindicated and Auschwitz seen as part of a rational cosmic pattern whose interpretation can be understood by man. In this sense the Holocaust is devoid of explanation and meaning. Thus, like Rubenstein, he totally rejects any account that interprets Auschwitz in terms of *mipenei ḥata'einu* – "because of our sins." For Fackenheim, the enormity of the tragedy transcends all the classical explanations of suffering and evil. In his staunch rejection of explanations Fackenheim resembles Rubenstein, and like him he realizes that that which is called into question is nothing less than the God of history Himself.

Yet despite the implications, despite the absolute failure of theodicy, despite the seeming absurdity, Fackenheim calls on Jews to believe. Rubenstein becomes an atheist because he cannot and will not accept God as in any sense the author of Auschwitz. Fackenheim insists that this is what we must do. It is the presence of God in contemporary Jewish history, even at Auschwitz, that Fackenheim would have us find. Fackenheim insists that we do not and cannot understand what God was doing at Auschwitz, nor why He allowed Auschwitz, but we must and do insist that He was there. For Fackenheim, unlike Rubenstein, the Holocaust does not prove that God is dead. Boldly he claims that from Auschwitz as from Sinai God addresses Israel.

How does this voice address Israel and what does it say? In order to fully understand Fackenheim's views, one has to turn away from his direct writings on the Holocaust and come to an understanding of his theological position in general. In his own biographical odyssey he moved slowly but perceptibly from a liberal to a neo-orthodox understanding of Judaism. Caught in and affected by the Nazi onslaught, Fackenheim, like most of his generation, felt the need to reappraise the nature and status of Judaism. In this re-appraisal, the generally held liberal position, with its belief in the perfectability of man, and the translation of the commanding God of the Bible into a moral Ideal, was seen to be untrue to Judaism's deepest insights and superficial in its analysis of the human situation.

Judaism is not Deism or moral Idealism; it has its foundation and its continuance in the meeting with the Living God of the Bible, who is continually present in history. For Fackenheim, Judaism can be understood only as the dynamic response to the present address of the Divine. Fackenheim's espousal of this existential supernaturalism, with its central emphasis on the reality of God and His incursion into history, which calls man to deeds, is deeply indebted to the influence of Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig. It was they who had "sought nothing less than a modern presence of the ancient God." In working out the implications of this rediscovered supernaturalism, Fackenheim has been especially influenced by Buber's dialogical philosophy of "I and Thou." Fackenheim accepts the Buberian doctrine of the I-Thou encounter as the proper model for Jewish openness to the reality of the living God. He begins with the presumption that God exists. God cannot be proven but He can (and must) be met. Only from within the circle of faith can one "hear" the Divine and respond. Like Buber, Fackenheim insists that God reveals Himself in history through personal encounters with Jews and Israel. Revelation, understood as the encounter of God and man, happens everywhere and at all times. Yet the experience cannot be verified by any objective criteria, it cannot show itself decisively to those who would not hear the voice. The I-Thou encounter has its own rhythm, and any attempt to force it into improper ("I-It," to use Buber's terminology) categories destroys its character and silences its message. The Fackenheim who hears a "commanding voice from Auschwitz" is the Fackenheim who stands within the covenantal affirmation.

Buber applies his concept of revelation to Israel's history and sees God's address in the overwhelming events of Israel's life. Building upon Buber's view, Fackenheim develops his own account of Jewish history. For him, Jewish history is a series of overwhelming events, but not all the events are of the same character. The most powerful events, such as those connected with the Exodus from Egypt and the giving of the Torah at Sinai, actually created the religious identity of the Jewish people. These creative extraordinary historical happenings Fackenheim calls "root experiences." Root experiences are historical events of such a formative character that they continue to influence all future "presents" of the people and they are of such power that these past events legislate for every future era. In addition, root experiences are public, historical events. They belong to the history of the people and continue to claim the allegiance of the people. Thus, for example, the miracle at the Red Sea is a historical event that is reenacted at every Passover *seder* and whose power affects each subsequent generation; it continually reveals the saving activity of God to each age. Lastly, and most importantly, root experiences provide the accessibility of divine presence in the here and now; past events are lived through as present reality and thus the Jew is "assured that the saving God of the past saves still."

Not all the great events in Israel's history, however, meet these criteria. There is a second category of events whose function is different. Fackenheim calls these events "epoch-making events." These are events that are not formative; they do not create the essentials of Jewish faith, but rather they are historical experiences that challenge the root experiences through new situations, that test the resiliency and generality of root experiences to answer to new and unprecedented historical conditions and realities. For example, the destruction of the First and Second Temples severely tested whether or not the commanding and saving presence of God could be maintained. The sages of the talmudic era, who lived through the destruction of the Second Temple, and the prophets who

lived through the first, were able to respond to these crisis situations with both realism and faith in the root experiences of Israel. Jeremiah sees Nebuchadnezzar as the instrument of God's purpose (Jer. 43:10) and the talmudic sages saw the Second Temple's destruction and subsequent Exile as nothing less than God's own exile with His people, thus allowing for the dispersion and yet holding fast to God's presence in all history at all times and places. And such a God, present in all history, would redeem Israel in the future as He had in the past. This faith was severely tested by experience, but a way – admittedly fragmentary and contradictory – was found to hold both together.

In other times and other places the root experiences have again and again been tested. Indeed the history of Israel in the diaspora from one culture to another, from one era to another, is a series of epochmaking events that try again and again the foundations of Jewish faith in the God of history. Yet, through it all, the midrashic framework has held fast: God and history are not divorced; Israel and God are not torn asunder. Each trial brings new strength and new affirmation of the saving and commanding God first revealed at the Red Sea and Sinai. But what of Auschwitz? Can it, too, be assimilated to the traditional pattern of midrashic response? Is Auschwitz another testing, another epochal event; or more drastically, is it perhaps a root experience that is formative for Jewish faith but in an ultimately negative and destructive sense? Fackenheim argues that Auschwitz is an epochmaking event in Jewish history that calls into question the historical presence of God in a uniquely powerful way. And yet he argues that the Jew must still affirm the continued existence of God in Jewish history – even at Auschwitz – and must reaffirm the present reality of the people's root experience of a commanding God (of Sinai), now commanding Israel from within the Holocaust itself. This radical reply to the unprecedented crisis of faith is Fackenheim's response to Auschwitz. The Jew cannot, dare not, must not, reject God: Auschwitz is revelation. In the gas chambers and crematoria Jews must, do, experience God. Fackenheim dares to make a religious affirmation of what drives others to atheism or silence. Like Job, he gives expression to a great faith: "Though he slay me, yet shall I trust in Him" (Job 13:15).

The commanding Word that Fackenheim hears from Auschwitz is: "Jews are forbidden to hand Hitler posthumous victories"; Jews are under a sacred obligation to survive. After Auschwitz Jewish existence itself is a holy act; Jews are under a sacred obligation to remember the martyrs; Jews are, as Jews, forbidden to despair of redemption, or to become cynical about the world and man, for to submit to cynicism is to abdicate responsibility for the world and to deliver the world into the hands of the forces of Auschwitz. And above all, Jews are "forbidden to despair of the God of Israel, lest Judaism perish." Hitler's demonic passion was to eradicate Jews and Judaism from history; for the Jew to despair of the God of Israel as a result of Hitler's monstrous actions would be, ironically, to do Hitler's work and to aid in the accomplishment of his goal. The voice that speaks from Auschwitz above all demands that Hitler win no posthumous victories, that no Jew do what Hitler could not do. The Jewish will for survival is natural enough, but Fackenheim invests it with transcendental significance. Precisely because others would eradicate Jews from the earth, Jews are commanded to resist annihilation. Paradoxically, Hitler makes Judaism after Auschwitz a necessity. To say "no" to Hitler is to say "yes" to the commanding voice of the God of Sinai; to say "no" to the God of Sinai is to say "yes" to Hitler.

From Fackenheim's perspective, every Jew who has remained a Jew since 1945 has responded affirmatively to the commanding voice of Auschwitz.

But the God of biblical faith is not only a commanding God; he is also a saving God. The crossing of the Red Sea is as much a part of Jewish history as is the revelation at Sinai: both are root experiences. Fackenheim is sensitive to this. He has made much of the commanding voice of Auschwitz, but where is the saving God of the Exodus? Without the crossing of the Red Sea there can be no Sinai. Fackenheim knows this. He also knows that to talk of a saving God, no matter how softly, no matter how tentatively, after the Holocaust is problematical when God did not work His salvation there and then. Even to whisper about salvation after Auschwitz is already to speak as a man of faith, not as a seeker, and even then one can only whisper. The continued existence of the people of Israel however, and most specifically, the establishment and maintenance of the State of Israel, forces and encourages Fackenheim to risk speaking of hope and the possibility of redemption. Auschwitz and the State of Israel are inseparably tied together; what the former seems to deny, the latter, at least tentatively, affirms. For Fackenheim, the State of Israel is living testimony to God's continued saving presence in history, and through it the modern Jew witnesses a reaffirmation of the root experience of salvation essential to the survival of Jewish faith.

IRVING (YITZ) GREENBERG (1933–). Another contemporary thinker who has urged continued belief in the God of Israel, though on new terms, is Irving (Yitz) Greenberg. For Greenberg, all the old truths and certainties, all the old commitments and obligations, have been destroyed by the Holocaust. Moreover, any simple faith is now impossible. The Holocaust ends the old era of Jewish covenantal existence and ushers in a new and different one. Greenberg explains his radical view in this way. There are three major periods in the covenantal history of Israel. The first is the biblical era. What characterizes this first stage is the asymmetry of the relationship between God and Israel. The biblical encounter may be a covenant but it is clearly a covenant in which "God is the initiator, the senior partner, who punishes, rewards and enforces the punishment if the Jews slacken." This type of understanding of the relationship between God and Israel is evidenced in the crisis engendered by the destruction of Solomon's Temple in 586 B.C.E. To this tragedy Israel, through the biblical proph-

ets, and in keeping with the "logic" of this position, responded primarily by falling back on the doctrine of self-chastisement: the destruction of the Temple and the consequent exile of the nation were divine punishments for Israel's sinful ways.

The second phase in the transformation of the covenant idea is marked by the destruction of the Second Temple by Rome in 70 C.E. The meaning adduced from this event by the rabbinical sages of the era was that now Jews must take a more equal role in the covenant and become true partners with the Almighty. "The manifest divine presence and activity was being reduced, but the covenant was actually being renewed." The destruction of 70 C.E. signaled the initiation of an age in which God would be less manifest though still present.

This brings us to what is decisive and radical in Greenberg's ruminations, what he has termed (in his book of the same title) the "Third Great Cycle in Jewish History," which has come about as a consequence of the Holocaust. The Shoah marks a new era in which the Sinaitic covenantal relationship has been shattered and thus a new and unprecedented form of covenantal relationship – if there is to be any covenantal relationship at all – must now come into being to take its place. "In retrospect, it is now clear that the divine assignment to the Jews was untenable. After the Holocaust, it is obvious that this role opened the Jews to a total murderous fury from which there was no escape. Morally speaking then, God can have no claims on the Jews by dint of the Covenant." What this means, Greenberg argues, is that the Covenant "can no longer be commanded and subject to a serious external enforcement. It cannot be commanded because morally speaking – covenantally speaking – one cannot order another to step forward to die. One can give an order like this to an enemy, but in a moral relationship I cannot demand the giving up of one's life. I can ask for it or plead for it – but I cannot order it."

Out of this complex of considerations Greenberg pronounces the fateful judgment: the Jewish Covenant with God is now voluntary. Jews have, quite miraculously, chosen to continue to live Jewish lives and collectively to build a Jewish state, the ultimate symbol of Jewish continuity, but these acts are, after Auschwitz, the result of the free choice of the Jewish people. "I submit," writes Greenberg, "that the covenant was broken. God was in no position to command anymore, but the Jewish people was so in love with the dream of redemption that it volunteered to carry on with its mission." The consequence of this voluntary action transforms the existing covenantal order. First Israel was a junior partner, then an equal partner. Finally, after Auschwitz, it becomes "the senior partner in action."

In turn, Israel's voluntary acceptance of the covenant and continued will to survive suggest three corollaries. First, it points, if obliquely, to the continued existence of the God of Israel. By creating the State of Israel, by having Jewish children, the Jewish people show that "covenantal hope is not in vain." Second, and very important, in an age of voluntarism rather than coercion, living Jewishly under the covenant can no longer be interpreted monolithically, i.e., only in strict *halachic* (traditional rabbinic) fashion. Third, any aspect of religious behavior that demeans the image of the divine or of people, for example prejudice, sexism, and oppression of all sorts, must be purged.

ARTHUR A. COHEN (1928–1986), HANS JONAS (1903–1993), AND MELISSA RAPHAEL. An influential school known as "process theology" in modern theological circles, inspired by the work of Alfred North Whitehead and Charles Hartshorne, has argued that the classical understanding of God has to be dramatically revised – not least in terms of our conception of His power and direct, causal, involvement in human affairs – if we are to construct a coherent theological position. According to those who advance this thesis, including a number of contemporary Jewish theologians, God certainly exists but the old-new difficulties raised by the problem of theodicy for classical theistic positions arise precisely because of an inadequate "description" of the Divine, i.e., one that misascribes to Him attributes of omnipotence and omniscience that He does not possess.

The best known Jewish theologian to adopt this position is Arthur A. Cohen, who, in his *The Tremendum: A Theological Interpretation of the Holocaust*, has advanced the fullest, most detailed version of this redefinitional strategy as the appropriate way to respond to the theological challenges posed by the Holocaust. After arguing for the enormity of the Shoah, i.e., its uniqueness and its transcendence of any "meaning," Cohen suggested that the way out of the theological dilemma posed by the death camps for classical Jewish thought is to rethink whether "national catastrophes are compatible with our traditional notions of a beneficent and providential God."

For Cohen the answer is that they are not. Against the traditional view that asks, given its understanding of God's action in history, "How could it be that God witnessed the Holocaust and remained silent?" Cohen would pose the contrary "dipolar" thesis that "what is taken as God's speech is really always man's hearing, that God is not the strategist of our particularities or of our historical condition, but rather the mystery of our futurity, always our posse, never our acts." This means that, "if we begin to see God less as an interferer whose insertion is welcome (when it accords with our needs) and more as the immensity whose reality is our prefiguration … we shall have won a sense of God whom we may love and honor, but whom we no longer fear and from whom we no longer demand." This new description of God, which denies that God is a direct causal agent in human affairs, coupled with a form of the "free will defense," appears to resolve much of the theological tension created by the *Tremendum* (though it also creates new theological problems in place of older ones).

A second Jewish thinker of prominence to advocate a theological redefinition of the concept of God is Hans Jonas. In contradistinction to classical theological claims that the Divine is perfect and unchanging, Jonas emphasizes both that God suffers along with humankind and that through His re-

lation with men and women He "becomes." That is, "The relation of God to the world from the moment of creation, and certainly from the creation of human beings onward, involves suffering on the part of God." And, at the same time, "God emerges in time instead of possessing a completed being that remains identical with itself throughout eternity." God has been altered by – "temporalized" by – His relationship with others and, in the process, has become open to human suffering that causes Him to suffer and to care. Moreover, insofar as God is not omnipotent, Jonas contends in *The Concept of God after Auschwitz* that human action is required to perfect the world. "God has no more to give: It is man's now to give to him." A third redefinition of God has been advanced by Melissa Raphael. In an intriguing argument, Raphael suggests that during and after the Holocaust the correct way to decipher the action of the Divine is through the model of "God as Mother" rather than through the inherited traditional idea of "God as Father." The patriarchal notion of God as almighty and omniscient is simply incompatible with what happened in the death camps. Yet, faced with this jarring fact one need not give up belief in God altogether. Rather, one should refashion one's understanding of God in the image of a caring, suffering, loving – but not omnipotent – mother. Calling into use the traditional rabbinic notion of God's presence in the world as being associated with feminine attributes – known among the rabbis and Jewish mystics as the *Shekhinah* – Raphael advances the proposal that we should continue to believe in a God who "all the while secretly sustains the world by Her care," as she states in *The Female Face of God in Auschwitz.*

IGNAZ MAYBAUM (1897–1976). Ignaz Maybaum, a distinguished Reform rabbi of German origin, long resident in England, seeks the meaning of the Holocaust from within the traditional Jewish responses to suffering. For him, unlike Rubenstein or Fackenheim, Auschwitz is not a unique event in Jewish history but a reappearance of a classic and sanctified event. A disciple of Franz *Rosenzweig, Maybaum affirms the dynamic relationship of God and Israel. He believes in the reality of the transcendent God of the Bible and the movement of this God into covenantal relation with Israel. Israel is unique among the nations and its history bears witness to its uniqueness. Its historical experience bears witness to its God and His purpose and reveals a pattern into which the Holocaust fits.

The pattern of Jewish history is one in which Israel's role is to be a nation among other nations and in which it is non-Jews who are the prime movers of events. Israel's destiny is not isolated from its historical interdependence with the nations of the world and its covenantal purpose is only revealed in and through this intercourse. From its very beginnings in the Exodus-Sinai events, Israel's history is played out in relation to other peoples, first Egypt, then later Assyria, Babylonia, Rome, the empires of Christendom, and Islam. Therefore the categories of Jewish history have to be categories intelligible to non-Jews. Emil Fackenheim introduces two categories to explain the structure of Jewish historic experience, "root experiences" and "epochmaking events," in the latter of which he places such events as the destruction of the First and Second Temples. Maybaum, conscious of Israel's relation to the gentiles, goes one step further in his analysis of Jewish history. He subdivides what Fackenheim calls "epochmaking events" into two classes, that of *ḥurban* and that of *gezerah*. *Ḥurban* ("destruction") are events, like the destruction of the First and Second Temples, which "make an end to an old era and create a new era." *Gezerah* ("evil decree"; plural *gezerot*) are those events, such as the expulsion from Spain in 1492 and the Chmielnicki massacres in seventeenth-century Poland, which, although cataclysmic, do not usher in a new era. According to this classification, Maybaum sees the Holocaust as a *ḥurban*, i.e., an event that signals the end of one era and the beginning of another in Jewish and world history. Moreover a *gezerah* can be averted. As has been said for generations on the Day of Atonement: *Teshuvah u-Tefillah u-Ẓedakah ma'avirin et ro'a ha-gezerah* ("penitence, prayer, and charity avert the evil decree"). A *ḥurban*, however, cannot be averted; its meaning goes beyond the parameters of Israel's own history, affects world history, and most importantly, is an intervention of God in history, which is irreversible.

Maybaum goes further still in explicating the meaning of *ḥurban* – *ḥurban* implies progress. There is positive value in destruction. Auschwitz as *ḥurban* has world historical significance in humanity's striving for advancement. In Jewish history the term *ḥurban* has been applied twice previously, the first time to the destruction of Solomon's Temple (586 B.C.E.) and then again to the destruction of the Second Temple (70 C.E.). In each case Maybaum sees the advancement of humanity as a result of the catastrophe. The first destruction created the Jewish diaspora, and through the diaspora Judaism went out among the other nations to spread God's word and do God's work: this was progress. The destruction of the Second Temple saw the establishment of the synagogue, and in the synagogue the world saw a form of religious piety in which no sacrifices were performed, no blood was shed, and religious life was "elevated" to a higher spiritual level than hitherto. The Holocaust is the third *ḥurban* and, like the earlier two, Maybaum sees it as helping in human advancement: it is the medium of spiritual development.

To understand Maybaum's view, one added feature of his perspective needs sharper focus. The historical inter-relation of Israel among the nations, in which the prime movers of the historical order are the non-Jews, requires that Judaism conform to non-Jewish motifs in order to make its presence felt as God's agent among the gentiles. With a profound insight into the relative worldviews of Judaism and Christianity, Maybaum argues that for Judaism the central motif is the *Akedah* (the sacrifice of Isaac [Gen. 22]), whereas for Christianity the central motif is the enormously powerful image of the Crucifixion. The *Akedah* is a sacrifice that never happened. Isaac can grow to maturity, marry, have children, die normally. According to Maybaum there is no heroic tragedy in the *Akedah*;

its message is that there can be progress without martyrdom and without death. Alternatively, the Crucifixion is a sacrifice that did happen. Jesus' life is foreshortened, he cannot marry, have children, die normally. Here is the stuff of heroic tragedy. Its message is that martyrdom is required that others may live, vicarious death is needed so that the world may go forward. "The cross contradicts the *Akedah*: Isaac is sacrificed." As Maybaum understands it, the message of the Crucifixion is: "somebody had to die that others may live." With the Crucifixion as its model of divine activity in history the Christian world is unable to grasp the higher religious meaning of the *Akedah*. Tragic as this may be, for Judaism to speak to Christians it must speak in a language they understand – the language of the cross. Thus the modern Jew collectively, as the single Jew of two millennia ago, must mount the cross (undergo persecution, suffering and death) in order to arouse the conscience of the gentile world.

So powerful is the hold of the image of the Crucifixion on Western consciousness that progress can be made only when framed in terms that can be assimilated to this pattern. The third *ḥurban* (the Holocaust), like the earlier two, is a divine event that is meant to bring about humanity's advancement. It is framed in the shape of Auschwitz, an overwhelming reliving by the entire Jewish people of the Crucifixion of one Jew, in order that it might be able to address the deepest sensitivities of modern Christian civilization: "In Auschwitz Jews suffered vicarious atonement for the sins of mankind." Pushing this interpretation of Jewish history to the utmost, Maybaum writes:

> The Golgotha of modern mankind is Auschwitz. The cross, the Roman gallows, was replaced by the gas chamber. The gentiles, it seems, must first be terrified by the blood of the sacrificed scapegoat to have the mercy of God revealed to them and become converted, become baptized gentiles, become Christians.

Crucially important to Maybaum's entire schemata is his contention that *ḥurban* means both destruction and progress. What progress then comes through Auschwitz? Since Nazism, has civilization not seen the Congo, Biafra, Vietnam, Cambodia, Rwanda and other such slaughters? Has the state of Israel not been involved in wars? Maybaum's conception of progress very much reflects his perspective as a Reform Jew. He is aware that Hitler's defeat was not the defeat of all evil, but he does see the destruction of Nazism as the final destruction of the remnants of the medieval period in human history. Though the medieval period seems to have been long transcended as an historical epoch, Maybaum sees Nazism as the final manifestation of the medieval world view, and the cataclysmic event of the Holocaust – *ḥurban* – as the means whereby the world moved with finality from medievalism to modernity. This movement from past to present is symbolized in the destruction of East European Jewry, for it was they who still lived according to the pattern of medieval Jewry, i.e., centered in ghettos, cut off from their neighbors, focusing all activity within a strict *halakhic* framework. Their destruction in the Holocaust represents the passing of the medieval historic time that generated this pattern of Jewish existence. As a Reform Jew who still shares the optimistic vision of classical Reform, and its unflattering opinion of traditional Jewish observance, Maybaum is able to interpret the end of the shtetl and the destruction of East European Jewry, even if by means of a Hitler, as progress. After Auschwitz, world Jewry lives almost exclusively in modern Western cultures – America, Israel, Western Europe, and Russia – to Maybaum, this is progress. In these cultures the Jew is free from the *halakhah*, and free to engage the possibilities open to him through Enlightenment and political emancipation. Repeating the humanistic version of messianism espoused by classical Reform, with its belief in progress and humanity's perfectibility, Maybaum invests the post-Holocaust era with at least the veneer of messianic redemption: "The Jewish people is, here and now, mankind at its goal. We have arrived. We are the first fruits of God's harvest." One cannot but hear in Maybaum's enthusiasm for the post-Holocaust era an echo of the hope that nineteenth-century Reform Jews expressed as the original promise of emancipation – despite what separates him from them.

In the Christian world, the transcendence of medievalism is manifested in the new ecumenicism of the Catholic Church, most clearly expressed in the spirit of Vatican II, which recognized the spiritual legitimacy of other religious traditions and removed from its liturgy and teaching such "medieval" elements as the "*perfidiis Judaeis*" ("perfidious Jew") phrase from its Easter rite. As the playwright Rolf Hochhuth, in his play *The Deputy*, noted: "The SS were the Dominicans of the technical age," and the Fuehrer principle was a Nazi version of papal infallibility; indeed, the entire tragedy of the Holocaust was the medieval Inquisition repeated in modern dress. All these are elements of a best-forgotten Middle Ages. After Auschwitz, both Jew and Christian can go beyond the historic postures of their medieval period through progressive reform more suitable to a post-Holocaust future. Auschwitz makes possible the transcendence of the medieval church and the medieval ghetto.

Maybaum, like Rubenstein and Fackenheim, is sensitive to the essential issue of God's presence in history as raised by the Holocaust. Like Fackenheim, Maybaum is a man of faith, but more than Fackenheim and more than almost all other Jewish thinkers, he is willing to draw the conclusion that others will not: Hitler is God's agent. Maybaum follows the logic of his commitment to God's presence in history further and more radically than do the others. Outrageous as this entailment appears, to credit God with being the all-powerful God of history seems logically to require seeing God as the agent behind Auschwitz, who works His will through Auschwitz. Though others who would find God in history, even at Auschwitz, recoil from this final attribution, Maybaum does not. As the prophet Jeremiah saw Nebuchadnezzar, the destroyer of Jerusalem, as the "servant of God," so Maybaum consciously parallels Jeremiah's phrase and gives expression to the awful paradox: "Hitler, My servant!" Maybaum does not shy away

from the full meaning of this expression: "Hitler was an instrument… God used this instrument to cleanse, to purify, to punish a sinful world; the six million Jews, they died an innocent death; they died because of the sins of others."

Calling upon Isaiah's image of "the remnant, which will return," the *she'ar yashuv*, Maybaum affirms that though one third of world Jewry was destroyed in the death camps, two thirds survived, and this salvation is a miracle no less great than that at the Red Sea; it too is redemption. Maybaum here sees the picture in a more traditional way and calls for us to do the same. We should look at the salvation of the majority, not the death of a large and sacred minority, and we should see in and through the Nazi Holocaust the saving face of God and none other, he declares in *The Face of God after Auschwitz.*

ELIEZER BERKOVITS (1908–1992). Eliezer Berkovits, a keen student of contemporary Jewish philosophy, made a special contribution to the creative discussion of the nature and purpose of the *halakhah* in modern Orthodox Judaism. In his work *Faith after the Holocaust* (1973) he gives a more traditional response to the Holocaust than any of the other thinkers discussed previously and highlights important elements in any response to Auschwitz.

Berkovits begins by calling attention to the history of Christian antisemitism, which cannot be forgotten or undervalued in any account of Nazi antisemitism. He sees this as perhaps the most difficult issue to face after the Holocaust. Berkovits does not avoid or deflect this issue; he makes clear his belief that it must be faced if Jews and Christians are to understand the past and prevent repetitions of disastrous episodes like the Holocaust.

Having made clear the historical antisemitic background to Auschwitz, Berkovits, a learned rabbinic scholar, explores, as did Fackenheim in his *God's Presence in History*, the various traditional historical responses to suffering in the Jewish tradition to see what, if anything, can be usefully applied to the problem of the death camps. The first response, and the most important in historical terms, is that known as *kiddush ha-Shem* – death for "the sanctification of the Divine Name," i.e., death that honors rather than dishonors God and bears witness to His truth. In religious circles, this has always been the most frequently given answer to Jewish martyrdom: martyrdom is the ultimate act of resignation and trust in God, a testing and a response of faithfulness, the climactic act of religious heroism. During the Holocaust there were many who were unable to face the horror of their existence and their end with faith, yet there were many others who, like Rabbi Akiva of old, went to their deaths in joy that they could give their life for God. One example: the Ostrovzer Rebbe, Rabbi Yehezkiel ha-Levi Hastuk, went out to meet his Nazi executioners wearing his *tallit* and *kittel*, and before he was shot, he announced: "For some time now I have anticipated this *zekhut* ("special merit") (of *kiddush ha-Shem*). I am prepared." Berkovits knows that such acts do not prove anything conclusive about the ultimate questions of Auschwitz, but he asks that in all discussions of the Holocaust this too be considered. Berkovits pointedly asks the valid question: If Nazi barbarism speaks for the absence of God, what is to be said about the piety, moral grandeur, and saintliness of many of the victims?

Berkovits' account proceeds from this point as if he, at least, is satisfied that there is more to the issue of faith after the Holocaust than Richard Rubenstein is aware of. He argues that what is required above all else is to provide an adequate Jewish understanding of Jewish history and religion so that the events of contemporary history can be properly appraised. Only against such a background can one even begin to argue about the theological relevance of the Holocaust. Critical of many other recent attempts to deal with the "data" of the Holocaust, Berkovits argues that these other attempts "suffer from one serious shortcoming: they deal with the Holocaust in isolation, as if there had been nothing else in Jewish history but this Holocaust." This theme re-appears throughout Berkovits' treatment, not only as critique but as grounds for positive affirmation.

On the basis of this, Berkovits makes the important declaration, which in one sense at least puts him close to Maybaum, that in the framework of world Jewish history the Holocaust is unique in the magnitude of its horror but not in the problem it presents to religious faith. "From the point of view of the problem, we have had innumerable Auschwitzes." With this declaration Berkovits states the basic presupposition of his entire response to the Holocaust, for in declaring that it is not unique as a problem for faith he radically dissociates himself from both Fackenheim and Rubenstein, who rest their entire positions on the Holocaust's uniqueness, thereby forcing Judaism into new and unprecedented responses. If Auschwitz is only the repetition of an ancient pattern then the entire nature of the problem of response to the Holocaust takes on a different dimension. The theological problem, as Berkovits sees it, is the same whether one Jew is slaughtered or six million. Each raises the question: How could God let it happen? How does this square with God's providential presence and moral perfection?

If, then, the problem is not unique, what have other generations of Jews, after previous Holocausts, made of Jewish martyrdom? Berkovits rejects outright, as do all the other major Jewish thinkers who deal with the Holocaust, the simplistic response that the death camps are *mi-penei ḥata'einu* ("because of our sins"). He acknowledges that the Holocaust was "an injustice absolute." Moreover, with great honesty he adds, "It was an injustice countenanced by God." Yet Berkovits' concern is to make room for Auschwitz in the Divine scheme despite the fact that it is an unmitigated moral outrage. He calls attention to a more significant and sophisticated response to evil already stated in the Bible, the notion of *hester panim* ("the hiding face of God"). *Hester panim* is the view that at times God, mysteriously and inexplicably and without any obvious human cause such as sin, turns His face away from man. In response to martyrdom, previous generations have had those who answered the problem of evil with nonbelief. Judaism as a whole, how-

ever, has rejected the skeptical response and formulated the doctrine of *hester panim* in order to hold onto God's presence despite His hiddenness. In some mysterious way, God's hiddenness and God's redemptiveness are both seen as necessary features of His unfathomable being.

Moreover, Berkovits argues that God's hiddenness is actually required for man to be a moral creature. God's hiddenness creates the possibility for human action. God allows man freedom by "absenting" Himself from history. Thus man can exercise his moral will, he can become good or evil. For good and evil to be real possibilities God has to respect man's decisions and be bound by them. God has to abstain from reacting to human moral evil if human action is to possess value. Moral humanity requires freedom, and freedom is always open to abuse. Berkovits here applies the classic view of the necessity of free will to morality. God is long-suffering with an evil humanity, even though this results in suffering for some, while God waits for the sinners. Thus "while He shows forbearance with the wicked, he must turn a deaf ear to the anguished cries of the violated." The paradoxical implication of this situation is this: humanity is impossible if God is strictly just; if God is loving beyond the requirements of strict justice there must be human suffering and evil. For Berkovits this is the correct way to view the problem of theodicy in order to be able to continue to believe despite Auschwitz.

The only enduring witness to God's ultimate power over history is the history and fate of the Jewish people where, according to Berkovits, one sees both attributes of God. The continued existence of Israel despite its long history of suffering is the greatest single proof that God is present in history despite His hiddenness. The Jewish people is the witness to God's presence in history. Nazism, in its satanic power, understood this fact of Jewish history and its slaughter of Jews was an attempt to slaughter the God of history. The Nazis understood, even as Jews sometimes fail to understand, that God's presence in history is necessarily linked to the fate of the Jewish people. The nature of Jewish existence stands as prophetic testimony against the moral degeneracy of men and nations; it is a mocking proclamation in the face of all human idolatry, and it witnesses to the final judgment and redemption of history by a moral God.

Berkovits forces his readers to consider whether the Holocaust is a sign of the "death of God" or whether it is a sign of God's too great mercy and long suffering with sinners. Berkovits' argument requires that we take another studied look at Jewish history and see the Holocaust in, and as part of, the long context of Jewish historical experience. Jews are forbidden to treat Auschwitz as if it were all they knew of God's relationship to Israel. Auschwitz is not the only, or even the ultimate Jewish experience. The Jew who today witnesses the absence of God is the descendant of those who at Sinai and the Red Sea directly encountered the Divine. More important still, the Jew who today talks of Auschwitz also knows the joy of a rebuilt Zion and an "ingathering of the exiles" in their ancient homeland. Jewish survival after Auschwitz proclaims that Auschwitz is not absolute. The final element in Berkovits' analysis of contemporary Jewish faith after the Holocaust is his passionate Zionism. Of all the thinkers discussed, Berkovits is the one most committed to Zionism and who draws most heavily on the theological implications of the "rebirth" of the State of Israel. Rubenstein, Fackenheim, and Maybaum certainly value it, and indeed Fackenheim had before his death become increasingly ardent in his attitude towards Zionism, yet it is Berkovits above all others who gives it a theological significance and pride of place in the possibility of the renewal of Jewish faith after Auschwitz. The rebirth of the State of Israel is contemporary revelation; it is the voice of God speaking forth from history. The events of 1967 especially have an "inescapable revelation quality." The return to the land must be understood in both historical and eschatological terms. "The return is the counterpart in history to the resolution in faith that this world is to be established as the Kingdom of God." The return to Zion is the ultimate vindication of God's presence in history and His providential governance of man and the world. If at Auschwitz and all previous Auschwitzes we have witnessed "the hiding face of God," in the rebirth of the State of Israel and its success "we have seen a smile on the face of God. It is enough."

EMMANUEL LEVINAS (1906–1995) AND AMOS FUNKENSTEIN (1937–1995). Two additional thinkers of note, Emmanuel Levinas and Amos Funkenstein, both reject, in different ways and for different metaphysical reasons, the classical theologies and theodicies that would defend God and His justice despite the gas chambers and crematoria. And both urge that rather than upholding theological doctrines that have been rendered "indefensible" by the Holocaust – that is, in the presence of what Levinas, in a telling phrase, describes as "useless suffering" – the primary, absolute, need of the post-Holocaust era is the defense of the ethical obligation that human beings owe to one another. As Levinas explains in *The Levinas Reader*, edited by Sean Hand (1989):

> The suffering for the useless suffering of the other person, the just suffering in me for the unjustifiable suffering of the Other, opens upon the suffering the ethical perspective of the inter-human.… It is this attention to the Other which, across the cruelties of our century – despite these cruelties, because of these cruelties – can be affirmed as the very bond of human subjectivity, even to the point of being raised to a supreme ethical principle – the only one which it is not possible to contest – a principle which can go so far as to command the hopes and practical discipline of vast human groups.

While not denying the existence of God, Levinas stresses the obligations that one human being has *a priori* to another, simply by virtue of being human. Whether one is a theist or not, the fundamental human requirement after Auschwitz is caring for the Other.

Likewise Amos Funkenstein, in his essay "Theological Interpretation of the Holocaust," advances the primacy of the ethical as the appropriate response to the Shoah, while argu-

ing for a more negative theological position that denies the existence of God. He writes: "I argue that the focus on the religious-theological implications of the Holocaust is intrinsically the wrong focus. The question of what [the Holocaust] teaches us about God or any other higher norm and values is insignificant besides the question of what it teaches us about man, his limits, his possibilities, his cruelty, his creativity, and his nobility."

ELIE WIESEL (1928–). Finally, it needs to be recognized that in the face of the abyss, the devouring of the Jewish people by the dark forces of evil incarnate, some notable thinkers have argued for a theological agnosticism and the endorsement of human silence. There are, however, two kinds of silence, two kinds of employment of the "God of mystery." The first is closer to the attitude of the agnostic: "I cannot know" and hence all profound existential and intellectual wrestling with the enormous problems raised by the Shoah is avoided. The second is the silence and mystery that the Bible points to in its recognition of God's elemental otherness. This is the silence that comes after struggling with God, after reproaching God, after feeling His closeness or His painful absence. This silence, this mystery, does not attempt to diminish the tragedy of Auschwitz or Treblinka by a too-quick, too-gauche, answer, yet, having followed reason to its limits, it recognizes the limits of reason. One finds this attitude more commonly expressed in the literary and personal responses to the death camps by survivors rather than in works of formal theology. For example, it is preeminent in the work of Elie Wiesel (*Night*, 1960; *All Rivers Run to the Sea*, 1995, among others). Assuredly there is great difficulty in ascertaining when thought has reached its limit and silence and mystery become the proper position to adopt, but at one and the same time, many would contend that there is the need to know when to speak in silence.

CONCLUSION. Each of these responses to the Holocaust has seen the relevant events from a different perspective, with different presuppositions and faith commitments. Among the many lessons, two call for a concluding comment. First, there is no simple set of facts that can be easily seized upon and manipulated in order to get a result that is both meaningful and possesses integrity. The "facts" are in large part determined by the presuppositions and methodology one uses: different preconceptions and different beginnings produce very different conclusions. Second, and as a necessary corollary, each response, considered at some length, and others all represent, at best, fragmentary accounts, partial descriptions, and limited and imperfect solutions to the major and most pressing questions raised by the murder of European Jewry. Given the nature of the Holocaust, this is not surprising. Each response, even optimally, can be seen to be only partial and fragmentary in the face of the reality, the quality and the magnitude of evil – evil absolute and unimaginable – in our time.

Therefore, while there may not be a definitive, or even agreed upon, analysis or conclusions, it should not be thought that the investigation of responses to the Holocaust is devoid of importance. By bringing the major elements into sharp focus, and giving shape to these elements, the material has the virtue of guiding and warning future thinkers that the Holocaust – whatever its precise parameters and whatever its meaning is seen to be – will not yield to any conceptual oversimplification. Auschwitz raises the most fundamental and at the same time the most difficult intellectual, phenomenological and existential issues.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R.L. Rubenstein, *After Auschwitz* (1966); E. Fackenheim, *God's Presence in History* (1970); I. Greenberg, *The Third Great Cycle of Jewish History* (1981); E. Wiesel, *Night* (1960); idem, *All Rivers Run to the Sea* (1995); A.A. Cohen, *The Tremendum* (1981); H. Jonas, "Concept of God After Auschwitz: A Jewish Voice," in: A. Rosenberg and G.E. Myers (eds.), *Echoes from the Holocaust: Reflections on a Dark Time* (1988), 292–305; M. Raphael, *The Female Face of God in Auschwitz: A Feminist Theology of the Holocaust* (2003); I. Maybaum, *The Face of God after Auschwitz* (1965). S. Katz, *Post-Holocaust Dialogues: Critical Studies in Modern Jewish Thought* (1983); R. Berlasconi and D. Woods, eds., *The Provocation of Levinas* (1988); A. Funkenstein "Theological Interpretation of the Holocaust," in: Francois Furet (ed.), *Unanswered Questions: Nazi Germany and the Genocide of the Jews* (1989); E. Berkovits, *Faith after the Holocaust* (1973).

[Steven T. Katz]

Impact of the Holocaust

The defeat of Nazi Germany left a bitter legacy for Germany. Crimes had been committed by the state in the name of the German people. Much of the German population and all of the German elites – political, cultural, intellectual, social, and religious – had been involved or complicit in Nazi crimes or had been ineffective in opposition to them. In an effort to rehabilitate the good name of the German people, West Germany firmly established a democracy that protected the human rights of all its citizens and made financial reparations to the Jewish people in an agreement passed by the Bundestag (parliament) in 1953. West German political leaders made special efforts to achieve friendly relations with Israel.

In East Germany, the Communist leaders attempted to insulate their population from responsibility for the crimes, portraying themselves as the victims of the Nazis, and Nazism as a manifestation of capitalism. The first gesture of the post-Communist Volkskammer (parliament) of East Germany, however, was an apology to the Jewish people. In its first meeting in the newly renovated Reichstag building in Berlin in 1999, ten years after the country was reunited, the unified German Bundestag voted to erect a Holocaust memorial in Berlin. The first state visitor to the renewed capital was Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak.

Even though the Germans killed many, the Holocaust is primarily associated with the murder of the Jews. Only the Jews were targeted for total annihilation, their elimination central to Hitler's vision of the New Germany. The intensity of the Nazi war against the Jews continued unabated to the very end and even at times took priority over Germany's military efforts.

As for the Christian Churches, the role of the Vatican is contested. The archives of the Vatican for the World War II period have not been opened to all scholars, so information remains under wraps. Pope Pius XI died before issuing an Encyclical that would have condemned antisemitism forthrightly and would have placed the church against Nazism on religious grounds. It was not issued by his successor, Pius XII, once he assumed the papacy in 1939. The record of Pius XII is ambiguous, and he has both apologists and accusers. The church had officials on the ground throughout Europe so it had information as to the fate of the Jews, but was at best elliptical in its condemnations. Local churches behaved differently. Some local leaders helped Jews, courageously and creatively; most did not. Some were quiescent; others collaborated with the killers. However, in the aftermath of the Holocaust, two popes – John XXIII and John Paul II – effectuated a dramatic change in Roman Catholic teaching that can be seen as a response to the Holocaust and an attempt to alter the religious teachings that gave rise to antisemitism. The proclamation of the Second Vatican Council, *Nostra Aetate*, changed Church teaching on the death of Jesus, stressing universal human responsibility rather than the responsibility of Jews. As a result of Vatican II, convened by John XXIII, Catholic liturgy and even scriptural readings and prayers for Good Friday were changed. Pope John Paul II, who as a young man in Poland had lived through the Holocaust, apologized for the antisemitism of Christians – but, as his critics are quick to emphasize, not of Christianity – in Jerusalem, at Yad Vashem and the Western Wall. In a world where public gesture and the spoken word go in tandem, his actions were bold and transformative. In the Protestant Churches there have also been significant changes, though clearly less centralized.

The United Nations established the Convention against Genocide in 1948; it defined the crime in the shadow of the Holocaust and outlawed it. At the same time it issued a Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Promising steps in the early years of the United Nations have been overshadowed, if not forgotten, in the many wars, occupations, and massive violations of human rights committed by so many countries in the years since then.

In the United States, the record of American indifference and inaction has been used to spur action on behalf of other Jews, Soviet Jews and Ethiopian Jews. The refusal to accept refugees in significant number was instrumental in the rescue of the "boat people" in the late 1970s and early 1980s. It led to a specific exemption in immigration restrictions for Jews and other persecuted religious minorities, to the general restrictions on Iranians entering the United States after the fall of the Shah of Iran. The failure to bomb Auschwitz led to the bombing of Kosovo. It has not spurred action against other genocides, but it has led to reluctance on the part of diplomats worldwide to invoke the word "genocide," because it is assumed that one should act against genocide. But such action is a matter of political will.

The record of the American Jewish community on behalf of Soviet Jewry and Ethiopian Jewry and in support of Israel occurs in the shadow of the Holocaust. Rabbi Haskel Lookstein has said, "The Final Solution may have been unstoppable by American Jewry, but it should have been unbearable for them and it wasn't. That is important, not alone for our understanding of the past, but for our sense of responsibility in the future."

Jewish political activism in the United States, especially from 1967 through the 1990s, can only be understood in the shadow of the Holocaust. "Sacred survival" was the term that the sociologist Jonathan Woocher used to describe the "civil religion" of American Jewry, and Emil Fackenheim wrote of the 614^{th} commandment: "Jews may not grant Hitler a posthumous victory."

As to Israel, the Holocaust goes to the core of national identity. It is reflected in the efforts to rescue Jews before there was a state, in the Declaration of Independence that opened the doors to homeless Jewish refugees, in the Law of Return, in the discourse of soldiers before, during, and after the 1967 Six-Day War, in the pride in Jewish power and the ongoing sense of Jewish vulnerability, in the efforts to commemorate the Shoah and to teach its lessons to the Jewish people.

The Holocaust has come to be viewed as the emblematic manifestation of absolute evil. Its ramifications reaching into the depths of human nature and the power of malevolent social and governmental structures have made it an essential topic of ethical discourse in fields as diverse as law, medicine, religion, government, and the military.

Survivors report they heard a final plea from those who were murdered: "Remember! Do not let the world forget." To this responsibility to those they left behind, survivors have added a plea of their own, "Never again." Never for the Jewish people. Never for any people. Their hope is that remembrance of the Holocaust can prevent its recurrence. In part because of their efforts, interest in the event has increased rather than diminished with the passage of time. More than half a century after the Holocaust, institutions, memorials, and museums continue to be built, and films and educational curricula created to document and teach the Holocaust to future generations.

More than three score years later, the Jewish people has not replenished its numbers and an entire civilization – the Jewish communities of Europe, Ashkenazi and Sephardi – are gone forever. Jewish life has been rebuilt. Jewish learning and living has endured. Jewish creativity has flourished, the state of Israel has been created and with it power, independence, opportunity, and a haven for Jews in need. But the final word of the Holocaust must be loss – absence where presence had been.

[Michael Berenbaum (2^{nd} ed.)]

MEMORY

Holocaust Literature in European Languages

The fact that a "literature of the Holocaust" evolved by the 1970s may be an indication of the desire to salvage some mean-

ing out of the senselessness of that period in Jewish history. It is somehow consoling to believe that the chaos has become amenable to the ordering of aesthetic vision, that it has generated language through which the experience can be mediated to discipline the ambiguities and civilize the horror.

It is true that many poems were forged in the flames of the ghettos and camps themselves, and perhaps one of the most uplifting, and at the same time tragic, expressions of the human spirit is the collection of paintings and children's poems that is almost all the testimony that remains of the 150,000 people who passed through *Theresienstadt. But the fact is that once the war had ended, writers were slow to pick up the bloody mantle of these martyrs. Historians worked almost alone over the charred remains in order to reunite numbers with names, anonymous corpses with their biographies, the ruined ghettos with the history of their struggles. The proliferation of personal testimonies of survivors supplemented the documentary evidence in journals and diaries that had been buried in the ghettos or smuggled beyond the walls. Gradually, philosophers, psychologists, and theologians joined historians in trying to confront the event in their own terms. No symbolic universe could attempt to assimilate the Holocaust without the risk of being shaken to its foundations. Yet whole new schools of philosophy, therapy, and theology have evolved out of the experience of the camps. Bruno *Bettelheim's orthogenic approach to the stresses that mass society imposes on the individual and Victor *Frankl's logo-therapy are their professional responses to their own suffering in the Nazi camps. Emil *Fackenheim and Richard *Rubenstein represent perhaps the two extreme polarities of theological response to the contemporary questions of theodicy that the Holocaust raised.

Yet the sensibilities of the artist were the last to emerge from the anesthetization of the historical experience. T.W. *Adorno's declaration that there can be no poetry after Auschwitz both reflected and sanctioned a general feeling of helplessness and inadequacy that artists have felt in confronting recent history. As many critics pointed out, the Holocaust defies art insofar as it represents the annihilation of meaning. And yet novels, plays, and poems began to appear.

For some writers it was enough to commemorate and mourn the dead. But as the Holocaust has entered the imagination of the more creative artists, it has entered into the realm of the "possible." The more completely the event is assimilated, the more it is available as a creative resource, a source of metaphor, allegory, symbol, for human behavior in the modern world; a paradigm of contemporary existence and the substance of modern myth. The literature of the Holocaust spans the literary spectrum from the documentary to the mythical – from the journals kept by those who were destined not to survive, to the memoirs of the survivors, to the documentary or pseudodocumentary art of those writers who strive for historical authenticity, to the art that has been integrated into established historical and literary traditions, and finally to the "apocalyptic" art of those writers for whom the Holocaust has so permeated the mind that it has transcended the bounds of historical time and social space.

DIARIES AND JOURNALS. The chronicles of the Holocaust include diaries and journals written under siege. Most of the writers never lived to see the camps liberated or their writings published. In fact the journals themselves seldom reached the extermination camps, but chronicled the life in attic hideouts or in the ghettos. Thus they constitute a peculiar genre with a beginning and a middle, but no end. Anne *Frank's diary becomes a "tragedy" only through the interaction between the writer – who, even in her last entries, affirms her belief that "it will all come right," that she must continue to uphold her ideals in the hope the time will come when she will "be able to carry them out" – and the reader, who knows that it did not come right, that she did not live to carry out her ideals. This knowledge is the sad burden of the post-Holocaust reader.

There were a very few diarists who managed to survive. One was Mary Berg, whose mother's American passport brought her and her family to New York as part of a prisoner exchange. Her diary is a chronicle of the Warsaw ghetto, where she lived between the ages of 16 and 18. She managed to smuggle her diary out of Poland while the war was still raging; published in English translation in 1945, it was one of the earliest such documents to reach an American readership. Mary Berg was a girl of mature literary and emotional qualities not unlike those of her more famous Dutch counterpart, but living in circumstances so different from the sealed-off world of Anne's "secret annex," she focused on the world of the ghetto, and her diary is less introspective and more of a history of the communal life of the Jews of Warsaw.

LITERATURE AND THE LANGUAGE OF THE VICTIMS. The most significant journals of the Warsaw ghetto were those written in Yiddish by Emanuel *Ringelblum and in Hebrew by Ḥayyim Kaplan. Each regarded his task as a sacred mission, and each contributed invaluable information on the inner life and the death throes of the ghetto. These two painstakingly written accounts, as well as the hundreds of other diaries, eyewitness accounts, poems, plays, and novels written in Yiddish or Hebrew, are beyond the scope of the present discussion. The distinction between Hebrew and Yiddish writing on the Holocaust, and the literature that has appeared in European languages, is not merely linguistic but, in a broader sense, cultural. For the European writer, the Holocaust does not reflect a particular national odyssey for which specific cultural referents would be a necessary resource. The Holocaust did not respect national borders, and Frenchmen, Czechs, and Poles share with other Europeans the same vocabulary of experience in what has been called "the concentration camp universe." The literature they produced shares certain qualities of cultural deprivation and of cross-cultural perspective precisely because it is a literature of displaced persons. This could explain why many European writers have chosen to write of their experience in foreign, or adopted, tongues: Jorge Semprun, Michel del Castillo, Anna *Langfus, and Piotr Rawicz

in French; Jerzy Kosinski, Ilona Karmel, and Zdena Berger in English. Although Elie Wiesel lives in the United States and operates in an American ethos, he continues to write in French, which is his adopted language. Yiddish and Hungarian are native tongues; Romanian, the language of the country of his birth, Hebrew the language of his journalistic career, and English the language of the land in which he lives. Still he persists in French.

The obvious exception to this principle of linguistic interchangeability is the impact of the Holocaust on the German language, a fact with which most German writers have had to come to terms. George *Steiner, in *Language and Silence*, describes the effects of the Nazi regime on the German language, a "language being used to run hell, getting the habits of hell into its syntax." Perhaps the impatience of many readers with Nelly *Sachs' poetry stems from her attempt to use the German language as if it were a neutral resource, a simple linguistic funnel through which the Jewish agony could be channeled.

The literature of the Holocaust written in Hebrew and Yiddish constitutes a category distinct from the literature in European languages primarily because it has assimilated into an ethnic tradition that has had to develop specific internal responses to the direct threat of cultural genocide. In responding to this challenge, even the most secular Yiddish or Hebrew writer is committed to a certain cultural framework, specific historical memories, and an ongoing dialogue with Jewish history and the Jewish God. Adolf *Rudnicki, himself a Polish writer, admitted that

> no other nation has so many synonyms for suffering as have the Jews. The Book of Job was not written by a Frenchman, nor even a Russian. Everybody knows that what the Germans did during the Second World War has no equivalent in history, yet it was all contained within the Jews' ancient vocabulary.

What characterized the Holocaust diaries and journals in all the languages was an abiding faith in ultimate restoration, in the sanity of the outside world for whom these records were kept – and an innocence of the actual dimensions of the destruction. This cannot be said of the literature of the survivors.

MEMOIRS OF SURVIVORS. Almost immediately after their liberation, the survivors began to write their memoirs. To many, that task seemed the only reason for which they had remained alive – to commemorate their dead and, by documenting the atrocities perpetrated on them, perhaps help to avenge their deaths. Leon Wells, in *The Janowska Road*, one of the most moving accounts of human endurance, writes in an epilogue: "I feel now, that I have fulfilled my mission. The last wish of my people, each as he died, was to let the world know what had happened. They felt and hoped that the world cared about them and their fate. Does the world care?" Much of the caring world proved to consist of other refugees, who by their perseverance and testimonies managed to bring some of the Nazi criminals to trial. Wells' own story of the "Death Brigade" served as evidence that helped to condemn to death the man who had been second in command in the Janowska camp.

The numerous other accounts published since the war by survivors add little to the fund of knowledge of what happened. The story is so often, so pitilessly, the same – but each man's testimony is a *Kaddish* to his own dead. Two Polish memoirs that have appeared in English reflect the special plight of the children of the Holocaust. The first, Halina Birenbaum's *Hope is the Last to Die*, is the child's tale told from the perspective of the adult. The second, Henryk *Grynberg's *Child of the Shadow*, is a similar tale of persecution, refuge, and survival told simply and almost didactically, as if the Holocaust child were relating the story to other, non-Holocaust, children. Yet as moving as this account is, it does not, even in its entirety, convey the essence of fear and triumph that are distilled into the very brief story, "The Grave," that prefaces the book. It is Grynberg's short fictional "epiphany" that stays with the reader long after he has forgotten the chronology of events that are the structure of the autobiography.

A very unusual story of survival is told by Alexander Donat in *The Holocaust Kingdom*. It tells of the preservation of an entire family – husband, wife, and child. Donat was a prominent publisher of one of the Warsaw daily newspapers, and the scope of his awareness and understanding of the people and events around him reflects the perspective of a trained journalist. The author's own narrative is augmented by a unique addendum – two chapters written by his wife and one written by the non-Jewish woman who had cared for their child, interspersed with notes written by the child himself – that provides multiple perspectives on the same events.

One of the earliest and still most revealing eyewitness accounts of the Holocaust was David Rousset's *The Other Kingdom*, which delineated the world that he called "l'univers concentrationnaire." Published in French in 1947, his narrative describes life and death in *Buchenwald, Helmstedt, Neuengamme and Woebbelin from the point of view of one who had been interned in these camps for helping to organize the French underground resistance movement. Rousset's book explores the fate of political prisoners in the camps. It is in the main a story of men sustained by group solidarity and devotion to a cause, even as the cause becomes obscured by present reality. Unlike those who were arrested, deported, interned, and gassed simply because of the biological fact of their being Jewish or of Jewish ancestry, the political prisoners had in large measure chosen their own destiny. In analyzing their behavior and their plight, Rousset also illuminates the very different logic of death and survival that prevailed among the Jewish prisoners.

The Other Kingdom is a peculiar combination of the factual, the philosophical, and the poetic. Rousset's literary analogies are more than mere ornament; they are integral to his perception of the reality around him. His "Kingdom" is ruled by a synthetic Nazi who is a direct descendant of Ubu Roi – that grotesque buffoon who butchered the ruling monarchs and crowned himself King of Poland in Alfred Jarry's fin-de-siècle

parody. And the demography of this realm is seen as having been prefigured in the dark fantasies of two other pre-Holocaust writers: "the inmates of the camp belong to a world by Céline with overtones of Kafka."

The concentration camp thus becomes that region where the most lurid literary imaginings are experienced as life itself. Here the woodsmen never hear Little Red Riding Hood's cries and she is devoured – and digested – by the wolf; Jack doesn't quite reach his beanstalk in time – and is consumed by the giant. It is the world imagined centuries ago by Dante. Ten years after Rousset published his essay on the camps, Primo *Levi wrote *If This Be a Man* (U.S title *Survival in Auschwitz*), his own account of internment and survival in the Buna Camp at *Auschwitz. His chapter on Dante, "The Canto of Ulysses," is the testimony not only of a man who is a victim of the realization of the most hideous fantasies that the literary imagination had ever conceived. It is also the testimony of the human capacity to transcend, through art, the agony of physical and spiritual degradation. In his account of initiation into camp life, he had described the slow process by which the Nazis achieved "the demolition of a man": "Nothing belongs to us anymore; they have taken away our clothes, our shoes, even our hair… They will even take away our name…" Then one day, as this nameless Häftling (prisoner) is trudging to the kitchens with another man to bring the soup ration to their Kommando, he is seized by the need to speak of *The Divine Comedy* – to recite verses long locked in his memory, to teach his companion a few words of the text. He feels the urgency of one who knows that tomorrow he – or his companion – may be dead, and that in that moment before doom he must transmit the message that may contain the essence of their common fate. This is the moment in which Häftling no. 174517 begins to rediscover his humanity, to combat by the powers of imagination and analogy the absurdity of his existence.

The confessions of Rousset and Levi illustrate the ways in which the significance of some of the classical elements of European culture are completely transformed in the context of the camps. Josef *Bor's *Terezin Requiem* (1963) is another story of the role of art as the medium for the spiritual struggle to defy the harsh realities of camp life. It is the true account of the performance of Verdi's *Requiem* in the concentration camp at Theresienstadt, in the presence of Eichmann and his henchmen. Bor distills the facts into a highly charged drama. His story is told from the point of view of Raphael Schaechter, the conductor, who molds the *Requiem* into a prism that reflects the individual miseries – and the one final triumph – of the inmates. The tension and drama mount as rehearsals for the performance proceed. But in the course of the rehearsals, many of the soloists are transported to the death camps, and each empty seat is a harbinger of death. Though the *Requiem* might have been nothing more than a dirge sung by the doomed themselves, it is transformed into a cry of protest and of victory. Schaechter takes the liberty of changing the four pianissimo notes of the finale – "*libera me*" – into a defiant fortissimo, three short strokes and one long, delivered as fighting blows. "O Saint Verdi in heaven, forgive me my sin," pleads Schaechter. "If you had been in a concentration camp you, too, would have composed your finale differently…" By the end of the performance, Schaechter has dropped his baton and is conducting with his fist. The entire cast of performers is shipped out on the very next transport to the death camp – but that fact is by now almost insignificant.

DOCUMENTATION AS ART. Most of the eyewitness accounts of this period demonstrate an almost compulsive concern with factual accuracy, though in the narratives of Rousset, Levi, and Bor, it is not only the external, physical reality but also the facts of consciousness that are being documented. In the broadly inclusive genre of memoir, the obsessive commitment to historicity is certainly not unusual. Yet it is no less evident in some of the imaginative literature of the Holocaust. As one crosses over from autobiography into art, the usual distinctions are blurred by the obsession of certain artists with historical accuracy. The Soviet writer Anatoly Kuznetsov (writing originally under the pseudonym of A. Anatoli) defines his *Babi Yar* as "a document in the form of a novel," and is constantly jolting his reader out of the temptation to be lulled into the existential distance usually reserved for fiction. "This book contains nothing but the truth," Kuznetsov repeats; oddly enough, his insistence on *historical* truth can be seen not only as reflecting his view of the bounds of the imagination in confronting the Holocaust, but as a plea for artistic freedom in a regime that demands of its artists that they fantasize and manipulate history to mirror the "artistic truth" of Socialist Realism. Ironically, but predictably, Kuznetsov's appeal for the freedom to follow the dictates of historical fact was undermined by the deletion, in the original edition, of all those passages deemed even remotely critical of Soviet behavior during the Nazi occupation. In 1970, after his escape from the Soviet Union, Kuznetsov published the unexpurgated version of his novel, which had now become a document of Soviet as well as Nazi oppression.

Perhaps the most prominent of the artists who are explicitly concerned with the artistic expression of historical fact are the German playwrights Peter *Weiss and Rolf *Hochhuth. Weiss once stated that "audiences are ready to become concerned with the real world instead of the private loves and hatreds of individuals." Reflecting new trends in dramaturgy as well as certain internal imperatives of the reality it dramatizes, Weiss' play *The Investigation* is a condensed presentation of the proceedings of the trials, held in Germany in 1964–5, of twenty-one of the people who were responsible for the operation of Auschwitz. The absolute decorum and austerity of the depositions belie the emotionally charged facts being offered as evidence. In this case it is the strict logic of the legal procedure that is used by the artist to give form to experience that was totally lawless. The judge and the attorneys ask their questions and the witnesses tell their stories without any histrionic aids – there is neither punctuation in the free-verse text nor stage directions that would indicate a change in pitch or shift

in position, and most performances are delivered entirely in straight-faced monotone. There is no personal drama here; the witnesses – like the actual inmates of the camps – have no names; the accused, like the actual torturers, do – but Weiss states in a prefatory note that the accused have simply "lent their names which, within the drama, exist as symbols of a system that implicated in its guilt many others who never appeared in court."

Weiss is uncompromising in his refusal to allow his audience any form of classical catharsis. How unyielding his drama is in its insistence on unmitigated evil, in its withholding of a sacrificial hero, can be seen when it is compared with an earlier anti-Nazi play written by another German playwright, Carl Zuckmayer. In *The Devil's General* (written in exile from 1942 to 1946), Zuckmayer endowed his main protagonist, Luftwaffe General Harras, with the qualities of refinement and a developed sensibility that were finally to prove stronger than his commitment to his duties as an officer in the Nazi higher command. The ambiguities of the actual events are diminished and distanced by clear-cut distinctions between good and evil, by soothing rhetoric, well-honed literary symbols, and, finally, the expiatory suicide of the hero.

Rolf Hochhuth's play, *The Deputy*, was, like *The Investigation*, published almost a generation after the event (1963), and is something of a compromise between the perspectives of Weiss and Zuckmayer on the art of the Holocaust. Like his contemporary, Hochhuth also bases his drama on historical fact. However, he has submitted reality to a very different logic, to which traditional principles of dramatic development are more integral. In an appendix, "Sidelights on History," Hochhuth writes that he has "combined the already available facts into a truthful whole." He rejects extreme naturalism in art and the kind of aesthetic approach that would transform the subject of the Holocaust into detached metaphor and the victims and victimizers into pure symbols. In his elaborate stage direction for Act v, which takes place in the cattle cars leading to Auschwitz and in the camp itself, Hochhuth writes:

> Despite the tremendous force of suggestion emanating from sound and sense, metaphors still screen the infernal cynicism of what really took place – a reality so enormous and grotesque that even today, fifteen years after the events, the impression of unreality it produces conspires with our natural strong tendency to treat the matter as legend, as an incredible apocalyptic fable. Alienation effects would only add to this danger. No matter how closely we adhere to historical facts, the speech, scene, and events on the stage will be altogether surrealistic.

What Hochhuth seems to be saying, and what his drama attests to so powerfully, is that poetry has been wrested from the artist by the reality of Auschwitz. The transformation of this reality into legend or "apocalyptic fable" is, then, not the artist's prerogative, but a kind of defense mechanism by which post-Holocaust culture confronts the reality. Hochhuth would force his public to confront the reality by closing off the option of viewing it as fantasy. The victims, the victimizers, the accomplices, and the heroes in *The Deputy* are not anonymous, nor are they symbols, but rather concrete individuals, each with his private fate. Some are fictitious characters modeled after real people. Some – the prime movers – are actual historical figures. There is one major figure who has no name; he is referred to as "the Doctor," the man responsible for the dispatch of new arrivals at Auschwitz to the work camp or to the gas chamber. The Doctor is obviously patterned after the infamous Dr. Mengele, but Hochhuth refrains from naming him, as if by so doing he would be dignifying him with some semblance of humanity.

Unlike Weiss' drama, in which the guilt is diffused throughout the Nazi ranks and even taints the victims themselves and all those who remained silent in the face of the atrocities – until it stands as an indictment of all of Western civilization – *The Deputy* singles out the historical perpetrators of the crime, their historical accomplices, their historical victims, and those who tried to help the victims and to halt the slaughter. The blame of silent acquiescence to the Nazi atrocities is placed squarely on the shoulders of the Pope, who appears in this play not as an institution but as a *person*. Similarly, the self-sacrificing actions of the two heroes, Riccardo and Gerstein, are not the heroism of invention but of actual deed. Hochhuth's understanding of the drama, as of history, is based on the premise of individual freedom of choice, even in the most repressive of circumstances.

VICARIOUS RECONSTRUCTION OF EXPERIENCE. Another group of writings that inhabit the twilight zone between document and fantasy are the novels presented as documentaries or which claim to be based on documentary evidence. Most of these were written by American novelists. The most popular of these writers are John Hersey, Leon *Uris, and Richard Elman. Of the three, Hersey can be singled out as having opened a new frontier in the American fiction of the Holocaust, and Elman as being the most serious.

John Hersey, a gentile journalist who came upon traces of the Jewish massacre while on assignment in Europe, spent several years researching the misery and the heroism of the Warsaw ghetto. His novel, *The Wall*, was published in 1950, and for many years remained the unchallenged definitive work on the subject. The novel is written in the form of a journal whose format closely approximates the journals of Emanuel Ringelblum. But there the resemblance ends, and the confusion of genres begins. The chronicler of this fiction, Noach Levinson, probes the inner thoughts and feelings of the characters and reports "conversations." The fiction of historicity ("broadly it deals with history, but in detail it is invented," the author says) covers a multitude of sins.

Leon Uris' *Mila 18* (1961) is another in a series of historical novels that won popularity. Uris admits to many hours of research and acknowledges that "within a framework of basic truth, tempered with a reasonable amount of artistic license, the places and events described actually happened." Again, like Hersey, he uses the general form of the journal to structure his novel on the Warsaw uprising – but the journal

entries, written by one Alexander Brandel, are limited to the opening remarks of each chapter of the novel. Nevertheless, the yoke of history does not fit well on the shoulders of the heroes and heroines, and the facts often intrude impolitely into the melodrama, which Uris has tailored to that same reading public that acclaimed his latter-day *Exodus* as if it too had been handed down from Sinai. Alexander Brandel's final soothing words in the bunker of Mila 18 affirm the simplistic confidence that "we Jews have avenged our honor as a people," and that the scales of history will be balanced when the State of Israel is reborn out of the ashes.

Richard Elman has done a more convincing job of weaving together history and fantasy, with fewer compromises. His novel, *The 28th Day of Elul* (1967), originated in a series of documents that came to the author's attention and, by his own admission, constituted a kind of historical imperative for his art. The novel is an epistolary narrative written by Alex Yagodah from his home on a moshav in Israel, to the executor of his uncle's estate in America, in which he describes the events leading up to the deportation of his family from their hometown of Cluj, Hungary. As in *The Diary of Anne Frank* or the Polish novel by Ladislav *Grosman, *The Shop on Main Street*, the tragic load of the tale is not intrinsic in the narrative itself, but in the reader's retrospective knowledge of what the epilogue must be.

Although the story is told for the most part with skill and seriousness, it raises "relevant" philosophical and theological questions about the Holocaust. This is a tendency shared by many other American writers, especially Jewish writers, who evidently feel that in coming to terms with their own identity as Jews they must confront the Holocaust in their art. In 1963, Saul *Bellow raised the issue of the impact of the European tragedy on the American writer who had not experienced it directly:

> It would be odd, indeed, if these historical events had made no impression on American writers, even if … they characteristically depend on their own observations and appear at times obstinately empirical.

Since there was no shared experience, the Holocaust is in a sense freed from the discipline of historical fact when it enters the domain of American fiction. And yet the American writer also clings at least to the pretense of historicity. Bellow himself, when he finally appropriated the theme of the Holocaust as a subject for his art, wrote a novel (*Mr. Sammler's Planet*) that was far more contrived than his earlier fiction. He tries to compensate for his own acknowledged lack of empirical resource by fabricating the events out of textbook accounts. His dramatization of the experiences of a Holocaust survivor through use of flashback and monologue is not convincing or psychologically coherent. The same can be said of Edward Lewis *Wallant's use of the "dream" technique in *The Pawnbroker.*

Likewise, the attempt to romanticize history by circumventing the facts has not proved much more effective. Bernard *Malamud tried to confront the beast on nonhistorical grounds in his short story, "Lady of the Lake." Many of his stories and novels are scantily clad moralities, often dramatizing the inescapable fate of the Jew as sufferer. But in this tale the symbols of the Holocaust are so artificially manipulated to serve allegorical requirements that they remain too comfortably remote in the realm of romance and fantasy.

One American writer who has directly acknowledged and incorporated the theme of historical deprivation into his art is the poet Irving *Feldman. In two elegaic poems, "The Pripet Marshes" and "To the Six Million," he explores the meaning of the vicarious suffering of the American Jew. In "The Pripet Marshes," he attempts to transplant his own, non-Holocaust, friends into the ghetto at the moment before the Germans are to arrive. And just as these Jews are being rounded up for transport in the marketplace of his mind's eye, he invokes the prerogative reserved only for those who are not bound by historical necessity – and retrieves them:

> But there isn't a second to lose, I snatch them all back,
> For, when I want to, I can be a God.

The American poet as creator can rescue his Jews only because they were not the real victims.

Feldman's second elegy, "To the Six Million," is a masterpiece of Holocaust poetry in English. It goes further than the first in attempting to discover, and finally to possess, the dead whose fate the poet happened to have been spared. The final merger is accomplished through the use of Biblical rhetoric and erotic, almost necrophilic, imagery:

> Sweetness, my soul's bride,
> Come to the feast I have made,
> My bone and my flesh of me,
> Broken and touched,
> Come in your widow's rainment of dust and ashes,
> Bereaved, newborn, gasping for
> The breath that was torn from you,
> That is returned to you.

The English poet Karen *Gershon also succeeded in conveying the sense of deprivation that haunts those who were spared. In her case it was the Childrens' Transport that carried her and 10,000 other children out of their native Germany to England in 1938 and saved them from the fate reserved for their parents. Her poetry is an attempt to reconstruct the final days of her parents' lives, when "I was not there to comfort them." The unadorned language of these confessional poems is moving in its very simplicity and directness. Whereas for Irving Feldman, the freedom from historical imperatives generates a kind of enslavement to fantasy, for Karen Gershon the freedom from historical experience creates a vacuum to be filled through research, and art becomes a medium for the reconstruction of history.

There are a number of other English-writing poets who have attempted to incorporate the Holocaust into their art, but the subject has proved for the most part unassimilable. Probably the most powerful of these poets is Sylvia Plath, who re-

fused the exemption that her birthright as a non-Jew would have conferred on her. A. Alvarez wrote in his study of suicide that the death of her father when Sylvia Plath was still a young child was later transformed into the conviction that "to be an adult meant to be a survivor… an imaginary Jew from the concentration camps of the mind." Several of the poems in *Ariel*, written just before her final, successful, suicide attempt, are weighted with the burden of Holocaust, her skin "bright as a Nazi lampshade" ("Lady Lazarus"), "thick palls" of dead Jews invading the kitchen where the "Sunday lamb cracks in its fat" ("Mary's Song"), her own father transformed posthumously into a Nazi and she herself into a Jew ("Daddy").

LITERATURE OF SURVIVAL. For the continental European writer, there is no escape from historical memory. But for those who are faithful to it, history provides a way out as well as a way in; quite simply, the war began in 1939 and ended in 1945. Most of the realistic fiction of the Holocaust opens in that quiet time when roses still bloom on trellises of country houses and Sabbath candlesticks gleam on white tablecloths, and there are still Jews in Europe to smell the flowers and bless the candles. This *ancien régime* slowly crumbles into the nightmare of Auschwitz. In the end the survivor returns to the ruins of his former existence. In the 1960s and 70s there was a proliferation of this "survival" literature, dramatizing the process by which civilized life shrivels to bare existence and then is pitifully resurrected on tombstones and ashes.

Terrence Des Pres, in an illuminating essay in *Encounter* in 1971, observed that the survivor had supplanted the sacrificial hero as the protagonist of modern fiction. In an era when thousands of human beings were slaughtered daily in machines built expressly for that purpose, the heroic death of a latter-day Oedipus or Lear lost its liberating value, and the will to survive had replaced the classical willingness to die affirming transcendental truths. "When men must live against overwhelming odds and death is a condition of life, when mere existence is miraculous, to die is in no way a triumph," writes Des Pres. The very preservation of life – when it does not come at the expense of other lives – becomes the ultimate goal in much of Holocaust and post-Holocaust fiction. And it is this refusal to betray others while one is fighting for one's own survival that characterizes what Des Pres calls the "human, as opposed to the Darwinian, survivor." The individual is powerless to change anything in his environment, and thus it is the act of struggle, and not the outcome of the struggle, that defines the new heroism. The Holocaust novels of Anna Langfus, Zdena Berger, Ilona Karmel, Michel del Castillo and Jacob *Presser are informed by the durability and dignity of the victim who survives the temptation to succumb to his own death or to cooperate in the murder of others, who manages to preserve not only his physical self, but his sanity and humanity as well.

Most of these novels are fictionalized autobiographies, in which the authenticity of the experience is evident to the reader long before he comes to the biographical note about the author at the end of the book. Many of these authors have written only one novel on this subject, their autobiographical fiction serving primarily to delineate a space for future silence.

One of the most talented of these writers was Anna Langfus, whose two books written originally in French, *The Whole Land Brimstone* (1962) and *The Lost Shore* (1963), form a continuous narrative of tranquility, destruction, survival, and return. A single symbol, appearing in the opening pages of the first book – the crash of the family's chandelier as the first bomb of the war hits their town – presages the shattering of the lives of all these people, and could epitomize the disintegrative phase in this entire genre of survival literature. The heroine, who is destined to be an only survivor, is first introduced to us as a self-serving young lady surrounded by an indulgent family. She has no point of reference beyond the sphere of her own family, and her story reflects only incidentally the communal history of the Warsaw ghetto in which she lives; it is almost as if she alone were subjected to war and bereavement. This kind of anomie is typical of the wartime biography of many assimilated Jews. At the end of her wanderings from refuge to refuge in *The Whole Land Brimstone*, she crawls back in desperation and self-pity to her family's home – to find it occupied by new tenants. By the end of the second volume, *The Lost Shore*, she has managed to regain a small measure of human empathy and a tenuous hold on the future.

Zdena Berger's novel, *Tell Me Another Morning* (1959), covers the same territory from the home to the Holocaust and back again – but with greater tenderness and tolerance. The chapters are organized around physical objects, properties of a civilized pre-Holocaust world that may ultimately serve as signposts to guide the soul's return. The three heroines are neither cut off from a community of values nor from one another, and even in the camp they are saved from the loneliness and despair that lead the musselman to his death. In that inevitable moment in survival literature when Tania, the first-person narrator, returns to her former home to find it expropriated by strangers, she somehow finds the strength to lay her memories to rest; it is at this moment that drops of menstrual blood begin to trickle down her leg, signifying the return of her life energies and faith in the possibilities of renewal.

Ilona Karmel, like Zdena Berger, was a survivor who adopted America as her home and English as the medium for her fiction. Her novel, *An Estate of Memory* (1969), is also about survival in a group. Unlike the others, her story begins *in medias res* – "on that day everyone in the camp was painted" – with flashbacks to prewar conditions. It is narrated from the perspective of each of the four women who make up the group. Of the four, only one is to survive the war – but this time the sign of regeneration is not in the survival of these adults but in the rescue of a child who is born to one of the women in the course of her internment. This child's birth and survival represent the possibilities for life even in the death camps, and to each of the four women, who is motherless and childless, the

baby symbolizes all her unborn and her dead. For all the horror, for all the temptation and the compromise, a semblance of the basic human impulses is preserved.

Another novelist whose wartime experience carried him across national and linguistic boundaries is Michel del Castillo, who was born in Spain but was eventually to migrate to France and write his autobiographical novel, *Child of Our Time*, in French in 1957. His novel is one of the outstanding examples of literature of the displaced. Whereas for the American writer, the problem of authenticity in art is primarily one of content, for the displaced European writer it is more the communication of experience. Del Castillo's story is also a significant contribution to the growing number of tales of the children of the Holocaust told by their adult selves. Tanguy is five years old when he begins the long journey that is to lead to separation from both his parents and internment in several concentration camps. He is twenty-four years old when he is finally reunited with his mother in 1955. His tale is told quite simply and directly at first, the innocent and factual perceptions of the child only underscoring the horror of a world that swaddles its children in rags and sends them out to "play" at digging trenches, shooting those who do not work fast or efficiently enough. It is only later, as a young man, that Tanguy begins to wonder "if a world could ever exist in which children were loved and protected." The keynote of his survival is the lack of hatred or desire for revenge that he carries with him into a postwar world in which he can no longer believe in God or in political ideology but only in the few human beings who have buffered him from the brutality of the system.

Jacob Presser, a Dutch writer, is somewhat unusual in having realized his Holocaust memories in both fiction and historiography. He published one short autobiographical novel, *Breaking Point*, in 1958 and ten years later, in his capacity as professor of history, wrote a detailed study of the history of the Dutch Jews during the German occupation. Yet the almost infinite accretion of facts in his scholarly work does not convey the essence of the conflicts and the agonies of the times as powerfully as his fictionalized story of one man's struggle with and triumph over the temptation to collaborate with evil. The author ironically acknowledged the historicity of his story by admitting that, with one exception, "none of the characters is to be identified with any person *still living*" (emphasis mine). The first-person narrative is a relentlessly direct confession of a man who is awaiting deportation to a death camp from the *Westerbork transit camp. The simple tale of the cooption of Jacob, a marginal Jew, into the diabolical hierarchy in which victims become victimizers, and the process of his spiritual return, escapes banality and melodrama by virtue of the depth and the irony that underlie the simplicity of presentation. This is not strictly a story of survival, inasmuch as it is meant to be the last testament of a man condemned to death. But the "coincidence" of the namesakes of narrator and author suggests that "Jacob" did survive to tell the tale; and the ultimate affirmation of the value of life lived humanly is a basic characteristic that this novel shares with the rest of "survival literature."

THE HOLOCAUST IN THE CONTINUUM OF JEWISH HISTORY. There is a way out as well as a way into the inferno for the survivor whose physical and moral preservation provides him with a historical and a normative link to his pre-Holocaust past. For a few European writers such as Elie Wiesel, Nelly Sachs and André *Schwarz-Bart, it is not personal biography, but Jewish history that provides the structural continuity between past and present.

Elie Wiesel, who was deported from his home town of Sighet, then part of Hungary, as a child, infuses his tales of home with all the piety and innocence that childhood memories confer. His writing is not only an act of commemoration, but also of resurrection, of the men who appeared to his young mind as saints and prophets. He focuses not on the deaths but on the lives of these people, and all of his writing has been an attempt to snatch the victims back from the flames that consumed them, to free them from fate, to suspend history, if only for a brief moment. But since, unlike the historically liberated fantasies of Irving Feldman, Wiesel's tales must conclude by handing the victims back to the executioner, the tale must be repeated again and again in what becomes almost a ritualistic act. The madman, the master, the beggar, and the orphan reappear many times in various guises. Wiesel is almost unique among Holocaust writers in reiterating aspects or projections of his own autobiography in repeated stories. By maintaining the dialogue with relatives and teachers long after they have perished, he has managed to retain elements of the pre-Holocaust world as options for relations in the post-Holocaust universe.

Insofar as the Holocaust tends to defy preexistent forms of art, many writers seem to prefer historical narratives to traditional forms of imaginative literature. Stephen Spender wrote that "an attempt to envisage thousands of victims as tragic heroes and heroines is too great a strain on the survivors, and, in art, risks becoming insincere." Wiesel manages to preserve certain aesthetic forms and religious categories by avoiding direct confrontation with atrocity. With the exception of *Night*, his first and most directly confessional novel, the camps exist only on the periphery of the mind of the survivor, or on the edge of the partisan-inhabited forest. He has not taken upon himself the task of envisaging the "thousands of victims." Wiesel himself admitted, in a discussion with Eugene Heimler, that even in the Auschwitz or Buchenwald of *Night*, "I did not describe the Holocaust. I described a child *in* the Holocaust." He has chosen subjects that are manageable and credible in a world whose totality is unmanageable and incredible. The substance of his dialogue with his masters and with God fall within a tradition, which furnishes a literary and theological framework for encompassing the problematic reality of the Jews in the Holocaust. Even his blasphemies can be located in a tradition that stretches from the Patriarch Abraham to Rabbi Levi Isaac of Berdichev. In

The Town beyond the Wall, Michael admits to his friend and alter-ego, Pedro,

> I go up against Him, I shake my fist, I froth with rage, but it's still a way of telling Him that He's there, that He exists… that denial itself is an offering to His grandeur. The shout becomes a prayer in spite of me.

As long as the form of prayer is still there, even when it is emptied of its contents, there is hope of renewal.

But even Wiesel, who has been hailed as the oral as well as the literary spokesman for the Holocaust, seems to be turning away. His books on the Holocaust, *Beggar in Jerusalem* and *One Generation After*, were fragmentary in design, their symbols often contrived and their language closer to empty rhetoric than true parable. In 1972 he published *Souls on Fire*, a recounting of the Hasidic legends he had heard as a child – and in form, if not in content, the book is an extension of his best Holocaust writing. The power and uniqueness of Wiesel's tales of the Holocaust, like the legends on which they were modeled, was that they united dramatic realism with a moral lesson, or, more often, a moral challenge. In *Souls on Fire*, Wiesel seems finally to be able to lay his dead to rest and return to the legendary sources themselves.

Nelly Sachs was perhaps the only poet writing in a European language whose themes and symbols of the Holocaust were so integrated into Jewish history that they tended to diminish the uniqueness of the horror and to turn the murderers into impersonal and abstract forces. The thrust of her poetry is the inevitable suffering of the Jew in the historical dialectic between Jew and non-Jew; if it is the ancient destiny of the Jew to suffer, then it is the equally inescapable destiny of the gentile to perpetrate suffering. The Germans are never singled out as the victimizers in the contemporary catastrophe Nelly Sachs is elegizing; only the Jews are named. "It is our power together to fulfill the ancient call of our people – new and purified by suffering," she wrote to Professor Berendsohn in 1946. It is not difficult to understand why the Germans awarded the Frankfurt Peace Prize to Sachs in 1965 – a prize that carried the commendation for poetry that "reconciles German and Jew without contradiction. Her poems and lyric descriptions are masterpieces of German, works of forgiveness, salvation, and peace." Even the most demonic symbol of the Nazi machinery of death, the crematory chimney, is neutralized in her poetry into a mere latter-day conveyance for facilitating the flow of dust that is as old as the martyrdom of Jeremiah and Job:

> O the chimneys!
> Freedomway for Jeremiah and Job's dust –
> Who devised you and laid stone upon stone
> The road for refugees of smoke?

It almost seems as if there could be more than one answer to the question. In the poem "Landscape of Screams," this latest martyrdom of Israel is seen as preordained and prefigured in the *Akedah* – the screams of Israel are an echo of Abraham's "scream for the son of his heart," and even the sacrificial knife has been passed down as a murder weapon from Mt. Moriah to Maidanek.

For the battered reader of Holocaust literature, Sachs' lyrics offer solace and gentleness. There is no hatred here, no pledge to vengeance. And as the Holocaust assimilates into Jewish history, so all of nature is organic and integral and, ultimately, benevolent.

André Schwarz-Bart's novel, *The Last of the Just* (1959), is another attempt to integrate the Holocaust into the continuum of Jewish suffering. His literary images are far more textured and subtle than those of Nelly Sachs, and the agonies and horrors are far more vivid. But in viewing the Holocaust as a kind of culmination of the pogroms that began in York eleven centuries ago, and in presenting Ernie Levy, one of the Six Million, as the last in the Levy line of Just Men, he too has avoided many of the tensions that plague other writers of the Holocaust. Even the ironies of a betrayed faith at the close of the book are not the tortured challenge and revolt of Wiesel's writing, which is concerned entirely with the internal process of Jewish history and questions of theodicy. If Wiesel rejects the concept of the destiny of the Jews as suffering witnesses to Christian history, both Schwarz-Bart and Nelly Sachs seem to embrace it. "The Christians," says Ernie Levy, "take the cross by the other end and make a sword out of it." Ernie himself becomes an unwitting actor in a children's improvised Passion play, and later accepts a clearly Christological role by seeking martyrdom in the concentration camp at *Drancy and suffering all the children to be comforted by him in their last hours, as his eyes weep tears of blood. Again, as with Nelly Sachs' poetry, there is an abiding faith in the foreordained order of historical roles that lessens moral tensions and diminishes even the death agonies in the gas chambers.

THE HOLOCAUST AS AN APOCALYPTIC EVENT. There is another group of writers, who, although they have little else in common, deny the continuity between the pre-Holocaust past and the post-Holocaust future. For them the Holocaust is the primary and only reality, an apocalyptic event from which there is no return.

The writer who most powerfully delineated the geography of this anti-Eden is Adolf Rudnicki. His collection of short stories, *Ascent to Heaven*, was published in Polish shortly after the war and translated into English a few years later (1951). The desolate backdrop of the ruined ghettos of wartime Poland renders the human attempts to retain a semblance of dignity feeble and pitiful. In all of Holocaust literature, probably the most graphically striking picture of the physical destruction of the civilization of the Jews of Eastern Europe can be found in Rudnicki's story, "The Crystal Stream":

> Here [in the ruins of the Warsaw Ghetto] was not one of the elements created or organized by human effort, nothing to establish that this spot had been inhabited by man. Over an area which the eye could encompass only with difficulty, where formerly the greatest concentration of Jews in Europe had been housed, there was nothing but rubble and broken brick.

The physical context in which Jorge Semprun's French novel *The Long Voyage* (1964) takes place – a boxcar transporting one hundred and twenty political prisoners to Buchenwald – is as indigenous to the landscape of the Holocaust universe as the rubble of the Warsaw Ghetto. The five-day journey becomes the microcosm that contains memories of time past and projections of time future. Semprun uses the voyage, a motif that is almost as old as literature itself, to fix the Holocaust in the eternal present. The narrative, written 16 years after the event, opens this way: "There is the cramming of the bodies into the boxcar, the throbbing pain in the right knee." The endless darkness that envelops these five days is the primordial night, and the works of these days are a new beginning; by the end of the fifth day, death has gained dominion – death by starvation in the boxcar and the murder of Jewish children at the entrance to the camp. For the writer for whom there can be no Holocaust-free memories, this is the first year of the new calendar; 16 years after its stillborn creation, the death of these children is "already adolescent."

But the countryside through which the train passes on its way to – and from – Buchenwald is the serene Moselle Valley, as mockingly indifferent to the plight of these voyagers as are the peasants who live in these valleys and pretend not to smell the sweet smoke that emanates from the camp's chimneys. Buchenwald remains the sole inalienable property of those who were incarcerated there. But if Buchenwald is the primary condition of the narrator's existence, freedom is his essence. Semprun's narrative, like Rousset's, is the story of the political prisoner who chooses his own fate in joining the forces of the Resistance, and however necessary the consequences of such a choice may be, they are predicated on a freedom that was never the Jew's option.

Piotr Rawicz's novel *Blood from the Sky* explores other options, open to those Jews not marked by blatantly "Semitic" features. The hero, Boris, is a young educated Jew from a well-to-do family who manages to survive the war disguised as a Ukrainian farmer. The novel was originally published in French in 1961, and constitutes a very unusual – and not altogether coherent – literary experiment. It is narrated directly by Boris himself and introduced by the "author," who claims to have met him in a café after the war. This double narrative allows for both the earnest confessions of Boris and the cynical commentary of the "author." The fragmented narrative is interspersed with poems, parables, and philosophical speculations that transport the reader out of the normal flow of historical events. The cynicism that Rawicz shares with other writers of quasi-apocalyptic Holocaust literature is evident in some of the more grotesque scenes, which border at times on the scatological. But the more intently serious passages reflect oscillations in Rawicz's search for a literary medium that would be adequate to his subject. Other writers, such as Yakov Lind in German, Romain *Gary in French, and Jerzy *Kosinski in English, have been more consistent in adopting forms that leave no room for sentiment, for altruism or for heroism, which have no reference to a civilized world beyond the concentration camp universe.

Lind's collection of short stories *Soul of Wood* was published in 1964 and Gary's novel *The Dance of Genghis Cohn* appeared in 1968. There are no sane or sober touchstones in this fiction to provide direction for the reader's moral sensibilities. The hero of Lind's title story is a paralytic; Gary's novel is narrated in the first person by the ghost of a Jewish victim who has come back in the form of a *dybbuk* to haunt his Nazi murderer. In his former existence, the narrator was a stand-up comic in the Yiddish burlesque circuit in Berlin, in Warsaw – and "finally in Auschwitz." Both Lind and Gary have rejected the paradigm of tragedy for the paradigm of madness, embracing surrealism as the only mode through which art could express the outrage that the Holocaust had wrought on the human psyche. Gary's narrator, the irrepressible Genghis Cohn, muses with disgust on the classical works of art that have been inspired by the agonies of dying mortals:

> The thought occurs to me that thousands of artists have made works of great beauty out of the sufferings of Christ. They have feasted on it. I also remember that out of mutilated corpses of Guernica Picasso produced *Guernica* and Tolstoy milked war and peace for his *War and Peace*. I've always believed that if we still talk about Auschwitz and Treblinka, it's because the thing has not yet been redeemed by a beautiful work of literature…
>
> Am I, by any chance, being written up, or turned into a work of art or a poem, God forbid? That's one way of getting rid of me, a well-known method of exorcising the dybbuk

Truth is ugliness; ugliness, truth. The grotesque is the norm. Lind's stories do not allow for speculation on the propriety or plausibility of the fact that a passenger riding on a train finds himself sharing a compartment with a genteel-looking man who plans to bludgeon and dismember him and then consume his flesh – or that when one is invited to a stranger's house for dinner, he may find himself served up as entrée. The language of these satires is compressed and matter-of-fact, never indicating by authorial tone that anything out of the ordinary is taking place.

Like Lind, Kosinski circumvents the camps themselves and presents the Holocaust as the universal condition of contemporary mankind. His novel *The Painted Bird* (1965) is, essentially, the story of the inception and growth of evil in the soul of a young child. The Boy is only six years old when the story opens, but it does not take him long to learn that the secret of survival lies in sacrificing his innocence and pledging himself to the demonic forces that are sovereign in his world. As an alien who is taken at times for a gypsy, at times for a Jew – his true identity is never established and is actually irrelevant – he hides in numerous villages and only survives the cruelty of the local peasants by learning to beat them at their own game. These unlettered, instinctual peasants approximate only crudely the tortures that were being perfected a few miles away by civilized humanity in highly efficient concentration camps.

This story is too grim for even black humor. The essence of the drama, admits Kosinski in notes to the German translation of the novel, is hate. And of all the actors, it is the Boy whose hatred is the deepest and most conscious. Precisely because the tainted hero is a child, the novel taps the most primary sources of fear and terror that are sublimated even in much of Holocaust literature. Somehow, until Kosinski, childhood had retained its innocence in tragedy. Michel del Castillo leads his child right through the fires, but he brings him out morally unscathed. Arnošt *Lustig, a Czech writer whose translated stories appeared in the collection *Night and Hope* in 1962, has carved an island of adolescent love, loyalty, and a kind of defiant innocence in the midst of the ghetto. Even Ilse Aichinger's novel, *Herod's Children* (translated from German in 1963), a highly sophisticated attempt to present the fantasy world of a group of persecuted children, preserves the insulation of childhood. The fantasies are often nightmares, and reality intrudes rudely at times to shatter the dreamers with their dreams, but until the end the surviving children retain their solidarity and their ability to love.

Just as Kosinski refuses to limit the collaboration with the forces of destruction to a specific age group, so he refuses to locate Auschwitz on a specific geographical plane. The Holocaust becomes the essence of Western civilization in the twentieth century. It is assimilated into the routine and the vocabulary of our lives. It is the

> Coal-black milk of morning we drink it at sundown
> we drink it at noon and at dawning we drink it at night
> we drink it and drink it…
> (Paul *Celan, "Todesfuge" ("Fugue of Death"))

There is one writer who refused to enhance or augment stark reality by submitting it to even the minimal demands of artistic or moral mediation. Tadeusz Borowski was a Polish writer who spent several years as a political prisoner in Nazi camps. His own behavior during his internment was, according to his compatriot and fellow writer Czeslaw Milosz, admirable – but the narrators in his fiction are presented as collaborators in a system that is universally debasing. When all the trappings of civilization are stripped away, naked humanity shows itself to be a bundle of animal needs, its cleverness and strength directed only toward satisfying those needs. There is revulsion in the attitudes of the camp inmates to work they are forced to do, but it is aesthetic, rather than moral, revulsion. Borowski's prose is brutally direct, and he refuses to clothe the naked bloated bodies of dead children in the dignity of a single metaphor. Not only is there no pre-Holocaust world in his fiction, there is no world at all outside the physical boundaries of the system.

Borowski's short stories began to appear in English translation in the early 1960s, but were collected, under the title *This Way to the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen*, only in 1967. By this time their author had been dead for 16 years. Most of his Holocaust stories had been written immediately after the war – quite an unusual phenomenon, if one recalls that several years (in some cases, decades) had to elapse before most writers could attempt to transform their memories into art. Borowski did not permit himself the luxury of distance either in time or in literary perspective. He received immediate recognition in postwar Poland for his uncompromising treatment of Nazism – but with the hardening of the Party line his writing came to be regarded as too nihilistic, and he was prevailed upon to set his literary talents to Communist polemic. Finally, overburdened by the mendacious propaganda he was forced to write, or by the memories his fiction had not exorcised, Borowski took his own life in 1951.

ART AS THE REDEMPTION OF MEANING. It is striking that for the most part the Jewish writers, or at least those who share a traditionally Jewish view of the function of art, have not allowed their world or their word to collapse. For the seminal Hebrew poet, Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik, the poetic word was a bridge over the chasm of nothingness, a spontaneous creation out of the void. Yet it is not simply in the act of nomination, but also in the affirmative act of transmission that the Jewish poet has sought to fulfill his role. Bialik himself was the poet of national calamity as well as national aspiration, and his poems commemorating the martyrs of the *Kishinev pogrom constitute a form of historical transmission that is as old as the lamentations of Jeremiah. It is in the light of this impulse to use art as a vehicle for national experience that we can understand the concern of many European Jewish writers with the documentary authenticity of their art, or the attempt of other writers to fit the Holocaust into a historical continuum.

Nevertheless, the inevitable consequence of the passage of time is the diminishing presence of the survivors, witnesses to the history, who force the confrontation between the event and the literary reflections of the event. To the extent that the Jewish artist is engaged in the "documentation" of historical agonies and the transformation of experience into a summons for renewal, time is running out.

The writer who has seen the fires of the camps and called them the flames of a dreadful apocalypse, and the writer who has looked at the same fires and seen the phoenix rising from the ashes, present not only two distinct artistic responses to the Holocaust experience, but also different paradigms for the relation between art and history and the place of art in modern culture.

[Sidra Ezrachi]

INTO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY. In the last quarter of the twentieth century and well into the first decade of the twenty-first, Holocaust literature has emerged as a distinct genre, recognizable, and increasingly indispensable to understanding the event and its implications and to the ability to comprehend humanity *in extremis*.

Survivors, primarily Jewish survivors, have continued to write memoirs and to tell their stories. The extent of their contribution is significant, especially considering the paucity of written recollections of what happened to the Roma and Sinti (gypsies), whose testimony remains oral and virtually unre-

corded and undocumented. The Jewish survivors have written in every European language, including Yiddish and Hebrew. With the increased interest in the Holocaust, important works written in one language find their way into others.

New media have provided new opportunities. With the advent of inexpensive video technology and the massive efforts of video history programs, no generation to date has left as complete a record of its experience. Lawrence *Langer's *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory* (1991) is an important literary exploration of the importance of this new way of telling. These recordings will offer future generations a people's memories of the event.

As James *Young has pointed out, there is a dramatic difference between memoirs written after the event, at a distance, and the diarist writing within the inferno. The diarists did not know what lay ahead, perhaps could not know what lay ahead precisely because it was unimaginable, and thus the reader is left with the whirlwind of often indigestible experience, without order, and often without any way of interpreting it. In contrast, the memoir writer knows at the beginning of the story what happened and imposes order on what was experienced in chaos, inserts knowledge of what was happening elsewhere that was unavailable to one undergoing the experience. Generally, the organization is simple, as reflected in the title of Siegfried Halbreich's 1991 memoir, *Before, During and After,* though the life that he lived did not lend itself to such neat order. "*Before*" was not quite before and "*During*" there was total uncertainty if there would be an "*After.*"

Each memoirist encounters the limits of language in its ability to describe in ordinary words what happened. Primo Levi was not alone in insisting that had the *lagers* lasted a little longer, they would have invented a language of their own to describe the destruction and dehumanization of men and women. Indeed, it is the mark of a serious writer on the Holocaust that he understands and wrestles with the attempt to express the inexpressible, to put into words what it may be impossible to be put into words. Elie Wiesel wondered if the very commitment to language was not betrayal. Ludwig *Wittgenstein wrote at the end of the *Tractatus*: "Whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must remain silent." And yet, as Martin Buber said: "Speak we must. Such is the melancholy of man, also his greatness."

Major writers have tried to grapple with the events of the Holocaust and some have written significant books. William Styron, whose *Confessions of Nat Turner* (1967) was an important exploration of slavery, used a young Southerner as his means for exploring the Holocaust. He relied on the work of Richard L. Rubenstein in *The Cunning of History*, in which Rubenstein viewed the Holocaust as the perverse perfection of human slavery: The slave was no longer a capital investment but a consumable raw material to be used in the process of manufacture and recycled into the German war economy. In *Sophie's Choice* (1979) Styron respectfully did not use a Jewish inmate but Sophie, a non-Jewish Pole, as his entry point. Styron did not enter Auschwitz; he viewed it from the vantage point of the Commandant's house. Styron understood the particularity of the Jewish experience and respected it.

But at the defining moment of the novel, when Sophie is forced to make a choice, Styron backs away. He cannot penetrate into Sophie's world. Styron understood that the victims faced "choiceless choices," choosing between the impossible and the horrific, never choosing between good and bad, right and wrong, but between the unimaginable and impossible. So when Sophie was forced to choose, Styron protected her zone of privacy. Every casual reader wanted to know how Sophie felt – a trivial question that would merit a trivial answer. She did not feel. She could not feel. Instead Styron asked: what manner of man put Sophie before such a choice – a profound question that shatters our image of humanity and that shakes us to the foundation of our being.

He wrote:

> *Someday I will understand Auschwitz.* This was a brave statement but innocently absurd. No one will ever understand Auschwitz. What I might have set down with more accuracy might have been: *Someday I will write about Sophie's life and death. And thereby help demonstrate how absolute evil is never extinguished from the world.* Auschwitz itself remains inexplicable. The most profound statement yet made about Auschwitz was not a statement at all, but a response.

Philip *Roth, whose earlier explorations of American Jews enraged some Jewish critics, who feared that he was telling non-Jews too much about the dark side of American Jewish life, has been instrumental in bringing East European writing, especially Jewish writing, to the United States. Like his elders, Saul *Bellow and Arthur *Miller, and other American Jewish writers, Roth explored the Holocaust, albeit from the vantage point of safety, from the perspective of memory. His offering, a 2004 work of counterhistory, *The Plot against America*, envisions an antisemitic Charles Lindbergh as president from 1941, not Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and depicts a counterhistory so vividly that even though the reader knows it is fiction, he rapidly turns the pages to see how it turns out.

Holocaust literature has been recognized and rewarded as unique testimony of the human spirit. In 2002, the Hungarian Jewish writer Imre *Kertész was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature "for writing that upholds the fragile experience of the individual against the barbaric arbitrariness of history."

The citation read: "In his writing Imre Kertész explores the possibility of continuing to live and think as an individual in an era in which the subjection of human beings to social forces has become increasingly complete…. For him Auschwitz is not an exceptional occurrence that like an alien body subsists outside the normal history of Western Europe. It is the ultimate truth about human degradation in modern existence." His work, especially his novel *Sorstalanság* (1975; *Fateless*, 1992), deals with his experience as a young teenager in Auschwitz. As does his *Kaddis a meg nem született gyermekért* (1990; *Kaddish for a Child not Born*, 1997), which shares much of Primo Levi's pessimism regarding the human condition,

and explores the dubious blessing of survival and the price paid for that survival.

There is a paradox relating to the Holocaust: the more distant we stand from the event the larger the event looms. For some writers the event is no longer the focus, but memory; not direct experience but the recollection of that experience by themselves or by others. The focus is on memory, most especially when there is a struggle for memory. Saul *Friedlaender, a distinguished historian who has focused on the Holocaust, produced what may arguably be called his most important work in *When Memory Comes* (1979; originally published in France as *Quand vient la souvenir*, 1978). A child survivor of the Holocaust whose parents were murdered in Auschwitz, raised as a Catholic, Friedlaender was told the truth about himself only as he was preparing to enter the priesthood. Child survivors of the Holocaust, young children especially who by the turn of the twenty-first century were men and women in their sixties and seventies, have been insistent that they too remember. For years, many of them had their memories challenged – sometimes protectively, sometimes defiantly, and sometimes dismissively as people said: "What could you remember, you were only a child."

Children's memories are suspect; so too are their memoirs, especially now after the controversy surrounding Binjamin Wilkomirski's *Fragments* (1995), a brilliant "memoir" that was very well reviewed but turned out to have been a work of imaginative fiction. The fraud was scandalous, injurious to the entire genre of memoirs, and fodder in the hands of those who would deny the Holocaust and challenge all survivors' testimony. The genocide scholar and young child survivor Robert Melson's work *False Papers* (2000) was an important attempt to distinguish between the stories that he had heard and the moments he recalled. Children may not remember events because events have a context and a history, and children may not be familiar with either. They will recall, often quite vividly, emotions like fear and terror, excitement or anticipation. They may even recall colors and smells, which later knowledge permits them to interpret events in a more complete narrative. Despite his youth at the time, Melson insists on the integrity of his memory and keeps the reader informed of the difference between what he has remembered and what he has pieced together as an adult. Melson insists that he remembers what he remembers, but fortifies his personal memories by allowing the reader to understand how the fragments of his memories have been pieced together into a coherent narrative. He interviewed his parents over an extended period of time and presents their stories in their own voices. Nina, Willy, and Bobi thus emerge with integrity of their own, and each character is given his due. Yehuda Nir has written of *The Lost Childhood* (1989). His teenage years were not a period of adolescence; he went from childhood to adulthood with the German invasion. His sentiments are mirrored by the historian Nechama Tec's *Dry Tears: The Story of a Lost Childhood* (1982). Alexandra Zapruder edited an important collection of children's diaries and essays written during the Holocaust in *Salvaged Pages* (2002).

Child survivors must be distinguished from children of survivors. Helen Epstein's *Children of the Holocaust: Conversations with Sons and Daughters of Survivors* (1979) called a generation into being. And several major writers have emerged as literary figures in their own right who are children of survivors and who have made the Holocaust a centerpiece, if not the centerpiece, of their work. *See Under – Love* (1989; in Hebrew, 1986) is one of many fine works by the Israeli author David Grossman. American writers like Melvin Bukiet, author of *Stories of an Imaginary Childhood* (1992), *After* (1996), and *Nothing Makes You Free: Writings by Descendants of the Jewish Holocaust Survivors* (2002), an anthology he edited, and Thane Rosenbaum, author of *Second Hand Smoke* (1999), *Elijah Visible* (1996), and *Golems of Gotham* (2002), have centered their work on their experience as children of survivors. The cartoonist Art *Spiegelman used his craft to daringly and controversially portray his family narrative in two works, *Maus* (1986) and *Maus II* (1991), and was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for his efforts.

Women's literature has emerged as a distinct form of Holocaust narrative. While Jewish women were victimized as Jews, there are distinct aspects to their suffering that are not encompassed in the male experience and the male narrative. Dalia Offer and Lenore Weizmann, Carol Rittner and John Roth have compiled anthologies and critical discussions. Charlotte Delbo is a non-Jewish French writer who has shared her experience as an inmate. The Holocaust has been used by some women writers as an instrument to advance a feminist agenda, usually unsuccessfully. More importantly, when the tools of women's studies are used to understand unique aspects of the Holocaust, little controversy emerges and greater understanding.

The emergence of Holocaust literature has spawned the field of literary studies of the Holocaust. Lawrence Langer wrote *The Holocaust and the Literary Imagination* (1975) as a student of literature; his subsequent works have been attempts to understand the Holocaust through the lens of literature and increasingly of art. He has given the field a definitive understanding of the situation of the victims with his memorable phrase "choiceless choices." He has been insistent that the Holocaust be confronted not as a tragedy but as an atrocity, an event without redemptive meaning that shatters the orderliness of time and perspective.

Alvin Rosenfeld has spent half a century using literary criticism as a lens of understanding. His early work *Double Dying: Reflections on Holocaust Literature* (1980) has been joined by a later, edited, work, *Thinking About the Holocaust: After Half a Century* (1997), that uses his skill as a literary scholar to probe the Holocaust. Sidra DeKoven Ezrahi's *By Words Alone: The Holocaust in Literature* (1980), explores literature and the limitations of literature.

The literary critic Terrence Des Pres introduced the term "excremental assault" (in *The Survivor: An Anatomy of Life in the Death Camps*, 1976), which over time has been understood not as a metaphor but as an actual depiction of the Nazi at-

tempt at human defilement. What Bruno Bettelheim in the *Informed Heart* (1960) once dismissed as infantilization of the victims has come to be perceived as structural. Robert Jan Van Pelt described the architecture of Auschwitz in *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (1994), edited by Israel Gutman and Michael Berenbaum. Van Pelt tallied 70 latrines for 35,000 inmates, a biological catastrophe that was an essential part of the design of the camp. Dehumanization, as Gitta Sereny discovered in her memoir, *Into That Darkness: From Mercy Killing to Mass Murder* (1974), was essential to the perpetrators. It made the act of killing easier.

David Roskies and Alan Mintz, both of the Jewish Theological Seminary, both students of Hebrew literature and Roskies of Yiddish literature, have attempted to put this literature of the Shoah into the context of the history of Jewish literature and thus to explore what it shares in common and where it differs. Roskies' anthology, *Literature of Destruction: Jewish Responses to Catastrophe* (1989), traverses the whole of Jewish literature and places the Holocaust within it, while his work *Against the Apocalypse: Responses to Catastrophe in Modern Jewish Culture* (1984), confines itself to the modern world and travels far beyond literature. Mintz, in *Ḥurban: Responses to Catastrophe in Hebrew Literature* (1984), seeks like Roskies to explore the Holocaust in a broader context. He later wrote on *Popular Culture and the Shaping of Holocaust Memory in America* (2001).

Gabriel Rosenfeld has explored counterhistory in *The World Hitler Never Made* (2005). Thus with all the exalted genre of Holocaust literature, there is a dark side as well; high art joins low. In the hands of talented and respectful writers, those who approach the subject with fear and trembling, the very subject matter calls forth new creation and expands the boundaries of literary possibility. It illumines our understanding of the event as those with imagination, sensitivity, and talent grapple with its impact and asks new questions or explore old questions in new ways. And because the Holocaust has now become a paradigmatic manifestation of twentieth-century evil, a centerpiece of our understanding of all evil and of the human capacity to inflict and to endure evil, there is no doubt that it will be a subject of literature for the future as well.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Halperin, *Messengers from the Dead* (1970); A. Alvarez, in: *Commentary* 38, no. 5 (Nov., 1964), 65–69; D.G. Roskies, in *Conservative Judaism* (Summer, 1971), 41–45; E. Roditi, in: *Congress bi-Weekly*, 33, no. 13 (Oct. 24, 1966), 15–16; M. Syrkin, in: *Midstream*, 12:5 (May, 1966), 3–20; E. Pawel, *ibid.*, 16, no. 6 (June/July, 1970), 14–26.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

Historiography of the Holocaust

Literature dealing with the Holocaust began to take shape in the 1950s. From the end of the war through the early 1950s the main task was gathering facts and personal memoirs. P. Friedman collected a bibliography of bibliographies of that period. Among the first were Léon Poliakov, Bréviaire de la haine (1951; *Harvest of Hate*, 1954) and Gerald *Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* (1953). They describe actual events, look at some of the primary sources of Nazi hatred, and ask how such cold-blooded murder could have been perpetrated. In these studies the Jews appear as a passive element, the helpless victims of the machinery of destruction. In *Their Brothers' Keepers* (1967) P. Friedman attempted to describe mainly the courageous stand of the Jews, as did Ber Mark from a pro-Communist point of view in *Walka i zaglada warszawskiego getta* (1959). A new era in Holocaust research was inaugurated with Raul Hilberg's *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1961), which is the basic book for an understanding of German bureaucracy and the history of the murder of the Jews. Like the previous works it is based mainly on German sources. Hilberg studies in depth the amoral character of German bureaucracy and in doing so alludes to the danger inherent in bureaucratic systems as a whole. While he does not deal specifically with Jewish reaction, he states that Jewish leadership during that period became part of the Nazi bureaucratic system, albeit unwillingly, and that this contributed to the efficiency and the lack of any real resistance. He believes that the passivity of the Jewish people was the result of its historical Diaspora heritage, and that they did not avail themselves, except in isolated instances, of the only possible mode of reaction: armed revolt.

Many questions on these subjects were raised at the Eichmann trial in 1961. The dramatic character of the trial and the wealth of facts that emerged provided a new incentive to research into the Holocaust. Among the directly related publications are *Ne'um ha-Petiḥah me'et Gidon Hausner, Ha-Yoeẓ ha-Mishpati la-Memshalah neged Edolf Eichmann, Piskei Din ve-Eduyyot*, 1 (1961–63); idem, *Ne'um ha-Sikkum* 3 (1962); H. Barlas, N. Blumenthal, and Y. Kermish, *Ha-Sho'ah ve-ha-Mishpat*, 1–3 (1961–63); and R.M.W. Kempner, *Eichmann und Konplizen* (1961) (Heb., *Ha-Mikẓoa Hashmadah* (1963)), and Gideon Hausner, *Justice in Jerusalem* (1966).

Hannah Arendt in *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (1963) interpreted the facts in an extreme manner. She believed that the atrocities had been perpetrated by bureaucrats the likes of which are found in large numbers in every society today. In her opinion, Jewish leadership cooperated fully with the Nazis and it would have been better had there been no leaders. Jacob Robinson in his *And the Crooked Shall be Made Straight* (1965) pointed out countless errors in her book, and seriously challenged the validity of her conclusions. The book by the psychologist Bruno Bettelheim, *The Informed Heart* (1961), expresses views related to those of Hilberg. The Nazi system, as evidenced by what happened during the reign of terror in the concentration camps, had the power to crush its victims and turn them into mere ciphers. Only rare individuals could survive; it was precisely the Jews with their humanistic-liberal education who were among the easiest victims. Robinson also replied to Bettelheim in *Psychoanalysis in a Vacuum: B. Bettelheim and the Holocaust* (1970). From objections to the books of Hilberg, Arendt, and Bettelheim, an apologetic literature emerged that tried to defend the stand of the Jews: e.g., Y. Suhl, *They Fought Back* (1967);

M. Elkins, *Forged in Fury* (1971); and R. Ainzstein in his *Jewish Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Eastern Europe* (1974) went to extremes in describing the Holocaust as the history of the war of the armed Jews against the Nazis. The aim of such an exaggerated approach was possibly to fill the spiritual need of the Jewish public in general, and that of the Israelis in particular, to counteract the feeling of helplessness felt so strongly at the Eichmann trial.

In Eastern Europe, mainly in Poland, historiography that explains the Holocaust as the result of the rise to power of German imperialism and European fascism has been prevalent (especially since 1967). The Polish people are described as assisting in the attempts to save the Jews while the Jews are described as totally passive and their leadership as traitorous and weak. Allegations were directed particularly against the Zionists, who are said to have cooperated with the Nazis. According to these interpretations, the ghetto uprisings, especially in the Warsaw ghetto, were carried out by pro-Communist Jews under Communist leadership. Such is the case with W. Bartoszewski-Z. Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations: How the Poles Helped the Jews, 1939–1945* (1969), which describes in broad detail the help allegedly extended by most of the Polish people to the Jews. This distortion of history is also found in the works of serious historians: G. Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polace* (1970), K. Iranek-Osmecki, *Kto ratuje jedno zycie… Polacy i Zydzi 1939–1945* (1968). Some Polish historiography, occasionally shared by Polish emigrés to the West, tends to become propaganda and approaches antisemitism by accusing the Jews, in effect, of participating in their own annihilation.

The Nazis ("neo-Nazis"), and those who consciously or unconsciously support them, also have their own propaganda historiography: P. Rassinier, *Le drame des Juifs européens* (1964); R. Harwood, *Did Six Million Really Die: The Truth at Last* (1974); Austin J. App, *The Six Million Swindle: Blackmailing the German People for Hard Marks with Fabricated Corpses* (1974); T. Christophersen, *The Auschwitz-Betrug* (1975). This literature minimizes the number of Jews murdered, denies the very existence of the gas chambers in Auschwitz, claims that the Jews suffered no more than other nations and that their only casualties were war victims, or even that the murder of the Jews did not take place at all. This propaganda reached its climax with a book by Arthur R. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (1976), which claims that only a million Jews were killed during the war, that all the others emigrated and scattered, and that the Holocaust was invented by the Jews to extract money from the Germans and gain favor with the Western powers.

Following the Eichmann trial, and increasingly from the end of the 1960s, historiographic literature has been published that is not connected with any ideology. While Nora Levin's *The Holocaust* (1968) is largely a repeat of Hilberg's great book, *The War against the Jews 1933–1945* (1975) by Lucy S. Dawidowicz was a new attempt at producing a general work on the Holocaust. The book does not deal with all of Jewish Europe and makes some generalizations that are not accepted by all research scholars. However, it does help in producing a much more balanced picture. A book by N. Eck, *Sho'at ha-Am ha-Yehudi be-Europa* (1975), is a less convincing comprehensive attempt. Helen Fein in her *Accounting for Genocide* (1979) uses a sociological-historical model that attempts to explain the differences between various occupied countries with regard to victimization of the Jews. Yehuda Bauer's *Holocaust in Historical Perspective* (1978) and *The Jewish Emergence from Powerlessness* (1979) are analytical attempts to deal with overall problems of the period from the historian's angle. Studies on many specific topics are missing and, although significant progress in the field of monographs and basic research has been made, without such studies it will be difficult to arrive at a balanced historical description. German scholars deal in depth with the study of the Nazi policy towards the Jews; e.g., H. Krausnick's "Judenverfolgung," in Helmut Krausnick, Martin Broszat, and Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, *Anatomy of the SS State* (1968), clarifies when the Nazis decided on the Final Solution and the stages in the Nazi policy towards the Jewish question. Andreas Hillgruber in "Die Endlosung und das Deutsche Ostimperium" in *Viertel-jahreshefte fuer Zeitgeschichte*, 2 (1972) deals with the connection between the murder of the Jews and the policy of Hitler towards the East; V.D. Adam in *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich* (1972) traces the administrative steps of the Nazis towards the Jews and the tortuous paths of Nazi policy. Generally speaking, however, neither German, nor American, British, or French historiography has integrated the Holocaust in its analysis of World War II.

Isaiah Trunk's *Judenrat* (1972) deals with the problematics of the Jewish Councils (*Judenraete*) in Poland and in the Baltic countries and their areas of activity and patterns of behavior. Another comprehensive survey of Judenraete is to be found in *Patterns of Jewish Leadership in Nazi Europe 1933–1945* (1979), in the Proceedings of the Third Yad Vashem International Historical Conference, April 1979. Bibliography on this subject was collected by V. Wahlen in "Select Bibliography Judenraete under the Nazi Rule," in *Yad Vashem Studies*, 10 (1974). Books of basic documentation have been published: Nachman Blumental, *Darko shel Judenrat* (1962) on the Bialystok ghetto; Blumental, *Te'udot mi-Getto Lublin* (1967); Blumental and Yosef Kermish, *Ha-Meri ve-ha-Mered be-Getto Varshah* (1965); Adam Czerniakow, *Yoman Getto Varshah* (1969). In addition to the collections of documents, more than 500 books in commemoration of destroyed communities and memoirs of survivors have been published. Each adds a piece to the puzzle.

The study of the reaction, behavior, and resistance of the Jews is also still in progress. Among the important studies on this subject are Z.A. Brown and D. Levin, *Toldoteha shel Maḥteret, ha-Irgun ha-Loḥem shel Yehudei Kovno* (1962), on Kovno; Yitzhak *Arad, *Vilna ha-Yehudit be-Ma'avakah u-ve-Kilyon* (1976) on Vilna; Arad, *Ghetto in Flames* (1980) on Vilna; Israel Gutman, *Mered Kovno* (1962), on Kovno; Gutman, *Mered ha-Neẓurim* (1963), about Mordecai Anielewicz; Gut-

man, *Yehudei Varshah 1939–1943* (1977), on Warsaw; A. Margaliot, *Ben hatsalah le-ovdan: 'iyunim be-toldot Yehude Germanyah 1932–1938* (Jerusalem, 1990); and Livia Rothkirchen, *Ḥurban Yahadut Slovakia* (1961), on Slovakia. The description of the rescue of the Jews of Denmark is a separate chapter that has been dealt with by L. Yahil's *Haẓalat ha-Yehudim be-Denyah* (1967; *The Rescue of Danish Jewry*, 1969).

Studies of armed resistance by the Jews include Yehuda Bauer, *They Chose Life: Resistance in the Holocaust* (1973); Dov Levin, *With Their Backs to the Wall* (1978); Dov Levin, *Loḥamim ve-Omedim al Nafsham: Milḥemet Yehudei Lita ba-Naẓim 1941–1945* (1975), on Lithuania; Dov Levin, *Im ha-Gav el ha-Kir – Leḥimat Yehudei Latvia neged ha-Naẓim 1942–1944* (1978), on Latvia; Shmuel Krakowski, *Leḥimah Yehudit be-Polin neged ha-Naẓim 1942–1944* (1977), on Poland; Erich Kulka, *Ha-Yehudim be-Ẓeva Swoboda bi-Berit ha-Moaẓot,' Leḥimat Yehudei Tchekhoslovakia be-Nazim be-Milhemet ha-Olam ha-Sheniah* (1977), on Jews with the Czech Army in the U.S.S.R.

However, most of the specific research on these subjects has appeared in articles and monographs published mainly in the collections of *Yad Vashem Studies*, thirty-three volumes as of 2006 in Hebrew and English; *Yalkut Moreshet* (73 issues as of 2006); *Dappim le-Ḥeker ha-Sho'ah ve-ha-Mered*, published by Bet Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot, First Series, two volumes (1951–52); Second Series, 17 volumes up to 2006; Institute for Research of the Holocaust Period, the University of Haifa and the Ghetto Fighters House, *Studies of the Holocaust Period* Vol. 1 (1978). Yad Vashem has also published collections of studies: *Ha-Amidah ha-Yehudit bi-Tekufat ha-Sho'ah* (1973), an introduction into the general problems of the Holocaust, and *Nisyonot Haẓalah be-Tekufat ha-Sho'ah* (1976), on rescue attempts.

Among those who have written on the survivors of the Holocaust are Z. Zimmerman, "*Li-Demutah shel She'erit ha-Peletah be-Germanyah*" (in *Gesher*, 4, 1969); Zimmerman, *Ha-Itonut shel She'erit ha-Peletah be-Germanyah* (1970), on the survivors' press; Yehuda Bauer, *Flight and Rescue: Brikha* (1970).

There has been an increase in the literature on the attitude of the various countries and groups to the Holocaust. Those concerning the United States include David S. Wyman's *Paper Walls* (1968); Henry L. Feingold, *The Politics of Rescue* (1970); and Saul S. Friedman, *No Haven for the Oppressed* (1973). Piercing questions about the apathy of the world are raised by Arthur D. Morse in *While Six Million Died* (1968). More and more questions are being asked about the attitude of the Jews of the free world and the Yishuv in Palestine towards their brethren under the Nazi rule, as in Yehuda Bauer's *American Jewry and the Holocaust* (1980). In the Jewish and Christian worlds, questions are raised as to how an omnipotent God could have allowed such bestiality to occur. From a traditional but not necessarily Orthodox Jewish point of view, Emil Fackenheim's *God's Presence in History* (1970) deals with the "commanding voice of Auschwitz" against giving Hitler a posthumous victory. A more conservative approach is that of Eliezer Berkovits in *Faith after the Holocaust* (1973). He dwells on the doctrine of *hester panim* (God's turning away His face). Irving J. Rosenbaum's *The Holocaust and Halakhah* (1976) produces evidence that there was ongoing religious activity during the Holocaust, as does H.J. Zimmels' *The Echo of the Nazi Holocaust in the Rabbinic Literature* (1975). A critical approach to the religious aspect of the Holocaust is in Richard L. Rubinstein, *After Auschwitz* (1966); Alexander Donat, *The Holocaust Kingdom* (1965); and Donat, "*Kol mi-Tokh ha-Afar*" (in *Yalkut Moreshet*, 21, 1976; "Reply" of M. Unna in *ibid.*, 22, 1976).

A summary of the various theological approaches and their categorization according to models (mainly biblical) appears in P. Peli's *Be-Ḥippus aḥar Lashon Datit la-Sho'ah* (*Shenaton Yerushalayim*, 1977).

Another trend in historiography aims at clarifying the sources of Nazi antisemitism: Samuel Ettinger, "*Shorshei ha-Anti-Shemiyyut be-Zeman ha-Ḥadash*," and Jacob L. Talmon, "*Te'udah ve-Edut: Mashma'utah ha-Universalit shel ha-Anti-Shemiyyut ha-Hadashah*" (in *Sho'at Yehudei Europa*, 1973) investigated the question of whether Nazi antisemitism is a new historical phenomenon or the continuation of traditional antisemitism of the Christian religious type. Uriel Tal, in *Christians and Jews in Germany: Religion, Politics and Ideology in the Second Reich, 1870–1914* (1975), studies the prior background to these problems. In a number of articles (cf. Yad Vashem XIII) Tal examines in depth some of the basic historiographical problems of the Holocaust. The influence of mass culture on the development of deep-seated hatred of the Jews is investigated by George Mosse in *Germans and Jews* (1970) and *The Nationalization of the Masses* (1975).

Saul Friedlaender in *Pius XII and the Third Reich* (1966; *Pie XII et le IIIe Reich*, 1964), *L'anti-semitisme Nazi: histoire d'une psychose collective* (1971), and "The Historical Significance of the Holocaust" (in *The Jerusalem Quarterly*, 1, 1976) makes use of psychology to explain the history of the Holocaust and investigates the relationship between the Catholic Church and the Jews during that period. Other studies on the subject are Guenther Lewy's *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* (1964), and from the Christian point of view, Franklin H. Littell and Hubert G. Locke (eds.), *The German Church Struggle and the Holocaust* (1974); Littel, *The Crucifixion of the Jews* (1976); A. Roy Eckardt, *Elder and Younger Brothers: The Encounter of Jews and Christians* (1967); and Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide* (1975). All these works show that Christian antisemitism had a central influence upon the development of Nazi antisemitism.

Discussion about the influence of the Holocaust on literature and art has become more widespread, for example in Shamai Golan (ed.), *Ha-Sho'ah: Pirkei Edut ve-Sifrut* (1976); Cynthia Haft, *The Theme of Nazi Concentration Camps in French Literature* (1973); Jacob Glatstein, Israel Knox, and Samuel Margoshes (eds.), *Anthology of Holocaust Literature* (1973); and Lawrence L. Langer, *The Holocaust and the Literary Imagination* (1975).

Various bibliographical works have been published on this theme. Philip Friedman gathered material on the first period of research in his bibliography of bibliographies; Mendel Piekarz (ed.), *Ha-Sho'ah Veha-Gevurah be-Aspaklaryah Shel ha-'itonut ha-'Ivrit*, four volumes (1966; "The Jewish Holocaust and Heroism Through the Eyes of the Hebrew Press"); Piekarz, *Ha-Sho'ah u-Sefiḥeha be-Sefarim ha-Ivri'im she-Yats'u la-or be-Shanim 1933–1972*, two volumes (1974; "The Holocaust and its Aftermath"); Philip Friedman and Josef Gar, *Bibliography of Yiddish Books on the Catastrophe and Heroism* (1962); Jacob Robinson, *The Holocaust and After-Sources and Literature in English* (1973); *Guide to Unpublished Material of the Holocaust Period*, The Hebrew University Institute of Contemporary Jewry, 1–5 (1970–79).

[Yehuda Bauer and Aharon Weiss]

In the years between 1980 and 2005, scholarship on the Holocaust has grown in quality and quantity and in a certain sense is overwhelming.

Studying and researching the Holocaust has become a multidisciplinary task. Historians still dominate but the areas of psychology and literature, sociology and theology, philosophy and film, linguistics and even chemistry and architecture have made important contributions to the field. Two major developments will have an ongoing impact on the subject. With the collapse of Communism and the fall of the Iron Curtain, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and Yad Vashem have jointly and individually undertaken major efforts throughout Europe, especially Eastern Europe, to microfilm records relating to the Holocaust. These records, hitherto inaccessible to Western scholars, are now available in Washington and/or Jerusalem. It will take decades to mine this material. The ongoing declassification of records will make still more material available, and this too is shedding important light on the field. Secondly, as the invention of video technology coincided with increased consciousness of the Holocaust, survivor testimony is now available and will add to increased understanding not just of the history of the Shoah, but also to personalize and individualize that understanding. This new material will also provide a useful tool to probe memory and contrast earlier testimony, when the events were fresh in the survivors' minds and untainted by information acquired later.

Several general histories been published, and they have added immeasurably to Holocaust understanding. Raul Hilberg has published a second (1985) and third edition (2003) of his magisterial work, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, along with his introduction to the study of the Holocaust, *Sources of Holocaust Research: An Analysis* (2001). He also published *Perpetrator, Victim, Bystander: The Jewish Catastrophe 1933–45* (1992). Hilberg incorporated documents not available for his first edition and each subsequent edition has been a refinement and more precise than the original. His work on *Sources* is an important guide to how to read documents. He never backs off from his reading of the way in which German documents perceived the Jewish struggle, though the English edition of the *Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow* clearly articulates the dilemma facing Jewish leadership. As always, Hilberg's work is authoritative and instructive.

Martin Gilbert's *The Holocaust: A History of the Jews during the Second World War* (1985) makes voluminous use of testimonies to narrate the events. It offers the texture of testimony and packs emotional power. Saul Friedlander has written the first of a proposed two-volume study, *Nazi Germany and the Jews (*Volume 1: *The Years of Persecution, 1933–1939*), which weaves together narratives that have seldom been combined, along with rigorous historical analysis. Richard L. Rubenstein and John K. Roth have updated *Approaches to Auschwitz: The Holocaust and Its Legacy* (1987, 2003). It provides diverse ways of understanding the event, from psychology to theology, history, and literature as well as film and art. Yehuda Bauer's *History of the Holocaust* (1982) is meant for classroom use. It offers a comprehensive view from the perspective of Israel's preeminent Holocaust scholar. Younger scholars Deborah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt have written *Holocaust: A History* (2002). The title is appropriately modest for a substantive work that balances the large narrative of history with the personal stories of survivors. The authors had previously collaborated on *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present* and have woven the historical with the personal. Because of Van Pelt's training as an architect, the book pays attention to physical construction and architectural issues, and because of Dwork's writings on children, the plight of children is illustrated throughout. Michael Marrus' *The Holocaust in History* (1987) reviews the major issues of historical debate in the first 42 years after the Shoah and still has enduring value. Omer Bartov's *Germany's War and the Holocaust; Disputed Histories* (2002) brings together German historians of World War II with Holocaust historians, Israeli, American, and German.

Lawrence Langer began his career as a student of literature who touched on the Holocaust. He then became a student of the Holocaust who uses his literary training to understand the event and its representations. His work on *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory* (1991) is probing and uncompromising, as is *Versions of Survival: The Holocaust and the Human Spirit* (1982). The literary anthology he edited, *Art from the Ashes* (1995), is comprehensive and offers a wide range of literary and other artistic explorations. Together with Alvin Rosenfeld, whose works include *Imagining Hitler* (1995), *Anne Frank and the Future of Holocaust Memory* (2005), and the volume he edited, *Thinking about Hitler: After Half a Century* (1997), and Sidra Ezrachi, author of *By Words Alone: The Holocaust in Literature* (1980), have demonstrated that literature is indispensable to understanding the Holocaust.

Helen Fein's *Accounting for Genocide* (1979) deals with the sociology of the Holocaust and has implications for all genocide. Zygmunt Bauman's *Modernity and the Holocaust* (1989) is less comprehensive but more explorative, concise and hard-hitting. The introductory essay on the sociology of the Holocaust – or lack thereof – is highly critical of his field.

Three encyclopedias have appeared: Israel Gutman's *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (1990); *The Holocaust Encyclopedia* (2001), edited by Walter Laqueur; and the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (2000), edited by Robert Rozett and Shmuel Spector. There is a companion to Gutman's work, the *Encyclopedia of the Third Reich* (1991), edited by Christian Zentner and Friedmann Bedurftig. It focuses on the perpetrators and not their victims.

The Holocaust Chronicle (2000) uses the chronology of the Holocaust to build a pictorial and documentary presentation. Israel Charny's *Encyclopedia of Genocide* (1999) provides a broader perspective within the context of comparative genocide. Yad Vashem is in the process of publishing the country-by-country *Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust* (2003–), and Shmuel Spector has edited *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life: Before and During the Holocaust* (2001). Each of these works demonstrates the way in which the field of Holocaust Studies has come of age.

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum has published the *Historical Atlas of the Holocaust* (1996), which assists in understanding the Holocaust through its geography. It joined an earlier work by Martin Gilbert.

For a further sense of Adolf Hitler, Gerhard L. Weinberg has edited *Hitler's Second Book: The Unpublished Sequel to Mein Kampf* (2003), which expands the understanding of Hitler. John Lukacs, in *The Hitler of History* (1998), allows those who have not read the detailed biographies of the Fuehrer to understand their import and the man they depict. It is less a biography than a study of the merits and limitations of the biographies that have been written about him. Since 1980, several other works on Hitler have appeared; among them Gerald Fleming's *Hitler and the Final Solution* (1984) and Richard Breitman's *The Architect of Genocide: Himmler and The Final Solution* (1991) are valuable additions to the field.

More work has been forthcoming on the groups that the Nazis defined as enemies of the state and confined in concentration camps. Guenter Lewy's *The Nazi Persecution of the Gypsies* (2000) is the most comprehensive and best recent study on the subject. Gunther Grau's *Hidden Holocaust? Gay and Lesbian Persecution in Germany 1933–45* (1995) is an important collection of documents relating to the German persecution of homosexuals.

Henry Friedlander has added a work on the German euthanasia program, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide from Euthanasia to the Final Solution* (1995). Together with Robert J. Lifton's *Nazi Doctors,* it shapes our understanding of the role of physicians, who they were, what they did, and what it was about their professional life that enabled them to participate in atrocities. Furthermore, it now makes it impossible to speak of the evolution of gassing without speaking of the so-called euthanasia program. Christopher Browning's *Fateful Months* (1985) also provides a connection between the euthanasia killing and the emergence of permanent gassing installations.

Several works have been written on the fate of the *Mischlinge*. Among them are Bryan Mark Rigg's *Hitler's Jewish Soldiers: The Untold Story of Nazi Racial Laws and Men of Jewish Descent in the German Military* (2002) and Larry Orbach and Vivien Orbach-Smith's *Soaring Underground: A Young Fugitive's Life in Nazi Berlin* (1996). James F. Tent's *In the Shadow of the Holocaust: Nazi Persecution of Jewish-German Christians* (2003) further probes the unique situation of those Christians whom German law defined as Jews.

As to the treatment of ghetto life, Israel Gutman's *The Warsaw Ghetto* (1982) is still an unmatched work on Warsaw, the largest of the ghettos. Lucjan Dubroszycki's English edition of *The Chronicle of the Lodz Ghetto* (1984) is an invaluable source, as is *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Diary of Abraham Tory* (1990). Alan Adelson and Robert Lapides' *The Lodz Ghetto: Inside a Community under Siege* (1989) provides excellent material for understanding this unique ghetto.

Christopher Browning has written with Juergen Matthaus *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy September 1939–March 1942* (2004), which sheds important light on the interplay between local and regional decisions, on the one hand, and a comprehensive policy regarding the Jews throughout German-occupied Europe, on the other. It provoked significant controversy in Jerusalem when Browning appeared there, and it dovetails with Browning's other works, including *The Path to Genocide: Essays on Launching the Final Solution* (1992) and *Fateful Months: Essays on the Emergence of the Final Solution* (1985).

In the mid-1990s, Daniel Jonah Goldhagen published *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (1996), which joined with Christopher Browning's *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* to intensify the discussion of the killers and their motivations. It also added insights into both the death marches and the motivations of the *Einsatzgruppen*. Richard Rhodes' *Masters of Death: The SS-Einsatzgruppen and the Invention of the Holocaust* (2002) provides vivid descriptions of the killers' activities and also probes their motivations.

Jan T. Gross' *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (2001), which describes the fate of the Jews who were murdered by the local Polish population of that town in a pogrom facilitated by the German presence in the region but not in the town, forced a rethinking of the role of local populations and their activities independent of the *Einsatzgruppen*. It also demonstrated the falsification of memory, as so many knew what had happened and so few acknowledged it, at least not until Gross put the story together.

Radu Ioanid's *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of the Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944* (2000) fills in the history of what happened in that country. Ioanid also produced, under the chairmanship of Elie Wiesel, the report of the International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania, commissioned by and presented to that country's president. For the advanced student, Randolph Braham's two-

volume study, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* remains the definitive work. Its condensation, into a slim, readable one-volume work of the same title offers the insights in a digestible form (2000).

On Auschwitz, the work of Deborah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt, *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present* (1996), depicts the town and the camp that ultimately brought it infamy. Van Pelt's *The Case for Auschwitz: Evidence from the Irving Trial* (2002), which was shaped by his testimony at the **Irving v. Lipstadt* libel trial in Britain, is a significant study of the evolution of the gas chambers as well as of the evidence for the killing process at Auschwitz-Birkenau. Israel Gutman and Michael Berenbaum edited *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (1994), a study by 29 scholars of what is known about the killing center, the concentration camp, and the work camp. Michael J. Neufeld and Michael Berenbaum edited *The Bombing of Auschwitz: Should the Allies Have Attempted It?* (2003), which brought together Holocaust historians and military historians who had never before been in dialogue to consider whether bombing had been feasible and what it would have achieved. The book also presents the basic documents that enable students and scholars to consider the issue.

There has been a flurry of works published by the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum in the post-Communist era. Franciszek Piper's *Auschwitz Prisoner Labor* (2002) is an important work by the chief historian of Auschwitz, and Andrzej Strzeleciki's *The Evacuation, Dismantling and Liberation of KL Auschwitz* (2001) depicts the liberation in great detail. The museum has also published a comprehensive five-volume study, *Auschwitz 1940–1945: Central Issues in the History of the Camp* (Vol. 1: *Establishment and Organization of the Camps*; Vol. 2: *The Prisoners, Their Life and Work*; Vol. 3: *Mass Murder*; Vol. 4: *The Resistance Movement*; and Vol. 5: *Epilogue*).

David S. Wyman and Rafael Medoff have produced *A Race against Death: Peter Bergson, America, and the Holocaust* (2001), the oral history of Peter Bergson [Hillel Kook], a Lithuanian-born Palestinian Jewish activist who worked to call attention to the plight of the Jews and who fought the American Jewish establishment, much to its chagrin and with considerable success. These join Wyman's bestselling critique of American policy during and preceding the Holocaust, which he called *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust 1941–1945* (1985). Americans and American Jews as well as Israelis now perceive Franklin D. Roosevelt's policies as abandonment. Henry Feingold's *Bearing Witness: How America and Its Jews Responded to the Holocaust* (1995) is a balanced collection of his work that builds upon *The Politics of Rescue: The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust 1938–1945* (1970).

In the past decade, several works have appeared that shed light on the issue of women in the Holocaust. Carol Rittner and John K. Roth's *Different Voices: Women and the Holocaust* (1993) is an excellent place to begin. Among the more recent works are a collection of essays by Dalia Ofer and Lenore J. Weitzman, *Women in the Holocaust* (1998), and Judith Baumel's *Double Jeopardy: Gender and the Holocaust* (1998). Nechama Tec, who has written extensively on resistance and hiding, probes the difference between women and men in the Holocaust in her work *Resilience and Courage: Women, Men and the Holocaust* (2003). The study of the role of women has moved from the orthodoxies of gender studies to the use of those studies to enhance our understanding of the Holocaust and the fate of women, where it paralleled the experience of Jewish men and, more importantly, where it differed. Jewish women were victimized as Jews: the form that their victimization took, however, was often directly related to their gender.

Several studies have recently appeared on Pope Pius XII, who presided over the Vatican during the war years, and the Jews. Some studies are defensive; most are critical, some highly so. Included among them are John Cornwell's *Hitler's Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII* (1999); Daniel Jonah Goldhagen's *A Moral Reckoning: The Role of the Catholic Church in the Holocaust and Its Unfulfilled Duty of Repair* (2002); Susan Zuccotti's *Under His Very Windows: The Vatican and the Holocaust in Italy* (2000); David I. Kertzer's *The Popes Against the Jews: The Vatican's Role in the Rise of Modern Anti-Semitism* (2001); and the volume edited by Rittner and Roth, *Pope Pius XII and the Holocaust* (2002).

Among the most important theological works are Zachary Braiterman's (*God*) *After Auschwitz: Tradition and Change in Post-Holocaust Jewish Thought* (1998) and David R. Blumenthal's uncompromising works *Facing the Abusing God: A Theology of Protest* (1993) and *The Banality of Good and Evil: Moral Lessons from the Shoah and Jewish Tradition* (1999). Readers of English now have access to original religious teachings, including Rabbi Kalonymus Kalmish Shapira's *Sacred Fire: Torah from the Years of Fury 1939–1942* (2000) and Yissakhar Shlomo Teichthal's *Em Habanim Semeḥah: Restoration of Zion as a Response during the Holocaust,* edited, translated, and annotated by Pesach Schindler (1999).

Lawrence Langer, the literary critic, has been writing some of the most important theological work in his interpretation of Samuel Bak's paintings. Readers should consider Langer and Bak's *In a Different Light: The Book of Genesis in the Art of Samuel Bak* (2001).

Yehuda Bauer, the dean of Israeli historians, published an important study of the attempts at rescue and the indifference of the West, titled *Jews for Sale? Nazi-Jewish Negotiations, 1933–1945* (1994). His *Rethinking the Holocaust* (2001) is a collection of essays that touch all the major issues of Holocaust historiography.

Regarding the neutral powers and nongovernmental organizations, Jean-Claude Favez's *The Red Cross and the Holocaust* (1999) is an English-language discussion of the controversial and failed role of the Red Cross.

Several works have appeared relating to *Holocaust denial and especially the defeat of David Irving in the London trial in 2000 that branded him a racist and antisemite who

distorted and misrepresented historical documents in pursuit of an agenda to exonerate Hitler and to minimize the killing of Jews (he had sued the American historian Deborah Lipstadt for libel after she had referred to him as a Holocaust denier). Among the most important are D.D. Guttenplan's *The Holocaust on Trial* (2002) and Richard J. Evans's *Lying about Hitler: History, Holocaust, and the David Irving Trial* (2002), Lipstadt's own account, *History on Trial: My Day in Court with David Irving* (2005), and the book that gave rise to the trial, Lipstadt's *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (1993).

Steven T. Katz published *The Holocaust in Historical Context* (*Vol. 1: The Holocaust and Mass Death before the Modern Age,* 1994), the first of a projected three-volume study of the uniqueness of the Holocaust. Alan S. Rosenbaum has represented all sides of the debate in his edited work, *Is the Holocaust Unique? Perspectives on Comparative Genocide* (1998).

There is now an entire field of study regarding the representation of the Holocaust, including work by James *Young, whose *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History* (1994), *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (1993), and *At Memory's Edge: After Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture* (2000). These works deal with memorialization and history, and have virtually defined the field.

Edward Linenthal's *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum* (1995) describes the tension among history, contemporary politics and perceptions, and memorial making. Tim Cole's *Selling the Holocaust: From Auschwitz to Schindler: How History is Bought, Packaged and Sold* (1999) is a critical view of the processes of memorialization throughout the world. A decade earlier Judith Miller was less critical in *One, By One, By One* (1990). Gabriel Rosenfeld, in *The World Hitler Never Built* (2005) has written on counterhistory, demonstrating that portrayals of what did not happen reflects the ongoing struggle to confront what did happen.

Peter Novick critically explored *The Holocaust in American Life* (1999) and Tom Segev equally critically and with far greater controversy explored the Holocaust in Israeli life in his work *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust* (1993).

Finally, over the past generations survivors have offered their testimonies (see above), some in great works of literature – classics that have endured the test of time and speak to subsequent generations – and others in the simple, ineloquent but nevertheless powerful voices of the victims. They offered entry into the darkness and reflections on its implications.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Studies

The short entry on Holocaust studies in the first Decennial Volume of the Encyclopedia Judaica stated that "significant development" had occurred in the field. The entry attributed this advance to the rise of Holocaust denial and the associated response of the *Anti-Defamation League, as well as the airing of the television series *Holocaust*. A snapshot of seven events in 1978 was used to support this claim, including the appointment by U.S. President Jimmy Carter of a 24-member Commission on the Holocaust, which was to explore the establishment of a national Holocaust memorial in Washington, D.C. (realized in 1993 with the opening of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum); the dedication in Israel of the Max and Rita Haber Chair on Contemporary Jewry-Holocaust Studies at the Hebrew University; the founding of the Institute for Holocaust Studies at Bar-Ilan University; and the establishment of a journal on the Holocaust.

If these events connoted significant development, the growth of the field of Holocaust studies since that time is nothing short of remarkable. The field took definitive form in the 1980s, with the main development perhaps being the solidification and expansion of three distinct schools of research in Germany, Israel, and the United States. Each of these countries has produced scholars and developed academic programs and institutions to study the Holocaust but with very different approaches and focuses. There were significant scholarly contributions prior to the 1980s in the pioneering studies of Raul Hilberg, Philip Friedman, Isaiah Trunk, Gerald Reitlinger, Max Weinreich, Hans Adler, and Hermann Langbein, among others. However, these were singular works that dealt with distinctly different topics about the perpetrators and victims, and were historiographically disconnected and often highly politicized. Philosophers such as Theodor W. Adorno also grappled with this human catastrophe by posing provocative existential questions that made the Holocaust an iconic representation of a general post-World War II malaise and an implicit critique of progress and modernity, but did not inspire the kind of interdisciplinary research and in-depth microhistories of victims, bystanders, and perpetrators that are common today.

GERMANY. Holocaust studies in Germany have generally focused on the perpetrators of the mass murder of European Jewry in an attempt to understand how such a scientifically and culturally advanced European nation could have committed this atrocity. It seems natural that German scholars should have taken this approach. First, researchers in this field were born or began their academic careers after the war and sought to understand how their communities – perhaps even their own relatives – could have perpetrated this unfathomable crime. German studies have thus focused on such issues as when the decision to go to the Final Solution was made; how Nazi, Axis, and occupied countries conducted the almost complete extermination of European Jewry; and how much and when the local populations actually knew about the murders. A second reason that German scholarship has focused on perpetrator studies is that the original Jewish communities in Germany were almost entirely destroyed. As a result, the German-Jewish victims and vanished communities were mere shadows, with only artifacts to remind people of their existence. The consequences are twofold: first, the depleted German-Jewish population has resulted in a dearth of Ger-

man research focusing on Jews before, during, and after the Holocaust; and second, Jews tend to be treated simply as victims without power who had no option other than to comply with the perpetrators' orders. Many young German scholars have begun to move away from Berlin-centered, structural and intentionalist studies of the origins of the Final Solution. Researchers such as Dieter Pohl and Christian Gerlach are conducting regional studies, especially of territories in the East, that encompass a broader social spectrum of perpetrators beyond the role of Hitler and his associates.

The major research centers in Germany include the Fritz Bauer Institute, Study and Documentation Center on the Holocaust and the Impact of the Holocaust (Studien- und Dokumentationszentrum zur Geschichte und Wirkung des Holocaust), Frankfurt am Main; the Center for Research on Antisemitism (Zentrum fuer Antisemitismusforschung) of the Technical University of Berlin (Technischen Universitaet Berlin); the Institute for Contemporary History (Institut fuer Zeitgeschichte [IfZ]), Munich; the Research Unit Ludwigsburg (Forschungsstelle Ludwigsburg) of the University of Stuttgart; the Hamburg Institute for Social Research (Hamburger Institut fuer Sozialforschung); the Topography of Terror (Topographie des Terrors), Berlin; the House of the Wannsee Conference (Haus der Wannsee-Konferenz), Berlin; and the memorial sites (Gedenkstaetten) at Dachau, Sachsenhausen, and Ravensbrueck.

ISRAEL. The focus in Israel is almost diametrically opposed to that of Germany, which is not surprising. The field was established by survivors, such as Israel *Gutman and Yitzhak *Arad, who were driven to commemorate their destroyed communities and families, honor Jewish resistance, and dispel notions of Jewish passivity in the face of the Holocaust. This approach was codified with the establishment of Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority, in 1953 by an act of the Israeli Knesset. Israeli research therefore focuses on studying the lost communities; documenting life and resistance in the forests, ghettos, and camps as well as broadening the meaning of resistance to reach beyond physical or armed struggle; and detailing the aftermath of the Holocaust, including life in DP camps and the founding of the State of Israel. While some Israeli scholars, such as Yehuda Bauer, have indeed engaged in scholarly debates about the perpetration of the Holocaust, Israeli studies have generally focused on Jewish agency rather than the German perpetrators. This approach has been shaped not only by the scholars' own histories but also by a deep and real concern that trying to understand (and thereby humanizing) the perpetrators as individuals might cause the evil that was committed to be marginalized or mitigated in some manner.

The major research center in Israel is Yad Vashem's International Institute for Holocaust Research and its associated archives. Other institutions include the Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry and the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; the Strochlitz Institute of Holocaust Studies, Haifa University; the Arnold and Leona Finkler Institute of Holocaust Research, Bar Ilan University; the Ghetto Fighters' House, on the grounds of the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz; and Beit Terezin (Theresienstadt) at Kibbutz Tel Yiẓḥak.

UNITED STATES. The studies in the United States incorporate trends in both Israeli and German scholarship while also forging ahead in new disciplines. Near the end of World War II, the U.S. military seized millions of pages of German war documentation, which provided the foundation for the study of the Holocaust in the United States. These records presented a wealth of insight into the history of the Nazi regime, and early studies therefore had a distinct perpetrator focus. The prime example of such scholarship is Raul Hilberg's 1961 groundbreaking work, *The Destruction of the European Jews*. As one of the two major destinations for Holocaust survivors, however, the United States is also the site of research on the annihilated Jewish communities by such survivor-scholars as Saul Friedlaender. The most significant difference between Holocaust studies in the United States and that in Germany and Israel, though, is that in the U.S. it is not strictly confined to the traditional fields of history and political science. For example, the Holocaust is taught in literature departments nearly as much as in history departments. There is a variety of reasons for this development, including the trend toward multidisciplinary cultural studies in general (e.g., African-American studies, Latino studies, gender studies), as well as, perhaps, a lack of personal connection to the Holocaust or familiarity with the languages of the original documents. Moreover, researchers are now examining the Holocaust in such diverse contexts as philosophy, memorialization, sociology, psychology, religion, and gender. While these new approaches often generate controversy, they also cast new light on the catastrophe.

The main research institution in the United States is the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, which was inaugurated in 1998 on the foundation built by its predecessor, the Holocaust Research Institute. It occupies a unique position because of its support of both American and international scholarship and its extensive, on-site archives and research programs. Otherwise, Holocaust studies are predominantly conducted at an ever growing number of colleges and universities, with an ever growing number of endowed professorships in Holocaust studies. In addition, there is a multitude of smaller academic centers and organizations devoted to Holocaust and genocide studies. Some of the academic centers include Clark University's Strassler Family Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies in Worcester, Massachusetts, which offers a Ph.D. program in Holocaust history and genocide studies; the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies of the University of Minnesota; and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies of the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. The organizations include the Holocaust Educational Foun-

dation, the Simon Wiesenthal Center's Museum of Tolerance, and over thirty regional museums.

WESTERN, CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE. Most West European countries also have significant Holocaust studies programs, although these are generally smaller. In France, the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine (CDJC; Contemporary Jewish Documentation Center), founded clandestinely in Grenoble in 1943 and moved to Paris after Liberation in 1944, was the first institution in the world dedicated to the history of the Holocaust. Although many of these institutions in Western Europe subscribed to the tenet that the Nazi regime was solely responsible for the Holocaust in their countries, they have made significant progress in dispelling these myths and facing the true extent of local collaboration and assistance in the expropriation and murder of their Jewish communities. These research organizations include the Research Centre for the Holocaust and Twentieth-Century History, Royal Holloway, University of London, and the Wiener Library of the Institute of Contemporary History, London; the Documentation Center of the Association of Jewish Victims of the Nazi Regime, Vienna; the Foundation Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation (Fondazione Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea), Milan; the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Amsterdam; the Department for Holocaust and Genocide Studies of the Danish Institute for International Studies, Copenhagen; the Center for Studies of Holocaust and Religious Minorities in Norway, Oslo; and the Uppsala Programme for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Uppsala University, Sweden.

It was only with the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the possibility of admission to the European Union that many countries of Central and Eastern Europe began to face the truth of the Holocaust on their soil and the role that their own governments and populations had played. The governments of Poland, Romania, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, and others have therefore established scholarly commissions to investigate the Holocaust and instituted national Holocaust remembrance days, erected memorials, and founded museums and research institutions. They have yielded serious research on the Holocaust and undeniable evidence regarding local and governmental collaboration with the Nazis. Moreover, they have put in place strong foundations for future research. Some examples of Central and East European programs are the Jewish Historical Institute (Żydowski Instytut Historyczny), Warsaw, which is the only Jewish studies institution in Eastern Europe to have had collection and research programs throughout the postwar years; the Polish Center for Holocaust Research of the Polish Academy of Science's Institute of Philosophy, Warsaw; the Budapest Holocaust Memorial Center, which was the first government-funded Holocaust Memorial in Central Europe and serves as both a museum and research center; the Ukrainian Center for Holocaust Studies, and the Institute for Political and Ethnic Studies, both in Kiev; the Terezin Initiative Institute and the Terezin Memorial in Prague; and the House of Memory in Vilnius, Lithuania.

TRENDS IN THE FIELD. The field of Holocaust studies has been dominated since its inception by certain large themes, debates, and controversies. Debates in the 1980s focused on the dual theories of intentionalism and functionalism. Proponents of the intentionalist school posited that Hitler and the Nazi regime intended from the beginning to murder every Jew in Europe, while advocates of functionalism saw the implementation of the Final Solution as a radicalization of Nazi doctrine over the course of the war. This debate no longer generates the controversy it once did, as many scholars now accept that the Holocaust resulted from many decisions made over time and taken from both above and below. Another related major debate has been over the motivation of the perpetrators, which began with Hannah Arendt's analysis of Eichmann and the premise of the "banality of evil" and culminated in the debate in the 1990s started by Daniel Goldhagen, who asserted that Germans were "willing executioners" motivated by a distinctly German brand of "eliminationist antisemitism." Goldhagen's thesis was roundly dismissed by most scholars. Since Goldhagen relied on the same group of sources used by the noted historian Christopher Browning, who had reached dramatically different conclusions, what began as a theoretical debate was quickly transformed into a very concrete and important discussion about the use of primary sources. More recently, two trends have developed. The first concerns the complex role of the Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox churches and clergy during the Holocaust, in some instances either openly or tacitly complicit and in others righteous and heroic, as well as the impact of the Shoah on Western theology, liturgy, and ethics from the postwar years until today. The second trend is the study of the economic component and motivation of the Holocaust and the complicated issue of the expropriation of Jewish property. The economic aspects of the Holocaust were largely neglected areas of research until the filing of the class action lawsuit against Swiss banks for their dealings during the Holocaust, the establishment of the U.S. Presidential Commission for Holocaust Era Assets, the pursuit of various other litigation related to forced labor under the Nazis, and the question of how to award restitution and make reparations to Holocaust survivors.

In addition to these scholarly developments, there is another key factor in the growth of the field: the proliferation of academic conferences and scholarly journals devoted to Holocaust studies. Research and theoretical findings are now more widely disseminated than ever before. The most notable program is currently the Holocaust Educational Foundation's biennial conference, Lessons and Legacies. Others include the University of Michigan's 26-year-old Conference on the Holocaust; Millersville University's 25-year-old annual Holocaust Conference; Middle Tennessee State University's biennial Holocaust Studies Conference; and the annual Scholars' Conference on the Holocaust and the Churches, which was

founded in 1970. The two major journals in the field are the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, published by Oxford University Press, which began publication in 1986 and was affiliated with the museum in the early 1990s; and *Yad Vashem Studies*, which has been published annually since 1957.

What the future holds for Holocaust studies is open to debate. In terms of research, one clear trend is toward localized studies of the execution of the Holocaust at the town, city, and municipality levels in order to determine differences between the planning in Berlin, about which a great deal is known, and its actual implementation at the periphery, which is less understood. These research programs are currently possible only because of the opening of previously closed archives in Europe and because of the rediscovery and renewed interest in the extant records of the Jewish communities that were destroyed. The bigger question, however, concerns the core of the field. Modern European history has been the foundation on which Holocaust studies has been built. Although this discipline must always be central to Holocaust studies, other disciplines may become increasingly important as larger societal questions in Holocaust and genocide studies are investigated. A very real question, for example, is the future role of Jewish studies. Many Jewish studies departments and scholars avoid the study of the Holocaust out of concern that it may quickly become the defining moment in Jewish history and turn Jewish studies from the study of a rich, enduring, and diverse culture to the study of victimization and destruction. The field of Jewish studies is extremely important to the study of the Holocaust, however, and the reactions and responses of the Jewish communities confronted by the Holocaust need to be placed within the context of Jewish history as a whole. Additionally, the continuing and vigorous collection activities of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and Yad Vashem and their institutional cooperation means that more Holocaust documentation from all over the world is becoming accessible to researchers on an almost daily basis. The next encyclopedia entry on Holocaust studies may look as dramatically different from this one as this one does from its predecessor.

[Robert M. Ehrenreich and Tracy L. Brown (2nd ed.)]

Documentation, Education, and Resource Centers

In the late 1970s Irving Greenberg suggested that new institutions be created in local communities to respond through education, documentation, and commemoration to what he considered the revelatory nature of the Holocaust. The first such institution established in the United States was in St. Louis, where as part of the Jewish Federation a program of Holocaust-related activities was initiated that ultimately resulted in the creation of a museum within the federation's building. Over the next three decades, more than 120 such institutions, whose primary task is Holocaust education, were established in the United States and scores elsewhere, in countries as diverse as Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chile, France, Germany, Italy, Lithuania, Mexico, Japan, Israel, Russia, South Africa. Sweden, Ukraine, and the United Kingdom. Some are under religious auspices, others secular Jewish auspices; some are nonsectarian and others Christian. Several of these documentation centers have evolved over the years into full-fledged museums and memorial institutions, large and small, and they predated the opening of the major museums in Washington, Los Angeles, and New York, often by a decade or more.

These documentation centers share in common an active program of educational outreach primarily to secondary school teachers and through them to students in the classroom. Most provide survivors as speakers and many maintain libraries and teacher resource centers, whether modest or grand, to serve those teaching the Holocaust. The Association of Holocaust Organizations serves to give voice to their concerns, to sponsor an annual conference, and to provide for the free exchange of ideas and programming for these institutions.

There is also a second set of Holocaust documentation centers that are more scholarly in their orientation and that collect, preserve, catalogue, and make documents accessible to the public. They serve scholars and interested laypersons more than ordinary classroom teachers.

It should be recalled that the first effort at documenting the Holocaust began within the ghettos and the concentration camps themselves, with the collection of documents and material compiled by the Oneg Shabbat group organized by Emanuel Ringelblum in Warsaw, and with ghetto and camp diarists and artists. Jews believed that even if they did not survive, the memory of what happened would survive, a belief that has been vindicated with time.

The Jews kept their records. So did the Germans, who were also careful record keepers, and therefore the documentation is vast.

The records are many. They are to be found in state and local archives throughout the countries that Germany and its allies occupied during World War II and in the countries in which Jews found refuge. Major holdings are in the possession of the Allies who defeated the Germans, as well as in German archives and at the sites of many of the concentration camps that have active memorials. At the beginning of the twenty-first century there were 682 such institutions, excluding those archives that are in private hands. In the 1990s and the early twenty-first century an effort has been made to copy many archival records and to deposit them in Jerusalem at Yad Vashem and in Washington at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Institutional funds, governmental funds, private grants, and support from the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against the German Nation have enabled these copying activities to progress at a rapid pace.

Holocaust documentation centers include the archives at Yad Vashem, Israel's national memorial to the Holocaust, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, and the Centre de documentation de Juive in Paris. The Wiener Library in London and the Jewish Historical Institute in Poland were also early sites where records were gathered, and they remain important resources.

IN THE UNITED STATES. New York's Center for Jewish History brings under one roof in separate but joined institutions the holdings of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, with its intense study of East European Jewry; the Leo Baeck Institute, with its significant collection of records of German Jewry; the American Sephardi Federation and its collection of material on Sephardi Jewry; and the American Jewish Historical Society and its collection of material on American Jewry and its role during the Shoah and in its aftermath.

YIVO archives contain 22,000,000 documents, photographs, sound recordings, films, and manuscripts in four main areas: Yiddish language, literature, and culture; European history, with the focus on East European history; the Holocaust and its aftermath; and Jewish life in the United States with the emphasis on immigration. YIVO estimates that its Holocaust collection amounts to 1.2 million pages, with another 9 million pages relating to the destroyed Jewish communities. Much of its collection is archived in Yiddish and it is an ongoing process to make it accessible to English-speaking researchers.

The Leo Baeck Institute contains some 5 million pages of original records, including some 40,000 photographs relating to German-Jewish life. It also contains case files from the United Restitution Organization and the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) as well as the Reichsbund juedischer Frontsoldaten and the Centralverein deutscher Staatsbuerger juedischen Glaubens. Its holdings are copied and shared with the Jewish Museum in Berlin, Germany.

The American Jewish Historical Society possesses documents, photographs, and objects from the period 1925–90, including much material on the Jewish American reaction to and involvement in World War II and its aftermath. Collections reflecting Jewish American military and communal service in World War II are to be found at the National Jewish Welfare Board. In addition, there are collections at the Council of Jewish Federations, Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, Cecilia Razovsky Papers, Raphael Lemkin Papers, Lucy Dawidowicz Papers, and the Rabbi Joseph Shubow Papers.

The American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati, which for decades was under the leadership of Jacob Rader Marcus, has the Holocaust collections of the World Jewish Congress, including the important material sent by Gerhard Riegner, who warned of the Final Solution and of gassing with Zyklon B in August 1942, months after the death camps became operational. The American Jewish Archives has over 100 separately cataloged holdings of Holocaust-related materials. These include oral histories, papers and documents of survivors; records of relief and rescue organizations; recent scholarship; and other Holocaust-era and Holocaust-related records into the twenty-first century.

Most of the records at the American Jewish Archives reflect and pertain to the American Jewish community's reaction and responses to this event and to the lives of those survivors who came to the U.S. after the war. The Archives' largest single collection of records is from the New York Office of the World Jewish Congress. Except for these records, which contain information from Europe, almost all of its materials are from the United States.

The archives of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in New York detail the assistance given the besieged communities for as long as such assistance was possible, and for the rescue attempts facilitated in the United States and Switzerland, as well as the organization's contacts with those on the ground.

The University of Southern California (USC) Shoah Foundation Institute for Visual History and Education was founded in 1994 as the Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation by the American Jewish filmmaker Steven *Spielberg. It now contains the videotaped testimonies and pre-interview questionnaires of 52,000 survivors and other victim groups and/or witnesses. The testimonies were taken in 56 countries and in 32 languages. The foundation interviewed Jewish survivors, homosexual survivors, Jehovah's Witness survivors, liberators and liberation witnesses, political prisoners, rescuers and aid providers, Roma and Sinti survivors, survivors of eugenics policies, and war crimes trials participants. Almost half of the archive's testimonies were collected in English – most of them in the United States. Among the 31 other languages, over 7,000 are in Russian and over 6,300 in Hebrew. There are approximately 1,000 Dutch interviews, 1,800 French, 1,300 Hungarian, 1,400 Polish, and 1,300 Spanish interviews. The following languages are represented with approximately 500 to 1,000 testimonies each: Bulgarian (600), Czech (500), German (900), Portuguese (500), Slovak (500), and Yiddish (500).

Testimonies collected usually include discussions of the interview subject's prewar (20 percent), wartime (60 percent), and postwar (20 percent) experience. But this depends on the subject's age and experience as well. Interviews were collected from 1994 to 1999.

About 51,000 pre-interview questionnaires, or some two million pages of documents, provide information regarding survivors and their prewar and wartime experience. The material is now catalogued and was transferred in 2006 to USC, which will be responsible for its dissemination.

The *Fortunoff Video Archives for Holocaust Testimonies, housed at Yale University, was the pioneer in video testimony. It now contains some 4,000 testimonies along with many transcripts. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum also has a collection of more than 4,000 testimonies, some of them undertaken jointly with Fortunoff, and includes copies of the collections of other regional holdings such as the Holocaust Documentation and Educational Center in North Miami Beach, Florida. Yad Vashem contains oral histories and video histories that span six decades after the Holocaust and will enable researchers and scholars to explore the difference between testimony given soon after the events and that given many years later. Some collections of oral history are specific; the Fred Crawford Collection at Emory University deals with liberators alone. Most are more general and include survivors and liberators, as well as rescuers and other actors. Few testimonies encompass the perpetrators.

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum contains an archive of 21 million pages, of which some 3.5 million are original and 17 million are copies of material that exists elsewhere. It has an ambitious program of copying Holocaust-related material from throughout the world and bringing copies to Washington. Given its U.S. government imprimatur and the professionalism of its staff as well as the scope of its support, this program has been enormously successful. The museum also contains a photo archive, the Steven Spielberg Film Archive, and an Oral History Collection. Access to much material is available on the Web. In addition, given the presence of the massive collections of the U.S. National Archives and its many scholarly programs, Washington has become an essential stopping point for Holocaust researchers.

The National Center for Jewish Film, now situated on the campus of Brandeis University, has a wide-ranging and important collection of Holocaust films, and also a collection of prewar Yiddish films that depict the world before the Holocaust.

IN GERMANY. The Bundesarchiv, which now includes former East German as well as West German records, remains an important source of data relating to the German government's policies and programs. The Berlin Documentation Center, which was originally under American control and is now an integral part of the Bundesarchiv, maintains the records of the SS.

The major research centers in Germany, as noted in "Holocaust Studies" above, include the Fritz Bauer Institute, Study and Documentation Center on the Holocaust and the Impact of the Holocaust, Frankfurt; the Center for Research on Antisemitism of the Technical University of Berlin; the Institute for Contemporary History, Munich; the Research Unit Ludwigsburg of the University of Stuttgart; the Hamburg Institute for Social Research; the Topography of Terror Foundation, Berlin; the House of the Wannsee Conference, Berlin; and the memorial sites (Gedenkstaetten) at Dachau, Sachsenhausen, and Ravensbrueck.

Many of the memorial sites also contain their own, modest archival holdings. The Bergen-Belsen Memorial has a collection of photographs, artifacts, audio and video interviews, and 1,000 pages of paper documents, as well as original diaries. It holds video testimony that is also available at the Fortunoff Archive.

KZ-Gedenkstaette Neuengamme has established a new databank together with registry offices and cemetery archives. Its main task consists of giving information to relatives of former prisoners of this concentration camp (konzentrationslager). Neuengamme works together with other archives to enhance its collection, primarily to get a complete listing of names of people who were imprisoned there.

KZ-Gedenkstaette Flossenbuerg deals with the history of the Flossenbuerg concentration camp (1938–45) and subcamps, which were situated in northern Bavaria, Saxony, and northern Bohemia, and death marches from other camps (Buchenwald, Gross-Rosen) to Flossenbuerg and from Flossenbuerg towards Dachau. It also includes the postwar history (trials, memorials, cemeteries) of the region around Flossenbuerg (the Upper Palatinate) and the files of the IG Farben trial at Nuremberg.

KZ-Gedenkstaette Mittelbau-Dora contains the files of war crimes trials against the staff of the Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp, reports of former inmates, files of the camp administration, documents concerning the SS staff, documents concerning the displaced persons (DP) camp in Nordhausen, and files of the Nazi administration in general, including the Reich Central Security Office (*Reichssicherheithauptamt*, RSHA) and the SS Central Economic Administration Office (SS-*Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptsamt*, SS-WVHA) concerning the camp. There are some 150,000 pages of documents.

KZ-Gedenkstaette Dachau contains a collection of publications, reports, documents, photographs, videos, tapes, plan drawings, and objects concerning Dachau and other concentration camps, National Socialism and the Nazi Party, and resistance, and further material concerning Jews and other persecuted groups, making up altogether 37,000 files of material and 15,000 books, with documents of former prisoners of Dachau (1933–45), about 150 documents of Jews arrested during the November 1938 pogrom known as **Kristallnacht*, and about 500 documents of other Jews incarcerated at Dachau. It also contains a collection of publications, reports, documents, photographs, and objects concerning the persecution of Jews in Munich, Bavaria, southern Germany, and Austria; a collection of books about Holocaust and Jewish culture; and about 200,000 pages of archival records, including about 15,000 pages concerning persecution of Jews.

In addition, the Central Archives for Research on the History of Jews in Germany (Zentralarchiv zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland), founded in 1987 at Heidelberg by the Central Council of Jews in Germany, contains the records of Jewish communities, federations, and organizations in Germany after 1945, as well as the papers of many families and individuals. Current holdings are 350,000 pages.

IN ISRAEL. The major Holocaust research center in Israel is Yad Vashem's International Institute for Holocaust Research and its associated archives. Yad Vashem has some 5 million pages of original records and 55 million pages of records that were microfilmed elsewhere, and is in the process of digitizing the material. There is an exchange program with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum of microfilmed material, which upon completion will make much of the material available in both institutions. Most importantly, the Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names is now accessible on line and is on view in the Hall of Names at Yad Vashem.

In northern Israel, the Ghetto Fighters' House, on the grounds of Kibbutz Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot (the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz), contains close to a million paper items, includ-

ing journals and diaries, testimonies, memoirs, maps, manuscripts, and books. Cataloging is uniform for all departments and the system of indexing is similar to that of the Jewish National Library in Jerusalem and the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington.

The Massuah Institute for the Study of the Holocaust at Kibbutz Tel Yiẓḥak contains the archives of the No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni and Akiva youth movement in the pre- and immediate post Holocaust period; it contains letters mailed during the Holocaust and videotaped Holocaust testimonies of survivors. It also holds a collection of thousands of hours of Holocaust survivors' testimonies on videotape.

Among its more than 2,000,000 pages are 17 personal diaries and original notebooks of poetry from the Holocaust and the She'arit ha-Peleitah era. It also has a collection of material related to the Schindler affair – from the personal archives of Dr. Moshe Bejski, a Schindler Jew who was chairman of Yad Vashem's process of certifying rescuers as Righteous Among the Nations. It also contains the personal archives of the Hannah Szenes family.

Moreshet: The Mordechai Anielewicz Memorial Holocaust Studies and Research Center in Israel contains material donated by survivors: testimonies and memoirs, written, audio, and video; unpublished manuscripts; contemporaneous newspapers and art that were created *in situ* as well as afterwards. Access is difficult because of the condition of some of this material.

The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem does not usually collect material relating solely to the Holocaust. Its Holocaust-related materials are generally organic portions of larger collections, such as the archives of the Viennese Jewish community, whose documents date from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. The only collections whose entire contents are Holocaust-related are those of the successor organizations, the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization, the Jewish Trust Council and the United Restitution Organization. Yet, in a broader sense the Central Archives' collections are all Holocaust-related; they document Jewish communities and populations annihilated in the Holocaust.

The Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem contains (1) the archives of the various offices of the *Jewish Agency (JA), the World Zionist Organization (WZO), and worldwide Zionist Federations; (2) archives of the various offices of the *World Jewish Congress (WJC); and (3) personal papers of people in Palestine/Israel and those active in Zionist affairs overseas.

Among the topics covered are emigration of Jews from Europe prior to World War II; absorption of immigrants in Palestine; the situation of the Jews in the various countries before, during, and after the war, from the 1930s to the 1950s; diplomatic efforts of the Jewish Agency and the World Jewish Congress on behalf of the Jews of Europe; rescue activities of the Jewish Agency during the Holocaust; activities of the Jews of Palestine during World War II; enlistment in the British Army's Jewish Brigade; situation of DPs and refugees after World War II; Youth Aliyah's activities in Europe after World War II; immigration to Palestine/Israel and absorption of refugees; and the location of the whereabouts of survivors and relatives. There are also a photograph collection, a poster collection, and a newspaper and periodical collection.

The Israel State Archives contains documents relating to the Holocaust, restitution claims and the Reparations Agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany, memory, the situation of European Jewry after the war, and immigration of Jews to Palestine during and after the war. Among its most significant collections is that of the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs (RG 130, 93): The Reparations Agreement. A large amount of material including full documentation on the agreement can be found in files on relations between Israel and the Federal Republic, and between Israel and the nations of Western Europe. There is material on individual claims in the legal department, although most of the economic material is in the records of other ministries. It also includes material on relations between Israel and the Democratic Republic of Germany, dealing with the claim for restitution, and material on the Purchasing Delegation headed by F. Shinnar, which dealt with implementation of the agreement, mainly correspondence and reports.

The volume of *Documents on the Foreign Policy of Israel* for 1960 includes material on the capture of Adolf Eichmann, mostly from the telegrams series, and on the prime minister's office. A small number of files deals with commemoration of the Holocaust and the establishment of the Yad Vashem Authority, reports on the Jewish communities in Europe after the Holocaust, and commemoration of fallen soldiers from the Jewish Brigade.

The 1961 Eichmann trial material is also found in Record Group 06 of the Israel Police Force and in the court records. The ISA has also published the court proceedings in book form and produced excerpts on a video cassette. The Archives holds the diary written by Eichmann in prison and exhibits produced during the trial. It also contains material on the Demjanjuk trial of 1987–88.

Other important records include those of the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, including lists of immigrants (1919–74), lists of names by date of arrival and lists of ships arriving during and after World War II; of the Ministry of Health (1998–99), including material of the Public Committee for Mental Patients who are Holocaust survivors; of the Justice Ministry, including files from the ministry's bureau of restitution from East Germany, as well as documents relating to claims from Germany and its allies and to the Association of Holocaust Survivors; of the Finance Ministry, including material on reparations from Germany, on claims made against insurance policies from the Holocaust period, on compensation to persons who became invalids as a result of Nazi persecution, and on Jewish property confiscated during the Holocaust; of the Education Ministry, including records dealing with the preservation of the memory of the Holocaust: commemora-

tive activities in schools, curriculum development, visits by youth delegations to Poland; of the Chief Rabbinate (RG 140), including material on immigration of rabbis and others from Europe during the Holocaust period, and on property in Palestine owned by Jews who perished during the Holocaust; of the Palestine Mandatory government, Migration Department (RG 11), including personal files of applicants for Palestinian citizenship, many of them refugees from Germany during the 1930s, and reflecting the persecution of Jews in Europe. The archive also includes data on admission of immigrants and statistical data on immigration and absorption. It contains the Mandatory government's deportation orders of illegal immigrants arranged according to ship, 1938–46.

In Bnei Berak, the Institute for Documentation, Research and Commemoration (the Ginzach Kiddush Hashem) was founded in 1964 and was the first institution in the religious community to collect and classify documents relating to the Shoah, with a focus on spiritual bravery. The archive contains thousands of documents and pictures. It serves the ultra-Orthodox community but documents the experience of all religious groups.

IN AUSTRIA. The Jewish community of Vienna (IKG Vienna) is reconstructing its historical archives. Because of the Holocaust, the rediscovered records are of a more varied origin and scope than is usual for an institutional archive. Still, the overall focus of the future archives will be the organizational records of the Jewish community of Vienna. Until March 1938 the Jewish community of Vienna was a rather decentralized, relatively small organization (most holdings are deposited at the Central Archives of the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem), while the Jewish community of Vienna from March 1938 to April 1945 was a large, centralized Nazi-approved organization whose task was to liquidate the wealth of Jewish organizations in Vienna as well as of Jewish communities elsewhere in Austria and to organize emigration, social welfare, and deportation of Austria's Jewish population. Documents were rediscovered in the early 2000s. Together with the material at the Central Archives in Jerusalem, this material probably represents the most comprehensive record of a Jewish community under Nazi rule available today.

The Jewish community of Vienna from the end of World War II was a small, centralized religious organization also responsible for returning newly settled members, for Holocaust survivors abroad, and for restitution issues (restitution of assets of former Jewish organizations, its own assets, and those claimed by individuals). A portion of the Holocaust-related postwar material, like survivor lists and card indexes as well as material related to restitution claims from the 1940s and 1950s, has been processed and is being microfilmed at the Anlaufstelle.

The memorial institutions at the sites of destruction in Austria also contain records relevant to those sites.

IN FRANCE. The Contemporary Jewish Documentation Center (Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine), has some four million pages of original records and some two million pages of microfilm material. It is involved in an exchange program with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and Yad Vashem and in a joint project with the Holocaust Museum in the French Departmental Archives. Its system of indexing is based on a thesaurus of 3,000 terms. The holdings relate to the Jewish communities in Europe at the beginning of the century (pogroms, ghettos, etc.); antisemitic propaganda; the way of life of the Jewish communities in Europe, 1933–45; antisemitic legislation in all European countries; Aryanization and plunder of Jewish property; arrest and internment of the Jews; creation of the ghettos and concentration camps; the destruction of European Jewry; the operation of the camps; the return of the deportees, the DP camps and the rebuilding of the Jewish community; reparations and war trials; and the memory of the Shoah (commemoration, survivors' associations, hidden children, testimonies). The fate of the Jews in France from 1920 to 1950 is especially well documented.

IN POLAND. The Jewish Historical Institute (Żydowski Instytut Historyczny) in Warsaw contains 700,000 pages of original records, including the records of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in Poland in 1939–41, the Jewish self-help organizations, and a collection of diaries, memoirs, and testimonies. Among its most prized collections are the Ringelblum Warsaw ghetto archives, the catalogue of which has now been translated into English. Duplicates are in the possession of Yad Vashem and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

The memorial museums at Auschwitz-Birkenau and Majdanek also contain important archives relating to those camps and have staffs of historians and archivists. The former grapple with the material itself in a new post-Communist atmosphere of freedom; the latter assist scholars and nonscholars in reviewing the extensive records.

IN BRITAIN. The Wiener Library in London contains 900,000 pages of original records and 1.5 million microfilmed records from elsewhere. It too has an exchange program with the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. Directed by the respected Holocaust scholar Peter Longreich is the Research Centre for the Holocaust and Twentieth-Century History, based in Royal Holloway's German Department. It promotes Holocaust research in an international forum, bringing together researchers from various disciplines "to examine the extent to which genocide, war and dictatorship can be understood as defining elements" of the twentieth century.

IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC. The memorial at Terezin (Theresienstadt) contains material on the persecution of Jews in the former Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, especially the history of the Terezin "model" ghetto. It contains 44,000 pages of original records and a similar number of pages from other archives. Cataloging and indexing are in Czech. The Jewish Museum in Prague has an incomparable collection of Judaica

from Central Europe and important documentation relating to the Czechoslovak Jewish community.

This entry is not a full listing of Holocaust-related archives, but a broad overview of material that exists. See also *Archives; *Libraries; *Museums.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

Memorials and Monuments

The number of memorials dedicated to the memory of the Holocaust has never been counted. Certainly there are hundreds if not thousands, if small memorials in synagogues and even churches are included. The first memorials were established by the survivors themselves in concentration camps, such as the temporary memorial of May 1945 in Buchenwald that lasted less than month because of the need for wood, or the memorials often hastily put together from the remnants of broken tombstones from desecrated cemeteries. More serious memorialization in the form of permanent monuments in places came after the war, in Europe, Palestine/Israel, and later wherever survivors found a new home. The urge to commemorate this negative event was arguably driven by the lack of graves for the victims of mass murder. Hence, postwar memorials were built to be commemorative places as well as sites with pedagogical value.

To understand the importance of, and reasons for, such an intensive monument building process (which continues), a typology of monuments may be useful. Having memorials in public spaces, often at sites of the atrocities, is a confirmation of the Holocaust as a public event with meaning not only for the victims but for the entire post-Holocaust community, Jews and gentiles. However, a fundamental question connected with memorials was and continues to be how one may connect the story it represents with the larger narrative of oppression of the Jews, World War II and the era of National Socialism, and with post-1945 narratives about freedom and democracy as well as the confirmation of the legitimacy of Israel as a Jewish state.

Holocaust monuments are probably in a special class, as they commemorate an event that represents absolute evil (as a moral, theological, practical term). For artists and architects involved in the construction of memorials, an essential question is the tension between independent aesthetics and the need for the form of the monument to represent an accessible meaning in an easily legible way. Survivors have generally supported the idea of the memorial as an object, while artists have often proposed concepts based on the idea of discursive space. Postmodern forms of memorialization, based on abstraction or a concept of absence, often do not find receptive audiences among those who seek some positive affirmation or meaning from a monument.

Monuments in countries outside Europe or Israel seem to face the issue of authenticity and durability. For Europeans, memorials also represent complicity by the state and people of the country. For monuments erected in Israel, a tension developed over issues like victimization vs. heroism, and the meaning of the Holocaust for a Jewish state. Many academic writers, especially James Young, have argued that public debates over the forms of memorials are more important than the finished memorials. Young was an important member of the commission that ultimately chose Peter Eisenman's design for the Berlin Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe, which opened in April 2005. He argued that his ideal for the memorial was a hundred-year debate and no memorial structure at the end of the process. A critical question, then, is whether the completion of a monument is an invitation for the public to forget.

Memorial spaces have often been integrated with Holocaust museums (see below) or Jewish museums. Thus Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes Remembrance Authority, sees itself as "the Jewish people's memorial to the murdered Six Million and symbolizes the ongoing confrontation with the rupture engendered by the Holocaust." Its function, therefore, is memorialization and the creation of monuments, as well as the maintenance of an extensive museum with research and educational facilities that has an impact on Holocaust education around the world. The most recognizable memorial at Yad Vashem is Moshe *Safdie's *Children's Memorial*, an underground interior space that attempts to conceptualize the loss of 1.5 million children by the use of a single candle, mirrors, and recorded voices.

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum is regarded foremost as a museum, but the visitor's travel through the museum space ends with a memorial, conceived by the museum's architect, James Ingo *Freed. Even more complex is Daniel *Libeskind's addition to Berlin's Jewish Museum. This was designed as an annex to an existing space, but because of the Holocaust and its impact on the history of German Jewry, its design, which speaks of rupture and voids, has become one of Berlin's many memorials to the Holocaust.

The construction of memorials also has engendered debates about utilization of space and place, especially when the forms of a monument may disturb what is in essence a cemetery. This question has been raised at all the sites of death camps. The construction of the Belzec Memorial, opened in 2004, was held up by a survivor's lawsuit over the disturbing of the bones of the victims at the site. It also raised *halakhic* questions as to how one could dig on the site of a death camp.

Memorial sites can also open debates about contested spaces where many groups were victims of the Nazis, or where concentration camps had continued in use after the end of World War II. The concentration camp at Buchenwald, for example, served beyond the Nazi period as a concentration camp for anti-Communist prisoners under the German Democratic Republic (East Germany). A similar problem has erupted over memorial spaces at Auschwitz, most notably because of the Polish Communist state's suppression of the history of Jewish victimization, the presence of Polish political prisoners in the camp's history, and post-Communist political issues, expressed in the erection of crosses at the camp site as a symbol of Polish national possession of memory. That Auschwitz was

part of the German Reich during the Holocaust and is now (back) in Poland raised questions about Germans and Poles, as well as victim groups, and hence problems of commemorating the horrors confronted by each. There were three camps at Auschwitz: Auschwitz I, the prison camp where Polish non-Jews were incarcerated; Auschwitz II-Birkenau, the killing center, where more than a million Jews were murdered; and Auschwitz III–Buna-Monowitz, but the public does not distinguish among them and their diverse victim populations.

Early monuments largely were in figurative sculptural form. The best example is Nathan Rapoport's *Warsaw Ghetto Monument*. Rapoport designed this memorial in 1943, while in exile in the Soviet Union. It was dedicated in April 1948, on the fifth anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. The monument memorializes the heroism of the Jews on one side as well as their victimization on the other. The commanding figure of Mordechai *Anielewicz and other fighters of the ghetto dominates the side symbolizing heroism, while a line of Jews on the reverse symbolizes the enormity of victimization as "the last road." Since the ghetto was destroyed in its entirety, Rapoport's monument is sited in the center of a postwar housing project. The monument, nevertheless, has been regarded as accessible in terms of its narrative and artistic style, and was reproduced during the late 1980s at Yad Vashem in what is called Warsaw Ghetto Square.

Memorial sites at the death camps themselves are particularly meaningful because of the sites and the power of many monuments. The Polish sculptors Adam Haupt and Franciszek Dusenko completed the Treblinka Monument in 1964. It was built by public subscription and commemorates a place where 800,000 Jews were murdered. The installation is successful because of its monumentality and abstraction. The site contains 17,000 jagged rocks, many of which contain the names of destroyed Jewish communities. In the center is a large 22-foot-high monument where the gas chambers stood. The fissure (in the stone) symbolizes the broken Jewish life in Poland as a result of the Holocaust. Other parts of the memorial remind visitors of the railroad spur and ramp into the camp as well as the burning pits. Abstract and incomplete, the Treblinka memorial seems to be dominated by broken forms.

The concept of memorial is more complex at Auschwitz and Birkenau (Oswiecim and Brzezinka, in Polish). The camps themselves are designated as a museum and memorial. Thus the entire space serves memorial purposes. In Auschwitz I, the *Wall of Death* between Blocks 10 and 11 has taken on special memorial meaning for Poles, while in Birkenau, the destroyed gas chambers are often adorned with flags, flowers, and notes by visitors. In 1958, an international competition was held for a memorial at Birkenau. It failed to find an acceptable design, despite more than 400 entries from artists representing 36 countries. The design that received the most votes, submitted by Oskar and Zofia Hansen, Jerzy Jarnuszkiewicz, and Julian Palka, was not favored by survivors because of its abstractness. In 1967, the Polish memorial committee hired a team headed by Pietro Cascella and Jerzy Jarnuszkiewicz to complete a "compromise monument." The monument had further problems with specifying the numbers of victims murdered in the camp. The original figure on the monument indicated "4 million." However, the numbers were taken off in 1990 shortly after the fall of Communism and not replaced with the more accurate figure of 1.25 million (the best estimates are 1.1–1.3 million). Nevertheless, Auschwitz remains contested space because the camp is in Poland, a country with a small Jewish population.

The memorial at the Belzec death camp opened only in 2004 after many competitions for designs for the site. Designed by Andrzej Solyga, Zdzislaw Pidek, and Marcin Roszczyk, the memorial covers the entire site of the death camp and provides a vista of total devastation, almost like a field of lava and stones, with piles of railroad ties capped with rails as a suggestive entrance, and a memorial space with names of towns and a wall of Jewish names. A museum on the death camp grounds tells the story of what happened at Belzec and thus the memorial does not bear sole responsibility for telling the story of the site of the murder of 500,000 Jews during 1942.

One of the most controversial monuments in the former Soviet Union is at Babi Yar in Kiev, in Ukraine. The first project at this *Einsatzgruppen* killing site was a small memorial stone by Aleksandr V. Vlasov, chief architect of Kiev, installed in 1946. It contained the inscription: "On this site there will be a monument for the victims of fascism during the German occupation of Kiev, 1941–1943." The issue of Jewish victimization at the site was raised through a poem written by Yevgeny Yevtushenko in 1961. The result was a monumental sculpture by the Soviet architect M. Lysenko, built in 1976, which continued to ignore the Jewish victimization. The plaque, in three languages, says: "Here in 1941–1943 more than one hundred thousand people from Kiev and the military were killed by German Fascists." In 1991, a specifically Jewish monument, *Menorah* (in the form of a menorah), designed by Yury Paskevich, was erected. Plans to enhance the site continue, including a Jewish Center at Babi Yar. Such plans led to extensive debate within the Kiev Jewish community about the need for such a center, particularly one to be built with funding from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

Other sites in the former Soviet Union, such as Panieiri (Ponary) Woods outside of Vilnius (Vilna), Lithuania, have had their symbols and narratives revised, while new monuments continue to appear, such as one in the Rumbula forest to commemorate the destruction of the Jews of Riga, Latvia.

Monuments in France have taken on complex meaning because of French collaboration with the German occupation in World War II. The French national memorial to the deportation is the *Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation*, designed by G.H. Pingusson in 1962, sited behind Notre Dame Cathedral in central Paris. It commemorates the deportation of 200,000 French citizens, but is not specific as to the fate of the Jews. The more significant monument is in Drancy, a northern Paris suburb, the site of a deportation center for

Jews. The form of the memorial, built by Shlomo Selinger in 1973, evokes Rodin's *Gates of Hell* and also the Hebrew letter *Shin,* a symbol of the name of God. Ten figures (a *minyan*, the minimum number needed to hold a Jewish religious service) are shown in a whirlwind, representing the Holocaust; the stylized forms of the Hebrew letters *lamed* and *vav*, symbolizing the world's thirty-six righteous men of Jewish legend, are represented by the forms of two of the figures. In back of the granite memorial are tracks that lead to a preserved railroad boxcar used in the deportations. While Drancy is an appropriate place for a memorial, it is now in the center of a North African immigrant neighborhood, where the residents are still living in the apartment structure that was at the heart of the Drancy camp.

Germany probably has the most monuments, most in abstract or negative forms, defined as a mode of representing the absence of the Jews. Eisenman's *Monument* (*Denkmal*) *to the Murdered Jews of Europe* in Central Berlin near the Brandenburg Gate and the Tiergarten on a 4.1-acre site is probably the largest urban Holocaust memorial. It is unique as a negative monument to the Nazis' crimes against the Jews, and it is within sight of the renovated Reichstag building, home of the German parliament, the Bundestag. Appearing as a rolling cemetery with 2,700 granite stones, the metaphorical space succeeds in providing a conceptual awareness of the enormity of the crime. At the site, in certain spots of the memorial, the visitor loses sight of the city itself, suggesting how Germans lost their way with Nazism.

One of the other successful monuments in Berlin was conceived by Renata Stih and Frieder Schnock. *Places of Remembrance* is a series of 80 images on 40 double-sided signs displayed on light poles at a height of approximately 3 meters in the Schoeneberg district/Bayerischer Platz of Berlin. It is part of public space designed to encourage a discourse and remembrance about the past. The signs contain abstracts of the texts of Nazi laws against the Jews and the dates of enactment, some testimonies of victims, and on the reverse sides artistic images. Erected in 1993, the monument drew protests and even led to the temporary removal of some signs. It has become one of Berlin's important memorials because of its pedagogical value, as well as the fact that the signs are in many places and must be sought out, rather than assembled at a static site.

Countermonuments and negative monuments have also been erected in Germany by artists who resist conventionality. Jochen Gerz's *Monument against Fascism* was built in Hamburg-Harburg, Germany, in 1986. A twelve-meter-high obelisk covered with lead, it was designed to attract graffiti. Between 1986 and 1993, it was lowered somewhat on eight occasions until the vertical dimension was lost and the monument was lying on the ground. The monument invited public participation, including having visitors sign a statement against Fascism. When the monument was lowered to the ground, it was enclosed in glass. Gerz's final statement was: "In the end it is only we ourselves who can stand up against injustice."

Horst Hoheisel of Kassel has created many memorials that defy monumentality and create indirect paths of remembrance. In May 1945, a temporary obelisk was erected by the survivors of the Buchenwald concentration camp. Located near the entrance, it was quickly torn down because of the need for the wood. Hoheisel won a competition in 1995 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the camp's liberation. His design was a memorial to the destroyed memorial of 1945. He constructed a stainless steel slab approximately 2 meters on each side, with slightly hipped angles, and the names of the 51 countries of origin of the inmates of the camp in 1945 engraved on the top. The slab is almost at ground level but is permanently heated to 98.6 degrees Fahrenheit to simulate body temperature. The result is that most visitors feel the need to kneel and touch the monument, creating as well a sense of touching the past. Hoheisel also was commissioned in 1985 to create the memorial to the Aschrottbrunnen Fountain in Kassel. The original fountain, given to the city by a Jewish businessman in 1908, was destroyed by the Nazis in 1939. Hoheisel's monument to the destroyed fountain, hence also to a destroyed people, featured an inverted model of the original (a "negative form") totally sunk into the earth, with the water rising to a flat surface of small canals covered partially by glass. The monumentality of the original fountain is gone, and the negative form, incomprehensible to some viewers, was seen as "a stimulant to memory, a flint to fire debate."

While the United States has many monuments, few are worthy of consideration from an aesthetic point of view. George *Segal's *The Holocaust*, erected in 1984, is a series of nine bronze figures painted white. It graces Legion of Honor Park in San Francisco overlooking San Francisco Bay. Based loosely on Margaret *Bourke-White's photograph of the liberation of Buchenwald of April 1945, Segal's figurative memorial places the Holocaust in a beautiful, and unexpected setting. The New England Holocaust Memorial, designed by architect Stanley Saitowitz, dedicated on Boston's Freedom Trail in 1995, features six luminous glass towers, each 54 feet high. The towers are lit internally to gleam at night. Smoke rises from the bottom of each tower, suggesting the six death camps, while six million numbers are etched on the glass. Nathan Rapoport's bronze monument to the Holocaust in Philadelphia dates to 1964 and takes the form of an abstract burning bush incorporating people, a Torah scroll, and flames. Miami Beach, the home of many Holocaust survivors, has a monument created by architect Kenneth Triester and dedicated in 1990, the centerpiece of which is an outstretched arm tattooed with numbers. It is part of a site that includes a Garden of Meditation, a Memorial Wall, and an Arbor of History, with historic photographs of the Holocaust etched into black granite.

While other monuments and memorials exist in the United States and other countries outside Europe and Israel, they too often make use of repetitive symbolism of the Holocaust and may be interpreted as an invitation to forget rather than remember the event.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Der Wettbewerb für das "Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas": Eine Streitschrift* (Neue Gesellschaft für Bildende Kunst, 1995); R. Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870–1990* (2000); S. Milton and I. Nowinski, *In Fitting Memory: the Art and Politics of Holocaust Memorials* (1991); C. Wiedmer, *The Claims of Memory: Representations of the Holocaust in Contemporary Germany and France* (1999); J. Young, *At Memory's Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture* (2002); idem, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and* Meaning (1994); J. Young (ed.), *Holocaust Memorials in History: The Art of Memory* (1994).

[Stephen C. Feinstein (2nd ed.)]

Museums

Although the Holocaust was perpetrated by Germany, all of the death camps were in German-occupied Poland, and Israel perceives itself as the direct heir of the victims, it is in the United States where the "master narrative" of the Holocaust has been shaped. Tim Cole, who has written critically of Holocaust museums, commented that "if you want the 'Holocaust' in the 1990s, then America is a better place to go looking for it than either Europe or Israel."

That was not always the case. In the aftermath of World War II, the Holocaust was not a significant part of American consciousness, even of American Jewish consciousness. In a 1954 report written for the World Jewish Congress, Dr. Issac I. Schwarzbart expressed deep concern that memories of the Holocaust will "slowly lapse into oblivion" and that observances will be held "only once in every 5 or 10 years and… only in the principal Jewish communities." It was not until 1972–73 that the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council of the Jewish Federations put the Holocaust on its agenda and only in the following year did it suggest, *for the first time*, that local Jewish communities create visual memorials such as exhibits, monuments, plaques, and signs, and that they develop their own local archives.

The first Holocaust exhibition was created in 1979 by survivors in Los Angeles, and the first Holocaust museums were opened in 1984 in Dallas and Detroit on the property of their local Jewish community centers. There now are 37 museums and more than 180 organizations in North America. The largest, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, has been visited by some 23 million people since it opened in 1993, and is one of the most popular attractions in the nation's capital. Other major museums are in Los Angeles, New York, suburban Detroit, Montreal, Houston, and St. Petersburg (see below for a complete list), and plans are under way for the construction of stand-alone museums in Chicago, Toronto, and Dallas as well as in Mexico City.

This phenomenally rapid increase in organizations dedicated to commemorating, educating, and presenting the Holocaust to public audiences should be seen in the context of the growing popularity of museums in general. Museum attendance in America is estimated to have increased from 200 million individual visits in 1965, to 400 million in 1984, 600 million in the early 1990s, and 865 million by 1997. Edward Able, executive director of the American Association of Museums, claims that "museum-going is rapidly becoming the single most popular, out-of-home family activity in America." Within museums, historical topics dominate. A survey of over 8,000 museums completed in October 2000 by the National Endowment for the Humanities noted that 65 percent chose "history" as the primary or secondary descriptor for their institutions and that more than 80 percent of them chose "history" as the topic of most interest for their temporary exhibitions.

Museums are regarded more favorably by the public than other institutions that preserve and present history (such as archives, libraries, schools, universities, publishing houses, and film studios). Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, sociologists who interviewed nearly 1,500 Americans, report that when asked to rate the "trustworthiness" of different sources of information about the past on a 10-point scale, museums topped the list – ahead of grandparents' stories, eyewitness testimony, college history professors, and high school teachers. Trustworthiness raises the expectation in the eyes of the public that museums will "reflect accepted truth, not … search for it… Museums, then, were treated not as places where knowledge was disputed or contested, but as sanctuaries where it was secure. For many… [truth] was what a museum contained. Entry and exhibition were credentialing," Rosenzweig and Thelen said. The historian Michael Kammen adds that the average museum visitor looks to museums for certainties and "does not wish to know that multiple interpretations of an object, a phenomenon, or an event are possible. Such knowledge would only be perplexing, or even seriously discomforting."

In striving to shape three-dimensional museum displays that are intelligible, attractive, and engaging to audiences, there is a multiplicity of ways and means that might be chosen.

THE "WHERE" DIMENSION. In line with the popular adage that the three most importance aspects of real estate are location, location, and location, this dimension may be the most significant in distinguishing among Holocaust Museums. "Where" a museum is located influences what can or cannot be presented in it and the meanings and messages that are created and understood. For example, in 1989 the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum accepted nine kilograms of shorn human hair from German death camps in Poland, where it had been on public display for decades. The attempt to show hair in a museum in Washington, D.C., however, raised a bitter controversy. Some museum organizers were so appalled and disgusted that the display case that was built to house the hair remains empty to this day, while the hair itself sits in storage, out of sight.

Commenting on this controversy in which people opposed displaying something in one museum what is shown without incident in another, Alvin Rosenfeld, a literary scholar, posits that "what is acceptable in the abnormal atmosphere of a death camp – the site of the murders – is not acceptable in the antiseptic atmosphere of the Nation's Capital.…

Many visitors, myself among them – and I am totally non-religious – will consider such displays sacrilegious, a desecration." In his book *Thinking about the Holocaust After Half a Century*, Rosenfeld ponders why visitors express such very different feelings

> upon leaving the remains of the Nazi camps in Germany or Poland or upon concluding a visit to Yad Vashem in Israel… [than are] evoked at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum? The answer probably lies less in what is shown in the one place and not in the other *than in the site itself* and the democratic ideals that America's capital exemplifies.

This situation is not unique, as other exhibitions might also be perceived differently by audiences in different locations, and what might be perfectly legitimate in one setting could be seen as an affront in another.

Focus groups, surveys, and interviews done prior to the opening of the United States museum were used to inform curators of the distinctive features of locating in the nation's capital.

> (F)or Americans, a visit to Washington is unlike a typical visit to almost any other place. What makes Washington different is the multiplicity of motivations and expectations with which people come to the nation's capital. They come to be educated, to see government in action, to get in touch with our country's history, to see firsthand the monuments and emblems of our nation, and to share in that 'red, white, and blue' feeling… (T)he capital's attractions are mind-expanding, historically significant, and steeped in symbolism.

Therefore the choice to place the museum in Washington rather than New York or some other location was a conscious one whose significance was articulated right from the outset. The President's Commission on the Holocaust, which recommended the establishment of the museum, started to build the museum's "case statement" in its first official document, the 1979 *Report to the President.* It connected location with content, values, and message. The report noted that the Holocaust

> affects all Americans, raising fundamental questions about government, the abuses of unbridled power, the fragility of social institutions, the need for national unity, and the functioning of government. By reminding us of the potential for violence in human society, the museum can contribute to a strengthening of the democratic process.

THE REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT. Written by the commission's deputy director, Michael *Berenbaum, and signed by 23 of the 24 members of the Commission, *The Report to the President* argued that placing the Holocaust museum on the National Mall would balance themes extolled in the Smithsonian museums such as the "triumphant achievements of human history and creativity… increasing human control over the environment… the aesthetic genius of the human imagination… (and) the use of technology."

When asked in an interview to comment on the importance of location to the shaping of memory, Berenbaum, a theologian and Holocaust historian who directed the creation of the museum, referred to the biblical tradition that the memory of the destroyed city of Jerusalem was affected when the location in which it was pined for was by the waters of Babylon. He argued that a Holocaust museum in Washington, D.C., inevitably "tells a governmental story" whereas a New York Holocaust Museum "tells the story of a victimized community." Regarding the heavy use of interactive multimedia, TV screens, narrated scripts, and hands-on experiential environments in the Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles, Berenbaum responded that "(h)ad we done that in Washington, we would have been shouted [down], because that would not be considered appropriate to the environment of Washington. It is appropriate in Los Angeles and it works in Los Angeles." Then, comparing the national Holocaust museum in Washington to the one in Jerusalem, he added:

> We also had a problem different from Yad Vashem in terms of presenting it in Washington, which is: we had to discharge people on to the National Mall. Yad Vashem had the greatest ending of all, which is that you come through darkness into light and you see Jerusalem, reborn in the living State of Israel… And that's the answer. [That ending is still *the* ending in the new Yad Vashem which opened in 2004.]
>
> Again, we're not in Jerusalem, *therefore it cannot be the answer here.* We have to discharge people with at least a way to come back in to the Washington Mall.

In exploring the "where" dimension, there are six different types of Holocaust organizations based on their location and activities:

(a) Museums on actual Holocaust sites, such as former camps and ghettos or places of deportation and murder;

(b) Museums prominently placed in national capitals and enjoying significant government support;

(c) Major facilities in highly visible, stand-alone buildings that are devoted to presenting the Holocaust;

(d) Minor facilities that occupy small parts of "Jewish" buildings or complexes that are primarily devoted to other purposes;

(e) Research, resource and teaching centers, often affiliated with colleges or universities and, as a rule, located on their campuses; and

(f) Personal "backyard" operations that are created, shaped, and run by a single champion or a very small group of dedicated individuals with limited involvement from outsiders.

(a) Museums on actual Holocaust sites such as former camps and ghettos or places of deportation and murder. It is rather obvious that being located on sacred ground has a powerful effect on shaping historical presentation and also on the ways that visitors perceive what took place there. In addition, museums of this type are unavoidably engaged with identity issues that are of no relevance to the other five locations. (Of course no Holocaust museum in North America is on a Holocaust site.)

Site issues from another time and place may prove enlightening. Restricting the exhibition of the Alamo, in San Antonio, Texas, to the period during which it was a fort (1835–6) presents a white Anglo story of Protestant Texans resisting foreign invaders. On the other hand, broadening the scope to cover its 250 years as a Mexican Catholic mission, similar to others in the same area above and below the Rio Grande (and before there was an international border), and its importance to local Tejanos (Mexican-Texans), some of whom also fought and died there, would necessitate telling a very different story. Terezin (Theresienstadt) and Auschwitz had both been military bases before the Holocaust, but to what extent are these "prehistories" relevant or even of interest to visitors?

More than a dozen liberated Nazi camps (including Buchenwald and Majdanek) had "posthistories" as Soviet punishment centers where more than 130,000 Nazi sympathizers and anti-Communists were imprisoned. To what extent, if any, should they and the estimated 50,000 victims who died there by shooting, hunger, disease, and neglect *after* 1945 be presented in historical museums located on those sites, or would that only distract and detract from the main messages?

Michael Ignatieff, author of *Blood and Belonging. Journeys into the New Nationalism* (1993), reminds us of the Orwellian dictum that he who controls the past controls the future. A death camp was located in Jasenovac, Croatia, in World War II where approximately 600,000 Serbs, Jews, gypsies, and Communists were murdered. After it was bulldozed in 1945 in "the hope that Serbs and Croats might forget," a museum and memorial center was opened in the 1960s in order to play a prominent educational role in teaching tolerance, warning of the dangers of hanging on to old hatreds, promoting the acceptance of differences, and fostering ethnic understanding within Tito's new Yugoslavia. In 1991, Croatian troops stationed in Jasenovac systematically destroyed the whole museum. Ignatieff wrote:

> Every book in the library had been ripped up and tossed onto the floor. Every glass exhibit case has been smashed. Every photograph has been defaced. Every file has been pulled out of every drawer, every table and chair has been upended, all the curtains have been cut to ribbons, all the windows have been smashed, and all the walls have been daubed with excrement and slogans. Some quite amazing hatred of the past has taken hold of the people who did this: as if by destroying the museum, they hoped to destroy the memory of what was done here.

(b) Museums prominently placed in national capitals and enjoying significant government support. The Imperial War Museum in London has a large, permanent gallery devoted to the Holocaust and the subject warrants considerable attention in the Jewish Museum in Berlin despite the deliberate attempt not to make it a Holocaust museum. Both are located in national capitals and enjoy considerable governmental support, but both museums extend their concerns beyond the Holocaust itself. Therefore, the two best examples of this type of museum are the two largest in the world: the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington and Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Heroes' and Martyrs' Remembrance Authority, in Jerusalem. Each is located in a capital city, on a large campus, and attracts more than a million and as many as two million visitors a year or more. Yad Vashem, located in a country that has a Jewish majority and that sees itself as the heir of the six million, gives its major attention to the Jewish story and looks at the event from the perspective of the victims, while the American museum, on the National Mall, tells an American story from the point of view of bystanders and liberators. (More of these differences will be highlighted in the discussion of the "what" dimension.)

(c) Major facilities in highly visible, stand-alone buildings that are devoted to presenting the Holocaust. Examples are the Museum of Jewish Heritage–A Living Memorial to the Holocaust at the tip of lower Manhattan in New York City; the Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles, California; the Michigan Holocaust Memorial Center in Farmington Hills, a suburb of Detroit; the Florida Holocaust Museum in St. Petersburg; and the Holocaust Museum Houston, in Texas. While these museums are all smaller than those of type "b," they are each tens of thousands of square feet in size, employ dozens of staff, have annual operating budgets in excess of several million dollars, are situated prominently in museum districts or are close to other major attractions, and are visited by more than 100,000 people a year. New York's and Detroit's have expanded (Detroit moved to a new independent facility) and Houston's and St. Petersburg's are planning major expansions.

(d) Minor facilities that occupy small parts of "Jewish" buildings or complexes that are primarily devoted to other purposes. Museums in this category are considerably smaller in size than the previous types and attract fewer visitors (tens of thousands), mostly schoolchildren who are brought in an organized fashion. Examples of this type are the Lillian and A.J. Weinberg Center for Holocaust Education, inside the Jewish Federation building in Atlanta, Georgia; the Holocaust Memorial Resource and Education Center of Central Florida, on the campus of the Jewish Community Center in Orlando; the Holocaust Education and Memorial Centre of Toronto, beside the Jewish Federation Building; and the Vancouver Holocaust Centre for Education and Remembrance, in the lower level of the Jewish Community Centre building.

Over time these centers are being given over to professional educators and museum directors as the role of the small group of local organizers (often Holocaust survivors) diminishes. Still, in conformity with the pattern common in "historical houses," the original vision and mission of the museum remains quite resilient. Steeped as they were in European Jewish culture, victimized solely because they were Jews, traumatized by the loss of their loved ones and of the old Jewish world, it is not surprising that the perspective most often taken in the museums located inside Jewish spaces is that of the Jewish victims. Many installations, especially those done before 1993, were modeled after the most dramatic example that they knew – Yad Vashem. To the extent that they could, they tried

to copy the Israeli original in their smaller spaces, and they offered local residents, Jews and non-Jews alike, most of whom had not been to Israel, the opportunity to confront the Holocaust through honoring the memories of the Jewish victims and preserving the experiences of those who survived.

(e) Research, resource and teaching centers, often affiliated with colleges or universities and, as a rule, located on their campuses. These centers on university campuses are generally directed by academics who hold regular teaching appointments, such as the Fred R. Crawford Witness to the Holocaust Project at Emory University in Atlanta, headed by Professor Deborah Lipstadt, holder of the Dorot Chair in Modern Jewish and Holocaust Studies; or the University of Minnesota's Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, directed by Dr. Stephen Feinstein. Arguably the easiest and least expensive to establish and maintain, they are the most numerous of the six categories. These organizations have temporary exhibitions but do not maintain permanent ones. With their mission of research, teaching, and providing resources to educators, their focus, as a rule, is broader than just the Holocaust; they are usually also centers of the study of genocide and violations of human rights.

(f) Personal "backyard" operations that are created, shaped, and run by a single champion or a very small group of dedicated individuals with limited involvement from outsiders. The Smith family is devoutly Christian. In 1978, the Smiths bought a farmhouse in rural Nottinghamshire, in the middle of Sherwood Forest, with the intention of creating Britain's first Holocaust center. Beth Shalom is a place of retreat "where people could come to study, to learn, or to be quiet and reflect." The family lives on the site, is devoted to every aspect of its operation, and the mother is the center's only paid employee, serving as manager and administrative coordinator. As many as 500 people visit each week.

An even smaller organization is the Western Association of Holocaust Survivor-Families and Friends, established in Vancouver in 1989 by Renia Perel. She is the founder, president, and, since her husband's death, the main champion. What exists of this association is located in file cabinets and on storage shelves in the basement of her home. Active for several years, the association became virtually moribund during the four-year period that Perel's husband was terminally ill. The intensity of the association's efforts has always been proportionate to the Perels' level of energy, just as its activities were determined by the Perels' interests and predilections.

THE "WHAT" AND "HOW" DIMENSIONS. Despite (or perhaps because) this subject matter is vast (there are more than 100,000 books on aspects of the Holocaust), there is no consensus as to what are the essential topics and materials that must be presented. Historians of the period typically identify three distinct groups of actors in the Holocaust: the perpetrators (the murderers and their accomplices), the victims, and the bystanders (a less clearly delineated group that runs the gamut from compliant observers to resisters and rescuers). It is unlikely that a Holocaust museum will give exclusive attention to just one of these three perspectives and leave the other two wholly ignored, but at the same time it is not possible to give predominance to more than one focus at the same time and in the same gallery space.

The United States museum chooses to focus the thrust of its educational message on the dangers of being a bystander. Its website proclaims: "The Museum's primary mission is … to encourage its visitors to reflect upon the moral and spiritual questions raised by the events of the Holocaust as well as their own responsibilities as citizens of a democracy." Says its executive director, Sara Bloomfield:

> Ultimately to me I think the museum isn't about eradicating evil, because evil can't be eradicated.… We know that not just because of the last century, but for thousands of years people have done horrific things to one another and I don't think we're going to be changing human nature any day soon. Certainly a museum cannot do that.
>
> So, the museum's goal is not to make evil people good, because that's simply impossible, but my goal, in the trite cliché of the Holocaust is to transform bystanders into rescuers. That's what our goal is, and the most important player in that exhibit, in many ways, is the bystander.… There's an implicit, I wish it were more explicit in some ways, challenge to encourage the visitor to say: "Well here, in the safety and freedom of America, can I do more? What is my moral obligation to another human being?" So, anyway … for me, this is a story about bystanders and the consequences of standing by.

Placing the Holocaust in the context of American citizenship and values is what Michael Berenbaum means by the term "Americanization of the Holocaust." He explained:

> The place from which you remember an event shapes what you remember. So … in Jerusalem the answer is Israeli values. What are Israeli values? An army and a State, a proud, independent people, etc. We tell that story also but the perpetration of the crime is the violation of the American ethos: That all human beings are created equal, that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights such as freedom of press, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion, habeas corpus, etc. "To bigotry no sanctions, to persecution no assistance." [Citing Washington's quote that hangs prominently in the 15th Street building entrance.] This becomes the Americanization.

And in another place, he adds:

> This museum is in dialogue with "the Great American Myth"… in dialogue with the Smithsonian and standing at the juncture of "Museum Washington" and "Monumental Washington," celebrating the power and triumph of government, the human imagination, spirit, creativity, etc., etc. We are about what happens when all of those forces are unleashed without regard to the values, "the Great American Values" of "all men, now people, are created equal," they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, rights that the State cannot take away, protections, freedoms… This involvement, if anything, has made me more deeply and more profoundly patriotic. And more respectful of the best of American values, not of the American experience, and I think that one of the reasons

> why this Museum works in its location is that it very subtly is in dialogue with place and space.

In sharp contrast, the planners of the Museum of Jewish Heritage – A Living Memorial to the Holocaust in New York City took a different emphasis right from the start. They wanted to tell a Jewish story, in three layers, focused on the victims.

> Built on four millennia of memories and experience, Jewish Heritage is a rich symphony of themes and motifs, of counterpoint and, sadly, of dissonant chords. To capture the essence of this complex creation, we will divide the story into three chapters, corresponding to the three floors of the Museum: *The Jewish World in the Early 20th Century* (first floor); *The War against the Jews* (second floor); and *Jewish Renewal* (third floor).

When asked to compare the Jewish Heritage to other Holocaust museums, Ivy Barsky, deputy director for programs, pointed out that the

> major difference is that we have decided to tell the story as much as possible through the eyes of those who survived it. And you know, honoring the memory of those who perished. And not necessarily really flushing out the story of the perpetrators and others. And, even though we are primarily talking about Jews, talking less about what happened to Jews and more about what Jews did… more about Jews as subjects than as objects.

The special activities that it offers are more typical of a Jewish community center or a synagogue than a Holocaust museum.

The Simon Wiesenthal Center's Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles focuses less on bystanders or victims, and more on the third group of actors, the perpetrators: what the Nazis did, what the like-minded are still doing, and what might be the dangerous face of intolerance in the future if we do not fight back and fail to prevent its spread. Drawing upon a singularly Southern Californian metaphor, dean and founder Rabbi Marvin Hier summarizes the basic point:

> The message of the museum is simple. The highway of hate is one highway. Once you're on it, you have two choices: exit early and avoid a catastrophe, or keep on the highway of hate and drive straight to Auschwitz. The message is, if a society doesn't take cognizance of hate, thinks little of it, and is not willing to do something about it by getting off that highway and condemning it, it could condemn itself to ride straight to Auschwitz.

In an article for the *Los Angeles Times*, Hier explained

> The Holocaust's central lesson – that a civilized society voluntarily turned themselves (sic) into an evil one; that lawyers and judges lied and cheated; that teachers distinguished between Aryan and non-Aryans, teaching their students that even God's "thou shalt not kill" did not apply to society's *untermenschen*, the so-called sub-cultures, a name Nazis used to describe Jews, Gypsies, homosexuals, and other undesirables.

Therefore the Tolerance museum includes material on the African-American struggle for civil rights in America, discrimination against women in Afghanistan, teen-age drinking, child pornography, sexual exploitation of women and children in Belarus, and hate sites on the Internet. "Hatred did not die in the bunker with Hitler," says Hier. "They are not dinosaurs that you can walk away from (like) at the Museum of Natural History, and then forget about. The haters are still among us."

But the museum's major innovation is in the area of "how," i.e., the methodology of presentation, specifically the extensive use of technology: computers, films, and interactive experiences. Rabbi Hier intended to create something very different from other Holocaust museums:

> The Museum of Tolerance was never set up to duplicate or to be another Yad Vashem or … Washington.… It was designed for middle and high school students. If you want to reach young people, you have to make history "come alive" to them. You can't teach them history from text and pictures on the wall, and from seminars or monologues that are going to be given by … historians.

Condemning the museum as the "collusion of Hollywood and the Holocaust" (or the more sarcastic: "Disney does Dachau"), critics Nicola A. Lisus and Richard V. Ericson, authors of *Misplacing Memory: the Effect of Television Format on Holocaust Remembrance* (1995), charge:

> Competing, as it certainly seems to be, with other L.A. entertainment giants for an audience grown accustomed to viewing reality through a Hollywood filter, the Wiesenthal Center relies on its state-of-the-art electronic media approach and the kind of advertising more normally associated with Hollywood theme parks to attract visitors…
>
> The Tolerancenter (sic) relies on short sound bytes, slogans, and continuous audio and visual stimulation, giving the impression that this section is based more upon the principles of advertising than those of education. A cacophony of overdramatized voices emanating from computer characters bombards the visitor with all the superficial urgency of local news broadcast. Like the local news, this gallery offers the visitor a high-impact and, in my opinion, low-content experience.

In Los Angeles, "the city of illusions," some argue the Holocaust Museum has become a place where

> creeping surrealism is well underfoot. Here the unreal, the recreated and the voice-over form the yardstick by which we measure the real. Fantasy becomes the baseline for measuring truth. Drama overpowers reality. Characters of history become character actresses and voices from the past become voiceovers of the present. (Lisus and Ericson)

Linking "where" and "how" dimensions, Hier admits:

> If we were Auschwitz, it might be a sin for us to take all this modern technology to the bunks, where the actual slaughter and gassing took place… There, one has to be very careful, because if you change Auschwitz, if you make Auschwitz into a highly sophisticated and technologically oriented museum I would be afraid. So I would be much more cautious that that [Auschwitz] should be preserved as it is.

A useful framework for understanding the "how" dimension of museums is offered by Michael Ettema in *History Museums and the Culture of Materialism* (1987), a continuum from the "formalistic" to the "analytical" perspectives. The formalistic perspective perceives history as factual learning, best accom-

plished by accumulating discrete pieces of information. In the museum context, this means that information is mastered through familiarity with the specific details of an object: its origin; who made it, where, and how; what were its functions; and the extent to which its stylistic and technical features can be correlated with other groups of selected objects. In pedagogical terms, this approach is often called the "discovery" or the "inquiry" method. A museum whose presentation reflects a formalistic perspective would be anchored in genuine artifacts (no replicas, models, dioramas, or multimedia gimmicks). Since its collection likely would be incomplete, its curators would have to be satisfied with telling only a partial story. Aspects of the story, regardless of how important they might be, that cannot be told through artifacts in the museum's possession, would necessarily be absent. At its core, such a museum sees itself as being about "collecting, documenting, preserving, exhibiting, and interpreting material evidence and associated information."

On the other hand, the analytical perspective looks beyond "what happened" and "when" to ask "how" and "why" things are the way they are. Its focus is on the narrative being told, with the artifacts serving merely as hooks or illustrations to be set out like theater props. The analytical perspective takes abstract explanations that are situated in ideas, values, and social circumstances. History, in this understanding, is the posing and answering of questions about trends, changes, processes and systems in which physical objects are not the messages themselves but rather are displayed to support the unfolding drama. Artifacts not in the possession of a museum, but on which important aspects of the narrative rely, may be manufactured, copied, or projected.

Curators employing an analytical perspective attempt to tell a complete story (albeit only one of the possible stories about the subject), while those at the other, formalistic, end of this continuum essentially highlight fragments of stories by looking at specific artifacts, but cannot present a complete one because of all that is missing.

The distinction can be illustrated in the Dallas Holocaust Museum. From 1984 until 2004 (when the museum was located in the basement of the Jewish Community Center) it had an essentially formalistic display. A collection of artifacts – what the museum happened to possess – was shown along with photographs and wall texts that presented some ("fragments") of the major events that took place between 1933 and 1945, omitting and ignoring the rest. There was no clear or coherent story.

In contrast, the relocated museum in the center of the city has housed a new display since March 2005, titled "One Day in the Holocaust." It focuses on a complete story, one of many that might be told. In line with the analytical perspective, the story is the key. The display examines reactions to the same events (the explosion of killings that took place in 1942 and the mass deportations of victims in boxcars) by three different sets of actors in three different locations on a single day, April 19, 1943. On that day, powerless victims were heroically but futilely fighting back (the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising). Three young men decided to take independent action and heroically saved the lives of 231 deportees on their way to Auschwitz (stopping a train from the Mechlen transit camp in Belgium); and officials of powerful governments were discussing the plight of the European Jews, carefully taking no meaningful action to rescue them (the Bermuda Conference). The bottom-line message is that we need not be defined by what happens to us when we have the will to choose how we wish to respond, and that we are responsible for our decisions and their consequences. If this is true even during the difficult period of the Holocaust, how much more should we be conscious of the choices that we make in the less difficult circumstances of our daily lives?

Other important aspects of the "how" dimension are revealed by what is inside the museums and by the architecture. The museums in Washington and Los Angeles are each housed in a striking building; Yad Vashem's museum impales the ground, stabbing through the bedrock of Israel with a foreign object (a concrete structure) and causing a wound that can never be healed. To get to the display in Washington, visitors ascend in an elevator to the fourth floor and begin their tour by looking at the way things were before the rise of the Nazi regime ("normal" life). Then, as the narrative progresses and Nazism begins, visitors descend, sinking deeper and deeper into the depths of the windowless building, falling further and further into the abyss. After initial attempts to keep the museum open to the American symbols that surround it failed because the western sun was too hot to keep the building cooled adequately, James Ingo Freed, the museum's architect, chose to block out views of the nation's capital as a way to keep "American space from contaminating memorial space."

In contrast, visitors to the museums in Jerusalem and in New York City (both focused on the Jewish story) move physically and symbolically upwards – from depths to heights and from darkness to light – emerging at a "higher" level to set up the visitor for a final, uplifting experience. At Yad Vashem, the last view looks out over the dynamic, lively, rebuilt, and reunited city of Jerusalem. At the Museum of Jewish Heritage, the final vista is of Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty, symbols of safety from oppression, welcome and compassion for the downtrodden refugees.

CONCLUSION. After surveying Holocaust memorials and museums in Germany, Austria, Poland, Israel, and the United States, James Young concludes that "(i)n every nation's memorials and museums, a different Holocaust is remembered, often to conflicting political and religious ends.… Memory is never shaped in a vacuum, the motives of memory are never pure."

However, this situation is not fundamentally different from that of other history museums. In *Dream Spaces: Memory and the Museum*, Gaynor Kavanagh asserts that meaning-making "springs not from objects, (or the) collections of the

institution, but from people and how the past is remembered within the present." As long as different people in different places are remembering the past, they will shape different presentations of it.

LIST OF HOLOCAUST MUSEUMS

Argentina	Buenos Aires	Fundacion Memoria del Holocausto
Australia	Melbourne	Jewish Holocaust Museum and Research Centre
Australia	Sydney	Sydney Jewish Museum – History of the Holocaust section
Austria	Vienna	Austrian Holocaust Memorial Service (Gedenkdienst)
Austria	Vienna	Mauthausen Concentration Camp Memorial
Belgium	Mechelen	Jewish Museum of Deportation and Resistance
Canada	Montreal	Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre
	Toronto	Holocaust Education and Memorial Centre of Toronto
	Vancouver	Vancouver Holocaust Education Centre
	Winnipeg	Freeman Family Foundation Holocaust Education Centre of the Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada
Croatia	Jasenovac	Vatican's Holocaust – Holocaust Archive Pictures at Croatia Jasenovac Memorial Site and Memorial Museum
Czech Rep.	Terezin	Terezin Memorial
France	Izieu	Memorial Museum for Children of Izieu
	Paris	Memorial de la Shoah
Germany	Berlin	Topography of Terror Foundation
	Buchenwald	Buchenwald Memorial
	Dachau	Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site
	Furstenberg	Ravensbruck Women's Concentration Camp Memorial Museum
	Lohheide	Bergen-Belsen Memorial
	Oranienburg	Sachsenhausen Memorial Site
	Papenburg	Document and Information Center of Emsland Camps
	Wannsee	House of the Wannsee Conference
Hungary	Budapest	Budapest Holocaust Memorial Center
Israel	Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz	Ghetto Fighters' House – Holocaust and Jewish Resistance Heritage Museum
	Jerusalem	Chambers of the Holocaust
	Jerusalem	Yad Vashem – Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes Remembrance Memorial
	Kibbutz Tel-Yitzhak	Massuah Institute for the Study of the Holocaust
	Kibbutz Givat Chaim	Beit Theresienstadt
	Kibbutz Yad Mordechai	Museum in honor of Mordechai Anielewicz
Japan	Fukuyama City	Holocaust Education Center
	Tokyo	Tokyo Holocaust Education Resource Center
Netherlands	Amsterdam	Anne Frank House
	Haarlem	Corrie ten Boom Museum, "The Hiding Place"
Poland	Lublin	State Museum at Majdanek Concentration Camp
	Oswiecim	Auschwitz Jewish Center Foundation
	Oswiecim	Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum
	Belzec	Belzec Memorial and Museum
Russia	Moscow	Russian Holocaust Foundation
South Africa	Cape Town	Cape Town Holocaust Centre
United Kingdom	Laxton, Newark	Beth Shalom Holocaust Centre
	London	Imperial War Museum's Holocaust Exhibition
	London	Holocaust and Anti-Racist Department at the London Jewish Cultural Centre
United States	Albuquerque, NM	New Mexico Holocaust and Intolerance Museum
	Atlanta, GA	The Lillian and A.J. Weinberg Center for Holocaust Education of the William Breman Jewish Heritage Center
	Baltimore, MD	Baltimore Jewish Council
	Brooklyn (New York City), NY	Kingsborough Community College Holocaust Resource Center
	Buffalo, NY	Holocaust Resource Center
	Cincinnati, OH	The Center for Holocaust and Humanity Education
	Dallas, TX	Dallas Holocaust Museum
	El Paso, TX	El Paso Holocaust Museum and Study Center
	Farmington Hills, MI	Holocaust Memorial Center
	Hollywood, FL	Holocaust Documentation and Education Center
	Houston, TX	Holocaust Museum Houston

Los Angeles, CA	Holocaust Monument
Los Angeles, CA	Museum of the Holocaust
Los Angeles, CA	Simon Wiesenthal Center
Los Angeles, CA	USC Shoah Foundation Institute for Visual History and Education
Maitland, FL	Holocaust Memorial Resource and Education Center
Manhasset, NY	Holocaust Resource Center, Temple Judea of Manhasset
Miami Beach, FL	Holocaust Memorial
Naples, FL	Holocaust Museum of Southwest Florida
New Haven, CT	Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies
New York, NY	Anne Frank Center
New York, NY	Ioannina Greece Holocaust Victims
New York, NY	Museum of Jewish Heritage–Living Memorial to the Holocaust
Pittsburgh, PA	Holocaust Center of the United Jewish Federation of Greater Pittsburgh
Providence, RI	Rhode Island Holocaust Memorial Museum
Richmond, VA	Virginia Holocaust Museum
San Antonio, TX	Holocaust Memorial of San Antonio
San Francisco, CA	Holocaust Center of Northern California
Skokie, IL	Holocaust Memorial Foundation of Illinois
Springfield, MA	Hatikvah Holocaust Education and Resource Center
Spring Valley, NY	Holocaust Museum and Study Center
St. Louis, MO	Holocaust Museum and Learning Center
St. Petersburg, FL	Florida Holocaust Museum
Tulsa, OK	Sherwin Miller Museum
Washington, DC	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

[Elliott Dlin (2nd ed.)]

Film

Both opponents and supporters of Hitler employed film as a medium, either to warn the world about the danger his regime posed to European Jewry, or to warn about the mortal threat "World Jewry" allegedly posed to the Aryan race. During the 1930s, Hollywood tended to avoid overt criticism of the Third Reich, bowing to pressure from its voluntary censorship board, the State Department, and isolationist politicians who anticipated that anti-Nazi movies would provoke a German boycott of American films, damage German-American relations, or plunge the United States into an unwanted European war. Self-interest was at stake, as Germany was an important source of revenue for American films. Weekly newsreels, however, featured stories about the plight of German Jews under Nazi rule. A 1938 edition of the *March of Time* denounced German persecution of the Jews as "brutal" and "pitiless." In 1940 Charlie Chaplin, the brilliant clown of the silent era, pilloried Hitler in *The Great Dictator*, which portrayed the Phooey, Chaplin's facetious synonym for Fuehrer, as a megalomaniac intent on invading neighboring countries and incarcerating Jews. Chaplin had financed his own movie. He was incorrectly suspected of being Jewish.

Preparing public opinion for harsher antisemitic measures, the Nazi propaganda "documentary" *The Eternal Jew* (1940) depicted the unassimilated Jews of defeated Poland as vermin conspiring with their acculturated coreligionists in the West to undermine the Aryan race. The German feature film *Jew Suess* distorted the true story of an eighteenth-century court Jew who served as the chief adviser to the Duke of Wurttemberg into a cautionary tale about how the Jewish parvenu exploited his influence to profit from his position, oppress German gentiles, and rape a virtuous Aryan woman. *The Eternal Jew* ends with a clip of Hitler's Reichstag speech threatening to destroy European Jewry if Germany was drawn into a war; *Jew Suess* implies a similar fate by hanging the Jew after his royal patron died.

Allied wartime movies painted a sinister picture of the Third Reich's regimentation of its own citizenry, oppression of conquered countries, and ruthless persecution of those it deemed "antisocial," inferior, or subversive. Jews appeared in some of these as one among various groups targeted by the Nazis. Loosely based on the internment of theologian Martin Niemoller, the British film *Pastor Hall* (1940) confines its protagonist in a concentration camp modeled on Dachau, where dissidents, Jews, and ordinary criminals endure corporal punishment, hard labor, overcrowding, and random executions. The American film *None Shall Escape* (1944) foreshadowed Allied war crimes trials of high-ranking Germans. Its story revolves around the testimony of three witnesses who accuse an SS officer of raping a Polish girl, sending her brother to a concentration camp, starving Polish workers, rounding up Jews for deportation, and massacring them when they are on the verge of rebellion. The Soviet film *Unconquered* (1945) similarly mixes the theme of the repression of Russians with a grim reenactment of the mass executions of Jews at Babi Yar.

When the victorious Allied troops entered the gates of German concentration, extermination, and labor camps in 1945, they were overwhelmed by the stench and sight of corpses scattered where they had died or been stacked before they could be burned, evidence that prisoners had been the subjects of medical experiments and torture, and the emaciated survivors, many of whom were so sick and weakened that they died after their liberation. Newsreels, newspapers,

and magazines initially disseminated these appalling images. The prosecution team at the Nuremberg Trials presented a compilation of this footage to prove that Germany had committed crimes against humanity. The gaunt survivors, crematoria chimneys, electrified barbed-wire fences, gas chambers, mass graves, railway cars, SS insignia, Star of David armbands, striped prisoner uniforms, swastikas, warehouses stuffed with confiscated valuables and human hair, and Zyklon-B canisters became the icons of Nazi genocide.

Clips of the American and Soviet Nuremberg movies, both of which bore the title *Nazi Concentration Camps,* appeared in feature films about tracking down war criminals (Orson Welles' *The Stranger*, 1946) and the postwar trials (Kurt Maetzig's *Council of the Gods*, 1950, and the television and film versions of *Judgment at Nuremberg*, 1959 and 1961), and cautioning the next generation of Germans from joining neo-Nazi gangs (Samuel Fuller's *Verboten!*, 1959). In the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s, American television documentaries about World War II and the Third Reich included segments from *Nazi Concentration Camps* as part of their broader indictments of Nazi militarism and totalitarianism.

Alain Resnais's documentary *Night and Fog* (1955) deserves its reputation as the most important of these early documentaries. It opens with colored shots of the serene surroundings of the vacant Auschwitz juxtaposed with black and white scenes from Leni Riefenstahl's propaganda masterpiece, *Triumph of the Will* (1935), illustrating Hitler's prewar popularity. The pomp of this period segues into footage and photos of the deportation, internment, and liquidation of the people Hitler perceived as Germany's mortal enemies. Although the narrator never specifically mentions that Jews were slated for extinction, the clothing and Jewish stars worn by most of the people being "relocated" visually indicates the scope of Hitler's crusade. The film ends with shocking scenes of the remnants of Nazi barbarity that the Allied troops found in the camps.

In the immediate postwar period, the Soviet Union permitted Eastern European filmmakers to recall the brutality of the German occupation in the region, including the ordeal of the Jews. In doing so, the USSR legitimated its rule as the power that had delivered the region from Nazi despotism and curried the favor of the Zionist movement, which it temporarily supported to undermine British dominance in the Middle East. In this window of opportunity between 1945 and 1949, the states of the Communist bloc produced a spate of motion pictures about the decimation of East European Jewry.

The director Wanda Jakubowska and screenwriter Gerda Schneider had been inmates at Auschwitz. In *The Last Stop* (1947), they depicted the tribulations of female prisoners at Auschwitz. Shot on location and cast primarily with concentration camp survivors, the film ultimately glorified the Communist resistance to Nazism in the character of a Jewish translator who joins the camp underground and martyrs herself rather than betray her comrades. In *Border Street* (1948), Aleksander Ford envisioned the chronic brutality, epidemics, and starvation that ravaged the Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto. He originally intended to make Polish antisemitism a key plot element, but yielded to political pressure to present instances of Polish solidarity with the Jews.

Alfred Radok's *Distant Journey* (1949) chronicled the arrest and separation of a Jewish wife from her gentile husband and her subsequent internment at Theresienstadt, the Czech ghetto/camp Hitler had spruced up for a propaganda film on how well Jews were treated. Radok knew this was a lie because his father had died in captivity there. Thus, he accurately portrayed Theresienstadt as a place where a steady flow of new internees replaced the dwindling ranks of predecessors who had succumbed to disease, malnutrition, physical punishments, and strenuous labor or vanished on trains bound for Auschwitz. Ford and Radok soon fell into disfavor with the postwar Communist regimes.

Most German filmmakers in the early postwar era avoided offending audiences by dredging up their nation's guilt in the Final Solution. The movies produced in the Allied occupation zones typically were set in the rubble of bombed cities to elicit sympathy for Germans coping with the devastation of their nation. Wolfgang Staudte's *The Murderers Are among Us* (1946) constituted a notable exception. Its title refers to a former Nazi officer who had executed the women and children of a Polish village, but who prospers as an industrialist after the war. Two survivors represent opposite responses by survivors: a man who seeks to avenge the deaths of the Poles by assassinating the industrialist and a woman whose wartime imprisonment prompts her to prevent the murder as a miscarriage of justice. A newspaper headline that reads "2,000,000 People Gassed" is the sole clue of the magnitude of Nazi genocide, but not of the identity of its primary victims.

American movies on the subject between 1945 and 1960 were characterized by their focus on the postwar repercussions of Germany's genocidal policies: (1) the hunt for German war criminals, as seen in *The Stranger* (1946); (2) the trials of Nazis, as shown in *Sealed Verdict* (1948); (3) the foiling of neo-Nazi conspiracies to return to power, as in *Berlin Express* (1948); (4) the creation of Israel as a homeland for Holocaust survivors, as dramatized in *Sword in the Desert* (1949); and (5) the rehabilitation of traumatized displaced persons and Jewish immigrants to Israel or the United States, as occurs in *The Search* (1948), *The Juggler* (1953), and *Singing in the Dark* (1956).

In feature films released during the 1950s, the Holocaust usually looms in the background as an ominous fate awaiting Jewish characters if they are arrested or deported, as in the Jewish-gentile love stories in *Springtime in Budapest* (1956), *Sweet Light in a Dark Room* (1959), and *Stars* (1959). The Holocaust also serves as a test of faith for gentiles who are asked to save Jews, like the captain of a ship searching for a safe port for Jewish passengers in *Skipper after God* (1951) or the nuns smuggling Jewish orphans out of a detention center in the American television production *Conspiracy of Hearts* (1956). Only the Italian movie *Kapo* (1959) dealt exclusively with survival in a death camp.

Of all the Holocaust movies produced during the 1950s, *The Diary of Anne Frank* (1959) was the most successful at overcoming the disparity between the personal security Americans took for granted and the constant vulnerability European Jews felt under German rule. The American public could identify with Anne's adolescent problems, idealism, and interactions with her family and friends in hiding, if not with their precarious predicament. The film, like the Broadway play (1955) on which it was based, emphasized Anne's spiritual resilience and optimism.

Director George Stevens obtained the movie rights for the diary in 1956. As an officer in the U.S. Army Signal Corps, he had supervised the filming of the liberated Nazi concentration and prison camps. Stevens carefully recreated the Franks' secret annex as the claustrophobic setting for the film and revisited Dachau to remind himself of the gruesome sights he had photographed there. The Holocaust enters into his film obliquely through Otto Frank's recollections of his return from Auschwitz, Anne's narration about why her family was forced to flee Germany and go into hiding in Amsterdam, Dussel's report of the roundups of Jews, and Anne's nightmare about a friend standing among other women prisoners during a concentration camp roll call.

Critics charge that these ominous moments are eclipsed by Anne's bickering with her mother and sister, her romantic attraction to Pete, and her comments that Jews are just one of many groups who have suffered in history and that "people are really good at heart." Her faith in humanity is affirmed in the concluding voiceover, which is preceded by Gestapo members breaking in through the concealed entrance. The last image of the diary itself belies any happy outcome as the wind flips its pages from written sections to blank ones.

The Diary of Anne Frank began the process of globalizing public awareness of the Holocaust. Versions of it have been produced by British, Dutch, French, Irish, Japanese, and Yugoslav studios. American remakes of Anne's story increasingly have accentuated her Jewish identity. The television miniseries *Anne Frank: The Whole Story* (2001) lives up to its title by beginning with Anne's life before her family went into hiding and ending with an hour-long segment of her confinement in Auschwitz and death in Bergen-Belsen.

The most famous American Holocaust films of the 1960s continued the universalizing narrative strategies of their predecessors. Released in the year Israel put Adolf Eichmann on trial for crimes against the Jewish people, Stanley Kramer's *Judgment at Nuremberg* (1961) centers around the courtroom parrying between defense and prosecution lawyers to represent the American and German perspectives on personal guilt for abetting Hitler's racist policies. The American attorney demonstrates that the rulings of the indicted judges sanctioned the execution of a Jewish man accused of molesting an Aryan girl and the sterilization of a feebleminded man. The extermination of "two thirds of the Jews of Europe" is mentioned only when the atrocity footage of the camps is screened – the film within the film. The German lawyer widens the burden of guilt more by observing that the Soviet Union and Vatican signed treaties with the Third Reich, Churchill admired Hitler's early accomplishments, and the United States practiced eugenic sterilization and dropped atomic bombs on Japan. Though the American judges convict the defendants, the epilogue reveals how quickly these sentences were commuted for the sake of Cold War diplomacy.

The Pawnbroker (1965) dared to reenact a Holocaust survivor's tormented memories of being in a deportation train and concentration camp. The scenes from the train and camp initially appear and disappear as barely perceptible jump cuts that progressively last longer and preoccupy the thoughts of Sol Nazerman. Director Sidney Lumet never disguises that Sol Nazerman is Jewish. Yet the portrait of Nazerman as an unfeeling figure who loathes his impoverished customers in Harlem perpetuates the traditional antisemitic stereotype of the Jew as an avaricious usurer. Nazerman's repressed memories resurface when he rides a subway, witnesses a mugging, and is propositioned by a prostitute.

The viewer comes away believing that survivors are emotional cripples and that their persecution under Nazi rule was analogous to the plight of racial minorities in the United States. When his ambitious Puerto Rican assistant (the significantly named Jesús) sacrifices himself to shield Nazerman from a bullet, Nazerman impales his hand on a spindle, but cannot cry. The alternatives to Nazerman's icy indifference are the companionship offered to him by a lonely social worker and the protectiveness Jesús feels toward him. *The Pawnbroker* deserves its reputation as a cinematic classic on the basis of Rod Steiger's riveting performance as Nazerman, Lumet's vision of personal anguish and collective poverty, and Quincy Jones' evocative jazz score.

The Holocaust films from the Eastern Bloc countries in the 1960s construct more convincing parallels between the existential dilemmas of individuals coping explicitly with wartime German domination and implicitly with postwar Soviet rule. The sharp increase in the numbers of such movies over the decade indicates that these motion pictures functioned as contemporary political protests as well as historical period pieces. Collaboration with, or resistance to, the German occupation could be construed subversively as symbolizing accommodation or opposition to Soviet puppet regimes. To pay attention to the plight of the Jews challenged the Marxist shibboleth that religious identity represented a reactionary consciousness, and clashed with the official Soviet opposition to Zionism that emerged when the U.S.S.R. tilted towards support of the Arab countries against Israel from the 1950s on. By dealing with how their countries treated the Jews during World War II, directors in Soviet satellite countries reclaimed their national histories from the Soviet interpretation of the war as a struggle between Communism and monopoly capitalism.

The Shop on Main Street (1965) received more recognition than any other film produced by a Soviet bloc country in the 1960s. Its co-directors, Ján Kadár and Elmar Klos, originally

supported the nationalization of the Czech film industry, but became disillusioned with Communist rule when their movies were censored and the U.S.S.R. quashed the Hungarian Revolution in 1956. When Kadár and Klos made a film about the persecution of Jews in fascist Slovakia during World War II, they traced how the otherwise decent Tono cannot resist the temptation to raise his social status by assuming ownership of an expropriated Jewish shop. Since the store's proprietor, Rosalie, is an elderly widow who has difficulty hearing and seeing, she considers Tono her assistant. As the Jews assemble in the town square for deportation, Tono has qualms about whether he should save or betray Rosalie. He pushes her into a closet, accidentally killing her. As Kadár succinctly put it, *The Shop on Main Street* was not about "the Six Million, but the one." Kadár saw the film as "a monument to all victims of persecution." Until Czech officials criticized it as pro-Zionist in 1967, Kadár failed to recognize how deeply rooted antisemitism was in his homeland. After the Soviet suppression of the Prague Spring in 1968, he fled to the United States, where Hollywood studios were eager to engage him, because *The Shop on Main Street* won the Oscar for Best Foreign Language Film in 1965.

The political and social activism of the 1960s in Europe and the United States fostered an atmosphere conducive to discrediting the official histories of countries that prided themselves on their opposition to the Third Reich. Moreover, the Eichmann and Auschwitz guard trials, the controversy over Rolf *Hochhuth's play *The Deputy* (1963), which accused Pope Pius XII of abdicating his moral responsibility to condemn the extermination of the Jews, the growing readership for survivor memoirs, and the publication of major scholarly studies on the Holocaust, provided the raw material and enhanced audience receptivity for more probing films about the Holocaust.

In France Marcel Ophuls' remarkable documentary *The Sorrow and the Pity* (1969) shattered the myth of widespread French resistance to the German occupation by revealing how extensive support of or indifference to Vichy France's antisemitic policies and cooperation in the deportations of Jews had been. French feature films like *Les Violons du Bal* (1973), *Black Thursday* (1974), *Lacombe, Lucien* (1974), *Special Section* (1975), and *Mr. Klein* (1975) exposed the antisemitic, authoritarian, and xenophobic currents in French society that the postwar consensus had dismissed as ideologies imported from Germany. The Academy Award-winning *Madame Rosa* (1977) drew attention to the traumatic memories that still haunted French Holocaust survivors.

During the 1970s, Italian films like Visconti's *The Damned* (1969) and Bertolucci's *The Conformist* (1971) attributed the susceptibility to obey powerful leaders and inflict violence on dissidents and minorities to a psychological need to shore up a declining social status or conceal a shameful sexual deviancy. Vittorio De Sica's Oscar-winning *The Garden of the Finzi-Continis* (1970) utilizes the aloofness and refinement of an upper-class Italian Jewish family to explain why its members remained oblivious to the threat antisemitism posed to their equality as Italian citizens. The Finzi-Continis regard less affluent Jews as their peers only when they are confined with them in a schoolroom where they await deportation. The closing scene evokes their fate with images of their villa's withered garden, overgrown grass tennis court, and locked front gate, and the recitation of the Jewish mourning prayer and names of Nazi death camps.

From 1945 until 1979, only about a quarter of the films dealing with Holocaust themes were based on memoirs or historical accounts for their stories. *Cabaret* (1972) demonstrated how theatrical even real occurrences became when reworked for the stage and screen. Christopher Isherwood's autobiographical *Berlin Stories* inspired John van Druten's play (1951) and movie (1955) *I Am a Camera* in the 1950s. Bob Fosse elaborated upon both to create the musical play (1966) and the film. The songs and dances of *Cabaret* function as projections of the antisemitism, cultural backlash, militarism, and political polarization that would sweep Hitler into office in 1933.

Capitalizing on the success of *Roots* (1977), the television docudrama miniseries about slavery, NBC broadcast the nine-and-a-half-hour mini-series **Holocaust* over four consecutive nights in April 1978. Covering a time span from 1935 until 1945, the program frames the lives of a middle-class German Jewish family, their gentile relatives through intermarriage, and a key official in the SS Department of Jewish Affairs, within the context of the evolution of the Final Solution. The movie opens with the Weiss family celebrating the marriage of their eldest son Karl to a Catholic woman, Inga Helms. The men of the Helms family worry about a proposed ban against mixed marriages. The die is cast. Nazi antisemitism obviously will separate Karl and Inga and strain the ties between the Weiss and Helms families. When Karl is imprisoned in Buchenwald, Inga's family pressures her to get divorced, but instead she shelters Karl's mother and sister, prostitutes herself to get letters to him, and orchestrates her own arrest so she can be near him in Theresienstadt.

Rudi Weiss, Karl's younger brother, knows little about Judaism, but flees Berlin, marries an ardent Zionist, joins a Jewish partisan band, and participates in the uprising at the death camp Sobibor. The Germans deport Josef Weiss to the Warsaw Ghetto and then to Auschwitz. His brother Moses reprises the liberating role of his biblical namesake by joining the revolt in the Warsaw ghetto. By the end of the miniseries, Rudi is the sole survivor of his family and fulfills his wife's Zionist dream of emigrating to Palestine.

One sign of the high public profile of the Holocaust was the strident debate over whether the miniseries exploited the event to raise network ratings. Critics accused NBC of trivializing the Holocaust with a trite Romeo-and-Juliet story, committing factual errors and disrupting the narrative flow with commercials. The defenders of *Holocaust* praised the program for reaching an audience estimated at 120 million Americans. The results of a poll indicated that three quarters of those queried believed the series provided "an accurate picture of Nazi antisemitic policies." The response to *Holocaust*

set the climate in which President Carter established a commission that eventually decided to build the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.

In West Germany, the airing of *Holocaust* in 1979 culminated in a revival of interest in Hitler and his militaristic and racist policies. In 1969 Willy *Brandt became the first Social Democrat to hold the office of chancellor in West Germany. At a time when Hitler was imprisoning Communists and socialists, Brandt fled to Norway, where he distinguished himself as an anti-Nazi journalist. As chancellor in 1970 he recognized Poland's postwar borders and made a pilgrimage to the Warsaw Uprising monument, where he knelt in atonement and laid a wreath. During the decade, the German student movement justified its protests against the educational and political systems on the grounds that the former had produced Hitler's followers and the latter still harbored officials whose records were tainted by their service to the Third Reich. In 1978, Helmut Schmidt, Brandt's successor, stressed that the reason for commemorating the 40th anniversary of *Kristallnacht* was "to learn how people ought to behave towards one another and how they ought not to behave." The broadcast of *Holocaust* reversed West German public opinion that had been running in opposition to the abolition of the statute of limitations on murder. The ensuing passage of this legislation authorized future prosecutions of Nazi war criminals. As a result the legislation abolishing the statute of limitations was passed.

Simultaneously, German directors confronted the Nazi past more frankly. Hans-Juergen Syberberg's *Our Hitler: A Film from Germany* (1977) consisted of an inventive pastiche, with different actors mouthing Hitler's opinions and puppets symbolizing the myriad of personas Germans projected onto him: the common man, the military genius, the Wagnerian hero, the tragic prince, Chaplin's great dictator, the purifier of the race, and the omnipotent emperor. These images appear before a backdrop of documentary footage, photographs, and Nazi regalia with a soundtrack of excerpts from Hitler's speeches and interludes from Wagner's operas. Syberberg implied that Hitler's policies reflected the aspirations of the German people rather than his own fanaticism. Volker Schloendorff's *The Tin Drum* (1979), based on the novel by Guenter Grass, likened the German mentality that catapulted Hitler to power to a rebellious child who refuses to grow up and drowns out dissenting voices with glass-shattering screams. The diminutive Oskar is saddened when the Jewish toy store owner who sold him his tin drums is killed by the "gasman." *The Tin Drum* was the first West German film to win the Oscar for Best Foreign Language Film. In 1980 Dieter Hildebrandt's *The Yellow Star: The Persecution of the Jews in Europe, 1933–1945* was nominated in the documentary category.

Over 40 percent of the Holocaust feature films produced since 1980 were based on memoirs and historical accounts rather than original screenplays. The success of *Roots* and *Holocaust* spun off a wave of Holocaust television docudramas and miniseries like *Playing for Time* (1980), *The Wall* (1981), *Escape from Sobibor* (1987), *War and Remembrance* (1988), and *Murderers among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Story* (1989). The influence of the docudrama style is apparent in the real-time reenactment of the meeting that formalized the Final Solution, *The Wannsee Conference* (1984).

The most acclaimed films of the 1980s focus on how individuals responded to or remembered the amoral universe Germany designed to degrade and kill the Jews and engender the complicity or passivity of others. Like *The Pawnbroker*, Alan Pakula's *Sophie's Choice* (1982), based on William Styron's novel, explores the psychological scars borne by a Polish woman plagued by her shame for her father's support for exterminating Jews and her guilt for having chosen, under coercion in Auschwitz, which of her children would live and which would die. She manifests her trauma by allowing herself to be dominated by a schizophrenic Jewish man obsessed with the Holocaust and nurturing a naive writer who becomes fascinated with her story. The present is filmed in color and the dark past in black and white. That Sophie is a more sympathetic character than Sol Nazerman reflects the respect accorded to survivors after their memoirs were widely published, and their coping skills and postwar lives were studied by scholars like Terrence Des Pres and journalists like Dorothy Rabinowitz.

Louis Malle's *Goodbye, Children* (1987) seems like a classic buddy movie about a gentile boy who befriends a newcomer to his Catholic boarding school. He discovers his new classmate is really a Jew being hidden by the head priest. To prevent his fellow citizens from evading their responsibility for abetting Nazi/Vichy policies, Malle presents French collaborators in a more negative light than their German superiors. Under the occupation, petty incidents have fatal consequences. When the kitchen assistant is fired for stealing food, he retaliates by betraying the Jewish boy. As the Jewish youngster and the priest are marched away by the Gestapo, Malle's voiceover relates that his friend died in Auschwitz and the priest in Mauthausen. Then he poignantly confesses, "I will remember every second of that January morning until I die!"

Claude Lanzmann's documentary *Shoah* (1985) countered the trend towards fictionalized depictions of real events. Lanzmann rejected the idea that the horrors of the Holocaust could be conveyed by a feature film. He distrusted footage of Jews taken by the Nazis when they were in power or the Allies when they liberated the camps. The former portrayed Jews maliciously to justify their elimination; the latter depicted them only as pitiful victims. Lanzmann interweaves interviews of German perpetrators, Polish bystanders, Jewish survivors, the Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg, and members of the Polish and Jewish resistance with innocuous images of the deteriorating camps, the bustling cities where his interviewees currently reside, and the trains and tracks that carried the Jews like cattle to the human equivalent of slaughterhouses. His camera dwells on the empty spaces once teeming with the doomed, their executioners, and passive onlookers. Long periods of silence and multiple translations of testimony

from German, Hebrew, Polish, and Yiddish into French and then English provide pauses for reflection and illustrate the multinational scope of Germany's genocidal enterprise. Many scholars consider *Shoah,* over nine hours long, the greatest Holocaust documentary ever made.

Andrzej Wajda, Poland's most accomplished postwar director, chose Janusz Korczak as the protagonist of the biographical *Korczak* "to reconcile Poles and Jews by demonstrating their compatibility in one character." His decision was a response to the bitter recriminations the two groups had tossed at each other since the end of World War II. Poles often accuse Jews of passively complying with German orders and colluding with the Soviets between 1939 and 1941 and from 1945 on. Polish Jews remember the ferocity of prewar Polish antisemitism, Polish indifference towards their plight, and instances when Poles informed on Jewish fugitives or killed Jewish partisans. The pilgrimage to Auschwitz made by the Polish-born Pope John Paul II in 1979 and his campaign to expunge antisemitic doctrines from Catholicism augured the dawning of a new era in Polish-Jewish relations. So did the emergence of the Solidarity movement out of the shipyard strikes in Gdansk in 1980. The incriminating interviews of Poles that Lanzmann featured in *Shoah* and the explosive dispute over the founding of a convent at Auschwitz in 1984 poured new salt on old wounds. After the collapse of Communism, Wajda hoped to cultivate pluralistic tolerance in Poland with his movie.

Korczak, whose real name was Henryk Goldszmit, remains one of the few figures revered by Polish gentiles and Jews alike. To the former, he achieved international fame as an educator, and enjoyed a national following for his prewar radio show *The Old Doctor.* To the latter, he had contemplated emigrating to Palestine, sheltered 200 Jewish orphans in the Warsaw Ghetto, and sacrificed his life by accompanying them to their deaths in Treblinka rather than save himself. The film's prologue reveals that Korczak possessed multiple allegiances. In his role as the "Old Doctor," he advises his radio audience about compassionate childrearing. Upon completion of his broadcast, Korczak learns his program has been canceled because it has become too controversial to permit a Jew to have his own show. Before the outbreak of the war, Korczak escorts his orphans to the river for a swim. Former students rebuke him for promoting harmonious relations between Jews and Poles. Instead, they tell him that Poles have beaten them and smashed their windows. Korczak hoped resistance to German rule would unite Poles and Jews, but despaired over whether even this cause could bring the two groups together.

Wajda's portrayal of the ghetto's Jewish Council and black marketers incensed some critics who charged that these scenes confirmed Polish suspicions that Jews collaborated with Germany and profited from the suffering of their coreligionists. On the other hand, Wajda exhibits a genuine understanding of the terrible dilemma faced by Jewish leaders. Korczak approaches Adam Czerniakow, the chairman of Warsaw's Jewish Council, to procure rations for his orphans. Czerniakow admits that his choice of working with the Germans to gain concessions is "not one between good and evil, but of the lesser evil." Korczak denounces this strategy as a betrayal of Jewish solidarity, but accepts the extra food the Council allots to him. When one orphan censures Korczak for soliciting donations from Jewish black marketers, Korczak obstinately replies, "I will see the Devil himself to save my children. I have no dignity. I have 200 children."

The closing scene of *Korczak* is problematic, but not because Wajda imposes a Christian meaning on the deaths of the orphans or "wants to spare us pain," as detractors have charged. Wajda revived a Polish legend that the "Old Doctor" and his children were spared when their carriage decoupled from the train. Perhaps he was trying to honor Korczak's fervent wish that his children be granted a dignified death. This, however, is preceded by an unforgettable shot of Korczak and his orphans marching to the trains. A ponderous dirge alludes to their impending deaths. The closing caption informing viewers that Korczak and his children were gassed at Treblinka undercuts the illusion of a happy ending, as does the return of the dirge as the background music for the credits.

When *Korczak* had its premiere at the Cannes Film Festival in 1990, it received a standing ovation from the audience, but a cold shoulder from several French reviewers. The latter castigated him for minimizing Korczak's Jewishness, exculpating the Poles of antisemitism, perpetuating Polish stereotypes of Jews, and glossing over the gassing of Korczak's orphans with the wishful final scene. Lanzmann declared at the end of the screening, "You do not know how evil this is!"

Korczak became the casualty of Jewish-Polish polemics, Lanzmann's vendetta against it, and the timing of its Cannes premiere, which coincided with a rash of Jewish grave desecrations in France. The movie received positive reviews in Germany and Israel, prompting the latter to mandate that it be shown as part of the country's school curriculum. The controversies surrounding the movie subsided by the late 1990s, when the American and French Academies of Motion Pictures recognized Wajda's cinematic career. In his letter nominating Wajda for a lifetime achievement Oscar, Steven Spielberg called *Korczak* "one of the most important European pictures about the Holocaust."

Spielberg's *Schindler's List* (1993) holds the distinction of being the most commercially successful Holocaust film ever made. The drama of gentiles defending Jews made this a popular plotline. Directors found rescuers inspirational heroes. The first Holocaust film to win a major award was the Swiss movie *The Last Chance* (1945). It idealized the moral courage of a priest who persuades Allied soldiers to shepherd refugees into Switzerland. Miep Gies in *The Diary of Anne Frank* embodies the goodness Anne believed everyone possessed. The American evangelist Billy Graham financed the production of evangelist Corrie ten Boom's memoir *The Hiding Place* (1975) to exemplify how Christians should have acted and how their faith could withstand Nazi imprisonment. *Wallenberg: A Hero's Story* (1985) romanticizes the exploits of the daring

Swede who outsmarted the Germans only to end up a prisoner of the Soviets.

Schindler's appeal is that he is a much shadier character. The rich black, gray, and white tones of the film and the frequent use of shadows to cover the faces of the actors imbue the motion picture with a newsreel look and a film noir atmosphere. The sense of mystery provides a fitting backdrop for the enigmatic Schindler, who hatches a plan to exploit Jewish slave labor in a time of war. After procuring Jewish financing to purchase an abandoned factory, Schindler enlists Yitzhak Stern as his bookkeeper to conceal the graft necessary for securing military contracts. Schindler's transformation follows the cinematic convention of scoundrels whose mercenary motives evolve into moral ones as they become emotionally involved with people they help, like the gunslingers in *The Magnificent Seven* or the drunken captain in *The African Queen*.

Schindler's humane treatment of his Jewish workers assumes epic proportions because it occurs within a milieu where murder rules. Critics who accused Spielberg of diminishing the horrors of the Holocaust by focusing on Schindler's altruism overlook the recurring scenes of Jews being registered, selected, shot, and tormented. The film devotes over 20 minutes to the *Aktion* against the Jews in the Cracow ghetto. Spielberg turns his lens on the most vulnerable victims – children, women, and the elderly – who scurry to find a cranny where they can hide. A girl in a red coat epitomizes their defenselessness and innocence. Comparing the suffering and slaughter in *Schindler's List* to the verbal references to Jewish travails and the nightmare sequence in *The Diary of Anne Frank*, the cultural historian Stephen Whitfield remarks, "By 1993, the Holocaust had seeped so fully into consciousness that the context in which goodness could be shown had altered."

When Goeth exhumes and incinerates the corpses of the Jews killed under his command, the number of bodies mentioned is 10,000. Compared to the 1,100 Schindler saved, this hardly leaves the impression that the majority of Cracow's Jews survived. The ashes rising from the pyres fill the sky with a blizzard of white flakes. This image of swirling snow reappears when the women working for Schindler are sent to Auschwitz. After expecting to be gassed and showering instead, these women pass another line of Jews entering the gas chamber. The crematorium smokestack spews flames and cinders. The visual similarity of these scenes marks the technological progression from shooting and burning Jews in Plaszòw to gassing and incinerating them at Auschwitz.

The postscript informs the audience that Schindler's Jews and their descendents total over 6,000 while only 4,000 Jews still live in Poland. The film is dedicated to the memory of the 6,000,000 Jews who perished in the Holocaust. The last two scenes occur in cemeteries. The first is the procession of actors and the survivors they played to Schindler's grave in Jerusalem, where they pay homage to the flawed man who saved them in the film or real life. The credits then roll over an image of the street in Plaszòw that was paved with tombstones uprooted from a Jewish cemetery. In visual terms, the road to Israel is strewn with the bodies of the Jews who died in the Holocaust.

During the 1990s, the percentage of comedies relative to all Holocaust movies tripled (to 12 percent) compared to the prior decade. Three factors fostered this development: (1) the search for creative approaches to convey the severity of the Holocaust without driving audiences away with excessive gore; (2) the presumed familiarity of the public with the iconography of the Holocaust that enabled directors to refer to the event through symbols; (3) and the passing of a generation of filmmakers who experienced World War II as adults to those who were minors during or born after it. Because of their greater distance from the events, and their approach to them through already assimilated cultural facts, these second-generation directors and screenwriters are able to use humor to convey the absurdity of the Nazi crusade against the Jews in terms that appeal to contemporary audiences.

Roberto Benigni brackets *Life Is Beautiful* (1998) between an opening and closing voiceover of the adult son who appears as the child in the movie. Benigni regarded the camps as "the symbol of our century, the negative one, the worst thing imaginable." His father had been interned in a German labor camp. Benigni recalls his father telling his children about his confinement in "an almost funny way, saying tragic, painful things" but softening these with laughter. Benigni cast himself as a lovable jokester who shields his young son from the hardships of a death camp by explaining how these adversities are part of a game to win a tank. Prisoners supposedly earn points by not being demoralized by harassment, overcrowding, and starvation. The narrative strategy of a reassuring lie to raise morale or substitute for a depressing truth has appeared in other Holocaust comedies like *Jakob the Liar* (1976, 1999) and *Train of Life* (1999).

One of the most common criticisms leveled at *Life Is Beautiful* is that it consists of two discordant halves. The first part is a romantic comedy about coincidences that lead to the marriage of Guido the waiter and his beautiful wife, Dora. The second is a tragedy about the family's internment in a concentration camp. Many of the early scenes, however, foreshadow the dangers lurking in the second half. The opening shot shows Guido carrying his son through a thick fog in a howling wind. Towards the end of the movie, this scene is presented in its entirety. Posing as an inspector dispatched to lecture about racial theory at the school where Dora teaches, Guido jumps onto a table, claiming that his ears and navel represent Aryan perfection. Next his uncle's horse is painted green with the words, "Attention, Jewish Horse" covering its flanks. Guido quips he didn't know the horse was Jewish, a hint that Guido might be Jewish.

As the movie flashes forward five years; Guido and Dora have a son, and their town is occupied by German troops. Seeing a sign in a pastry shop window that reads "No Jews or Dogs Allowed," Giosué asks his father what this means. Protecting his son from prejudice, Guido responds that everyone is entitled to hate certain creatures and groups of people. Since

Giosué fears spiders and Guido Visigoths, they decide to bar both from the bookstore. Guido pulls the shutters down over the windows of his shop, but discovers they are covered with graffiti labeling the shop as a "JEWISH STORE." Soon the father and son are placed on a deportation transport. Dora voluntarily joins them.

Benigni films the concentration camps scenes through a bluish-grey filter. He plants many clues about the dreadful fate that awaits the captives there, but leaves the details to the viewer's imagination. Since viewers know the lethal purpose of the camp, Guido's benign translation of the commandant's orders is ludicrous to them, but not to Giosué. Later a woman in Dora's barracks whispers to her that the Germans kill old women and children in a gas chamber. Guido's uncle undresses in the anteroom before entering the chamber. Finally, Guido sees the pit filled with cadavers. When he is taken to a cul-de-sac by a guard, the audience hears two gunshots ring out in the night.

After the Germans retreat from the camp, an American tank rumbles by and gives Giosué a ride. He finds his mother and exclaims, "We won!" While he is referring to the tank; she is thinking about their reunion. The audience knows that he has lost his father and she her husband. The voiceover of Giosué's concludes: "This is the sacrifice my father made. This was his gift to me."

The extremity of the situations encountered by the bystanders, perpetrators, and victims fascinates filmmakers and audiences alike. In reunified Germany, directors have produced "heritage" films which inscribe Jews back into the nation's history to lament their loss and foster multiculturalism in the new state which was rocked by neo-Nazi riots against foreigners in its founding years. *The Harmonists* (1998), *Aimee and Jaguar* (1998), the Oscar-winning *Nowhere in Africa* (2001), and *Rosenstrasse* (2003) represent this type of movie. The economics and politics of filmmaking since 1990 have contributed to an increase in multinational productions that skirt the thorny issues of national culpability that characterized the themes of many earlier Holocaust films. Other than the food and music, there is little distinctly Hungarian in the box-office hit *Gloomy Sunday* (1999). Roman *Polanski's *The Pianist* (2002) constituted a visually stunning portrait and sensitively acted account of how a classical musician evaded the Nazis in occupied Warsaw, but it minimized Polish-Jewish animosities. It was bestowed awards from film academies and festivals in Argentina, Czechoslovakia, England, France, Italy, Japan, Poland, Spain, and the United States.

Documentaries consisting of original photos and footage, narration, and interviews with bystanders, perpetrators, or survivors have garnered a trove of Oscars and other awards. This body of work includes *Genocide* (1981), Ophuls' *Hotel Terminus* (1988), *One Survivor Remembers: The Gerda Weismann Klein Story* (1995), *Anne Frank Remembered* (1995), *The Long Way Home* (1997), *The Last Days* (1998), and *Into the Arms of Strangers: Stories of the Kindertransport* The quality and quantity of the documentaries and feature films about the Holocaust testify to a compelling need over 60 years later to comprehend how an advanced country could systematically murder a group of civilians who posed no military threat to it, why so many individuals and nations failed to intervene on their behalf, and how a minority of those sucked into this deadly vortex managed to survive its destructive force.

For Holocaust art and music, see *Art; *Music; for Holocaust literature, see *Children's Literature and the general surveys of national literatures.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Avisar, *Screening the Holocaust: Cinema's Images of the Unimaginable* (1988); L. Baron, *Projecting the Holocaust in the Present: The Changing Focus of Contemporary Holocaust Cinema* (2005); O. Bartov, *The "Jew" in Cinema: From "The Golem" to "Don't Touch My Holocaust"* (2005); F. Davies, *Film, History, and the Holocaust* (2005); J. Doneson, *The Holocaust in American Film* (2002^2); J. Hirsch, *Afterimage: Film, Trauma, and the Holocaust* (2004); A. Insdorf, *Indelible Shadows: Film and the Holocaust* (2003^3); Y. Lozshitzsky (ed.), *Spielberg's Holocaust: Critical Perspectives on Schindler's List* (1997); A. Mintz, *Popular Culture and the Shaping of Holocaust Memory in America* (2001); C.J. Picart, *The Holocaust Film Sourcebook*, vols. 1 and 2 (2004); J. Shandler, *While America Watches: Televising the Holocaust* (1999).

[Lawrence Baron (2nd ed.)]

Survivor Testimonies

In 1981, when the Yale Fortunoff Holocaust Survivor Video Archives presented its first conference, showing its fledgling collection of survivor interviews, Holocaust survivors reported that few people wanted to hear what they had to say, even when they finally were prepared to break their silence. In the next 20 years, a series of scholarly and popular events unfolded across the country. Many of those seemed subtly but powerfully to converge on the theme of talking versus silence, a theme that has plagued survivors from the liberation to the present. That peculiar confluence of academic and popular examination has made survivors celebrities, often perceived as nearly saintly, certainly heroic, and put them in demand to speak about their experiences. Questions have arisen about the voices, about form and content, about meaning and despair, about style and simultaneity, about trauma and catharsis.

In sharp contrast to 1981, the American public now expresses a fascination and voracious appetite for Holocaust stories. The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum sustains its status as one of Washington's most popular museums; there are Holocaust oral history projects from Los Angeles to New York, from Maine to Florida, from Toronto to Dallas, from Yale to the University of Michigan-Dearborn where the Voice/Vision Holocaust Survival Oral History Archive is housed, ironically on the former estate of the anti-Jewish Henry Ford. More than 52,000 new testimonies in 32 languages and from 57 countries were completed by Steven Spielberg's Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation (now the USC Shoah Foundation) as of 2006. His advocacy brought the issue of witnessing to the public and he captured the imagination of Americans, seeming to intensify the allure of the subject. Historians who had been skeptical of the validity of survivor testimonies at the Yale Conference in 1981 now request videotapes of these tes-

timonies for their research and sit on panels about Auschwitz where former prisoners of that place join them.

The meaning of this surge of attention to the Holocaust is elusive. In 1978 or 1980 or 1981, "listening ears," as one survivor recognized, were not available. As difficult as remembering may be, communicating emerges as equally arduous, a frustrating and often maddening task. Each survivor tries to recapture memory, restructure narrative so that he or she can impart fully the confusion, rapidity, and pandemonium, the torrent of simultaneous actions, sounds, smells, emotions, thoughts. The survivor knows it will be impossible to achieve that fullness, and silence seems to contend with speaking.

For most, memories remain omnipresent, a condition that elicits comments like: "It's always with you. Try not to think about it, but it's in the back of your mind." "I don't think about it all the time; but I do think about it all the time. It's somewhere in the back of your head." "I don't want to tell you; but I do want to tell you. I can't tell you." Not finding the proper word has abetted the silence; the inability to convey the fullness of the experience, its synchronicity, has produced choked, sometimes angry, sometimes resigned silences.

Serious listeners, people who want to know as much as they can know about these testimonies and about the Holocaust, should pay careful attention to such statements as "I want to tell you. I can't tell you" and begin to ask questions about their meanings. The Israeli novelist Aharon *Appelfeld, warning readers of survivor accounts to read with caution, has commented on the significance of what is not said when survivors speak or write, "so that one sees not only what is in it, but also, and essentially, what is lacking in it."

It's "constantly with you," notes one survivor, and the intrusion of Holocaust memory remains routine, reflecting Lawrence Langer's observation that "the two worlds [the Holocaust and after] haunt each other," the one polluting the other. Testimonies often appear episodic, anecdotal, even disjointed, breaking narrative conventions, not leading anywhere, sometimes emerging in spurts, halting, with long pauses. They reflect the nature of the experiences they describe: cacophonous, simultaneous, overpowering, "beyond description" as one victim declared. As with so much about the Holocaust, whatever one may say immediately evokes the opposite viewpoint: and both are true. Perhaps no one expressed this phenomenon as well as Elie Wiesel when he spoke of how survivors evaluate their survival. The question, he wrote, "is not to be or not to be, but to be *and* not to be."

Scholars seem far less skeptical of the value of survivor testimonies, as historians like Christopher Browning now write histories based almost exclusively on survivor testimonies. Drawing on these interviews, Dori Laub and Shoshana Felman's *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and History*, as well as Langer's works, often read like literary criticism, presenting the testimonies as texts to be deciphered or explicated. The psychoanalytic tone, set by psychoanalyst Laub and Yale literary critic Geoffrey Hartman, planted Holocaust testimonies in the realm of the study of massive psychic trauma, alongside the work of such analysts as Henry Krystal and William Niederlander.

Those who examine these narratives have begun to measure pauses, hesitations, silences; count contradictions; examine the fallibility of "old" language to convey unprecedented Holocaust retellings, a phenomenon Primo Levi strove to describe in *Survival in Auschwitz*. Recalling the unbearable hunger and the bitter cold, Levi wrote that even though as prisoners "we say 'hunger,' we say 'tiredness,' 'fear,' 'pain,' we say 'winter'; they are different things" from the "normal" use of those words; they bear different referents. And there is no "new, harsh" language to replace it. Acutely aware of a virtual abyss between the experience of the survivor and the listener, survivors frequently assume an attitude of "Why bother? You won't understand and I am incapable of communicating the experience adequately." Such an attitude may yield stammering, miscues, repeated words, and, finally, silence.

Unanswerable questions about the inadequacies of "old" language, alleged "survivor guilt," shame, identity, and the haunting memories that split survivors' psyches will continue to plague listeners, as they have afflicted the speakers. This past, its lexicon, and its memory remain inescapable and permeate the present for survivors. Some survivors cannot see or speak about chimneys without recalling the chimneys at Auschwitz; some cannot hear a train without reliving the horrifying boxcar deportation that caused the deaths of their families and divided their own lives into before and after; some cannot think of a word like "bunk" without envisioning the boards that served as beds in the camps. "It's always with you, it's always in the back of your mind," was followed by a long pause, a silence that articulated a deep, pervasive sadness. For despite the details, the stories cannot be understood fully, can never be completed, and remain fragmentary.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Laub and S. Felman, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and History* (1992); L. Langer, *Versions of Survival* (1982); idem, *Holocaust Testimonies* (1991); H. Greenspan, *On Listening to Holocaust Survivors* (2001); S. Bolkosky, *Searching for Meaning in the Holocaust* (2002); Voice/Vision Holocaust Survivor Oral History Archive of the University of Michigan-Dearborn (http://holocaust.umd.umich.edu); Primo Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz* (1986).

[Sidney Bolkosky (2nd ed.)]

EDUCATION

In the United States

Education in the United States is by custom and by law decentralized and power is diffuse. What is taught is determined by classroom teachers, school principals, local school boards, state departments of education, and, lastly and only in a minor way, by the U.S. Department of Education. Over the past 30 years, education about the Holocaust in the United States has been conducted by an eclectic group: individual teachers and professors, state departments of education, school district and/or individual school committees, community-based Holocaust education steering committees, nonprofit educational organizations, Holocaust Resource Centers, and specialized

museums. Individual educators, schools, school districts, and states have taken the lead in Holocaust education. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum serves as a significant resource for information and teacher staff development, offers guidance and guidelines, and while it provides direct services to those entering its portals and those reaching it on line, it has not developed a curriculum.

There is to date no systematic study to assess just how widespread Holocaust education is in the United States, but because of certain special Holocaust education programs (e.g., *Facing History and Ourselves, and the Teachers' Summer Seminar on Holocaust and Jewish Resistance), the establishment of major Holocaust museums (the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., and the Beit Hashoah Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles and similar institutions in Houston, Dallas, New York, Florida, Virginia, and Missouri), the support and assistance of Holocaust resource centers and memorials across the United States, and various state recommendations and mandates, one may conclude that tens of thousands of teachers at all levels are involved in teaching about various facets of the Holocaust. In a talk at the 1995 European Conference on Holocaust Education in London, an educator from the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum asserted that "it is estimated that only about 65,000 of the 135,000 social studies/history teachers for grades 7–12 mention the Holocaust at all in their lessons. The overwhelming majority provide the information in three lessons or less." Those numbers have increased significantly over the past decade, but still the overwhelming bulk of teaching about the Holocaust is relegated to a relatively small number of classrooms.

In schools, the Holocaust is generally taught in world history, U.S. history, or English classes. In literature it usually involves the reading of one book or two. Elie Wiesel's *Night* and *The Diary of Anne Frank* are the most common. Much more rarely, an entire course on the Holocaust might be taught. While educational efforts have resulted in everything from the development of curricula and curricular resources to local and regional conferences and institutes, teaching about the Holocaust in both public and private schools across the United States is most often limited, rudimentary, and lacking depth.

Yet the overall trend is toward an increase, as more and more teachers have access to staff development with remarkably rich resources for use in the classroom. Reports, anecdotal and otherwise, indicate a high degree of interest by both students and teachers of diverse backgrounds and religions, teaching in very different schools.

THE EARLY YEARS (1945–67). Teaching of the Holocaust in the United States has evolved as consciousness of the Holocaust has grown and is directly correlated to a sense of the importance of the event for our understanding of the past and of its implications for the future. Thus, the nature of Holocaust teaching can be divided into three eras, 1945–67 (the end of World War II to the June 1967 Six-Day War), 1967–93 (the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Beit Hashoah, and *Schindler's List* all opened in 1993, and there was a dramatic rise in consciousness of the Holocaust), and from 1993 on.

For many years following the end of World War II, there was little to no discussion or study of the Holocaust in most U.S. public schools or Jewish parochial schools. Even students in Jewish schools who were being taught by survivors of the Holocaust – who were then called refugees – report that they had never studied the event but had heard words seemingly without meaning: "camps," "death," "children." They were left on their own to make sense of so large an event. The word "Holocaust" was not yet used and if mentioned it was subsumed under discussions of World War II and its "crimes against humanity." Little attention was paid to the Holocaust in American society, as America was forward-looking, concerned about the Cold War and not World War II, and such concerns were reflected in school textbooks; the absence of the Holocaust in school, district, county, and state curriculum guidelines; and a dearth of curricular resources. If the Holocaust was taught at all, it was by the individual teacher who felt the need to do so.

The one exception might be *The Diary of Anne Frank*, which became popular after the Broadway play opened in 1955. The book was read and the play performed in schools throughout the next decades. While many students undoubtedly found Anne Frank's words, thoughts, and experiences as she moved through adolescence thought-provoking and moving, their knowledge of the Holocaust was still scant; the diary excerpt was usually the *sole* curricular resource on the Holocaust. Anne Frank's diary ends just as the Holocaust begins for her and few teachers followed her experience through to Westerbork, Auschwitz, the death marches, and Bergen-Belsen.

Following the capture of Adolf Eichmann in 1961 and throughout his trial in Jerusalem, an increasing amount of attention was focused on the Holocaust. While certain educators may have been stimulated by the Eichmann trial to teach about the Holocaust, it was purportedly the twentieth anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (1963) that sparked the interest of Jewish educators in the United States in teaching about this history. Indeed, following the anniversary of the Uprising and a national conference held under the auspices of the National Council of Jewish Education in 1963 where the Uprising was discussed, a flurry of educational activity led to the development of curricular outlines, lessons, and units on various facets of the subject. The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, though, was an atypical event and presented a "useful" history of heroism and resistance more than victimization to its Jewish students.

At the same time, more survivors began to speak out and tell their stories, and such activity also generated greater interest. Throughout this period, those involved in Jewish education were more active in teaching about the Holocaust than their counterparts in the public schools. In the public schools, such efforts were rare through the 1960s.

THE MIDDLE YEARS (1967–93). Several factors in the late 1960s and early 1970s roused even greater Jewish interest in the Holocaust, which in turn encouraged its exploration in the wider American culture. Two of the most important were the 1967 war and to a lesser extent the Yom Kippur War of 1973. The three weeks leading up to the Six-Day War evoked in many Jews a fear of another Holocaust. "Never again" took on a direct meaning; the sense that a generation earlier Jews had been silent when the Holocaust took place spurred activities relating to Israel. The outcome of the war gave a radically different ending to Jewish anxiety and ushered in an era of ever-intensifying consciousness of the Holocaust.

Roughly during the same period of time, various school districts, including New York City; Vineland, New Jersey; Great Barrington, Massachusetts; Philadelphia; and Baltimore, developed Holocaust curricula as part of a multicultural project to reduce prejudice. With the exception of Great Barrington, each had a sizable Jewish population and also a sizable survivor population.

Further, in the 1970s, as increasing attention was focused in the U.S. and abroad on the ubiquitous deprivation of human rights across the globe, educators in the public schools began to turn their attention to the issues of human rights, genocide, and the Holocaust. The turmoil of the 1960s had argued for the inclusion of previously excluded segments of the American people in the course of study. The inclusion of women and minorities opened the door to the Jewish experience, which had previously been perceived as narrowly parochial. The opening provided by the successful television showing of *Roots* followed a year later by *Holocaust* greatly expanded interest in African American history and the Holocaust and provided another means of talking about highly divisive and explosive issues of racism and exclusion. Part of this concern undoubtedly arose in the United States, at least, from the earlier and ongoing efforts of civil rights activists. Internationally, a catalyst of such concern was the pioneering efforts of Amnesty International, the international human rights organization that was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1977. At the same time, there was a tremendous increase in the publication of first-person accounts by survivors and other witnesses of the Holocaust. Concomitantly, individual teachers at the public school level – particularly social studies and English teachers – began to undertake the teaching of this complex history. Various educational conferences (especially those related to social studies) also began to include sessions on the subject and this, too, had the effect of increasing educators' attention and interest in the Holocaust.

By the mid- to late 1970s there was an explosion of activity in Holocaust teaching. Reportedly, in 1972 one of the first, if not the first, formal Holocaust education programs in a public school district was implemented in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. In 1973, New Jersey became the first state to recommend the teaching of the Holocaust and genocide at the pre-college level. In 1975 a conference cosponsored by the Jewish Community Relations Committee and Temple University to explore the possibility of teaching Holocaust studies in Philadelphia resulted in the development of a curriculum for use in the Philadelphia secondary schools (grades 7–12). In 1976 in Brookline, Massachusetts, an eight- to ten-week unit entitled Facing History and Ourselves was initially developed for use in the social studies curriculum in the eighth grade, and was later adapted for inclusion in art, English, and history classes at the high school level. In 1977, the New York City Board of Education developed a major curriculum (600 pages) entitled "The Holocaust: A Study of Genocide" to be taught in its schools.

As previously mentioned, another factor that generated great interest in the subject of the Holocaust in the U.S. in the late 1970s was the televised production of the miniseries *Holocaust*. It had a wide impact on the general population and spawned a wide array of curricula (including one on the docudrama by the Anti-Defamation League that was widely distributed, and stimulated Holocaust teaching in schools.

A 1982 study, *American Youth and the Holocaust,* revealed that the material itself was of great interest to the students. Teachers were claiming that they were doing nothing special, but librarians reported a great increase in the use of the library by students, and parents reported that students were talking about this material at home, speaking with parents and grandparents who had been alive when this history happened. Because the Holocaust was of interest to students, teaching it became more rewarding. While the issue of the uniqueness and universality of the Holocaust was driving the debate in the President's Commission on Holocaust and led to heated exchanges among Yehuda Bauer, Simon Wiesenthal, Elie Wiesel, and Ismar Schorsch, students had no difficulty making all sorts of connections – valid and invalid, informed and uninformed – between the reality they experienced and the world of the Holocaust. They also reacted to the Holocaust as a singularly powerful event and treated the material with respect.

In 1984, Vladka Meed, who was a courier for the Warsaw ghetto resistance, initiated the Teacher's Summer Seminar on Holocaust and Jewish Resistance, which is currently sponsored by the Educators' Chapter of the Jewish Labor Committee, the American Federation of Teachers, and the Education Committee of the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors. The teachers' program involves three and a half weeks of intensive study in Poland (where participants visit Auschwitz-Birkenau, Majdanek, Treblinka, and the Warsaw Ghetto Memorial) and Israel (until the second Intifada). Because of Meed's own role in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising – she purchased arms for the resistance on the Aryan side – the emphasis was on resistance and survivor testimony. Over 500 teachers from 45 states, the District of Columbia, and the U.S. Virgin Islands have participated in the seminars and it is estimated that they are reaching over 100,000 students annually through their efforts.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, numerous school boards across the United States endorsed or mandated the

teaching of the Holocaust. Among them were Atlanta, Baltimore, Des Moines, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and scores of smaller cities and towns. Not all, however, provided adequate funding or time commitments, so the value of their decisions is varied. In some cases, they have mandated only a "one-day lesson" (e.g., one period, generally less than an hour) or a unit (five to ten class periods or more) in a history or social studies course.

In other cases, the Holocaust was addressed through the study of a single volume such as *The Diary of Anne Frank* or *Night*; and in still other cases teachers were encouraged to address the Holocaust when they deemed it appropriate to do so. Such leeway is likely to have resulted in some perfunctory coverage, leaving students without real knowledge of the antecedents of the Holocaust, let alone about the process of annihilation itself. Some schools have offered more in-depth instruction such as teaching the history over a period of two weeks (that is, for one 50–minute period on each of ten consecutive school days) or more. It was also in the 1970s and 1980s that the local Holocaust educational resource centers were created, taking as their mandate teacher training and getting the Holocaust taught in local schools. They later expanded their work to the state level.

THE LATER YEARS (FROM 1993). Throughout the mid-1980s and early 1990s, various states began recommending or mandating that the Holocaust be taught in their schools. By 1995, five states (California, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, and New York) had done so, and ten others (Connecticut, Georgia, Indiana, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and Washington) now recommend or encourage their public schools to teach about the Holocaust. In 1995 the state of Nevada created a council to develop resources and teacher training programs. Among the aforementioned states, some have either developed state guidelines (California), a curriculum on the Holocaust and/or genocide (Connecticut, Florida, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Virginia), a study guide (Georgia), or a resource book for Holocaust teaching. In California, the study of the Holocaust, the Armenian genocide, the Cambodian genocide, and other human rights atrocities are included in the state's history-social science framework, in which themes are organized into a full K-12 curriculum sequence. Like Massachusetts, where Facing History and Ourselves was developed and included the Armenian experience, California has a sizable and influential Armenian population, and had a governor of Armenian descent. Tennessee has established a Holocaust Commission whose charge is to commemorate the Holocaust through education. So has Florida. By 2005, twenty-two states mandated the teaching of the Holocaust.

With the expansion of Holocaust teaching in the schools came criticism, especially from the political right. The Holocaust scholar Lucy Dawidowicz correctly asserted that most of the state-sponsored curricula are better at describing the events that took place during the period than explaining why and how they happened. As Dawidowicz observed, if teachers neglect to address the latter point then students are likely to walk away knowing some of the "whats" but possibly none of the "whys." This is particularly true of the role played by Christian doctrine in the long history of antisemitism, and the question of its influence upon the Nazis' racist antisemitism, which was the major focus of her own work, *The War against the Jews*. This critique had a political dimension that had reappeared in conservative critiques of Facing History and Ourselves, one of the few curricula that Dawidowicz examined that presented the issue of antisemitism forthrightly. (See below, "The National Diffusion Network.")

The city- and state-sponsored programs have legitimized the teaching of human rights infractions and genocide (including the Holocaust) for many educators. That is, they have provided teachers with important institutional support to teach about the Holocaust; and in doing so have paved the way for teachers to spend more classroom time on this history. But some decry *any* mandatory study of the Holocaust, claiming that such mandates endanger the quality of Holocaust teaching through superficiality, because many teachers are not well enough educated in the history themselves.

The development of the curricula and teaching guides has proved valuable in that typical social studies, government, and literature textbooks generally lack information on the Holocaust. At best, the history is allotted two or three pages, including pictures and sidebars (which often include extracts from books, newspapers, and first-person accounts). Since the text often constitutes the entire curriculum in a vast majority of classes in public schools, resources such as teaching guides fill a serious vacuum.

Many curricula lack adequate depth on key topics and thus leave students with a sense that they "know" about a subject when in reality they know very little. That is true not only of the Holocaust but of all other studies as well. Some curricula and teaching guides tend to equate various human rights violations and/or genocidal events with the Holocaust, thus totally universalizing the Holocaust and ignoring its uniqueness. They do not distinguish between comparison and equivalence. By comparing the Holocaust to other events and by comparing the fate of the Jews to the fate of other victims of Nazism, we can understand the singularity of the campaign against Jews and how it contrasts with other genocides and the victimization of other people under Nazism. That is far different from equating them.

Many curricula also rely on simulations and role-playing exercises that purport to provide students with a sense of what the victims experienced or the opportunity to ascertain how they would have acted under similarly dire circumstances, faced with tortuously complex moral dilemmas or, as Lawrence Langer has put it, the many "choiceless choices."

Until more systematic research is conducted, there is no way to ascertain the quality of the Holocaust education that is taking place in American classrooms.

The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Beit Hashoah Museum of Tolerance, and Schindler's List. The opening of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, the Beit Hashoah Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles (under the auspices of the Simon Wiesenthal Center), and the release of Steven Spielberg's film *Schindler's List*, all in 1993, resulted in a huge surge of interest by the general public, teachers, and students in the Holocaust.

The President's Commission on the Holocaust, the body established in 1978 by President Jimmy Carter that recommended the establishment of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, also recommended that "the study of the Holocaust should become a part of the curriculum in every school system throughout the country." Furthermore, the U.S. Congressional mandate that formally established the museum mandated that it meet the needs of educators throughout the U.S. by providing them with key services (including staff development opportunities and readily available advice) and curricular and resource materials in order to promote Holocaust education.

In addition to the educative experience of the museum's permanent exhibition, visited by 500,000 students each year, the museum accommodates school groups by providing on-site orientation and, in certain cases, a debriefing session at the conclusion of the visit. Upon request, the museum also provides teachers with pre-visit materials.

As part of its educational outreach program, the museum has developed a series of teaching materials. Among these are *Guidelines for Teaching about the Holocaust*, an Artifact Poster Set (posters with photographs of artifacts displayed in the museum), an accompanying teacher's guide, an annotated bibliography, and an annotated filmography. The latter two were specially prepared for use at various levels of schooling (elementary through college). The museum also conducts numerous conferences for teachers and administrators (both on site and across the nation) on teaching about the Holocaust. It also sponsors a series of teacher training workshops for general teachers and for master teachers, who spend a year studying how to teach the Holocaust and then work in their regions to disseminate the knowledge. The museum also is host to regional conferences all over the United States, including underserved areas that local Holocaust resource centers do not reach.

The guidelines are instructive because they reveal mistakes common in less informed teaching of the Holocaust.

1. Define the term Holocaust.
2. Contextualize what you are teaching.
3. Translate statistics into people.
4. Strive for precision of language.
5. Avoid simple answers to complex history.
6. Just because it happened does not mean it was inevitable.
7. Try to avoid stereotypical descriptions.
8. Strive for balance in establishing whose perspective informs your study of the Holocaust.
9. Make careful distinctions about sources and information.
10. Do not romanticize history to engage students.
11. Be sensitive to appropriate written and audiovisual content.
12. Select appropriate learning activities.
13. Reinforce the objectives of your lesson plan.
14. Avoid comparison of pain.

Educators find that the comparison of pain is alienating and ineffective precisely because pain is so deeply personal. Critics speak with disdain of the "Olympics of suffering."

The Beit Hashoah Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles is composed of two major installations: a view of the American experience of prejudice, aggression, violence, and intolerance, and the Holocaust. The issues explored in the first provide a context for understanding the second, and both are intended to further the cause of tolerance in contemporary America.

The museum also houses a Multimedia Computer Learning Center on the subject matter of the Holocaust. The database of the learning center, which contains 30 computers with touchscreen technology, consists of over 50,000 photographs, eleven and a half hours of videotape, nearly 4,000 text files, maps, and documents. The learning center is available for "personalized research" on the Holocaust, World War II, and antisemitism.

Complementing the museum's exhibits, the Wiesenthal Center has numerous resources available for teachers, including films and teachers' guides as well as a poster series composed of original photographs and maps. Many of these are available on line at http://www.wiesenthal.com.

As interest in the Holocaust has increased, so has the number of Holocaust resource centers and museums. As of September 2005, there were 95 Holocaust resource centers, twelve memorials, and nineteen Holocaust museums in the United States. In addition, an organization called the March of the Living sends thousands of high school students to Poland to visit the sites of the destruction and then to Israel. The express function of many of the centers and museums is to conduct public outreach programs and/or support the teaching of the Holocaust in the local and regional school districts. Many centers assist schools in developing curricula, provide in-service programs to teachers in private and public schools, and assist teachers and students in locating speakers (including survivors and liberators), films, and adjunct materials. Many have also developed their own curricula. The historian Peter Novick has suggested that the "institutionalization of memory" will characterize the next generation of Holocaust-related activities.

The positive nature of the growing interest amongst educators in teaching about the Holocaust was not without its drawbacks.

The National Diffusion Network: Two Unique Holocaust Education Programs. One of the earliest and most influential educational programs on the Holocaust was the Facing History

and Ourselves program. Founded in 1976 in Massachusetts by two public school teachers, William S. Parsons and Margot Stern Strom, this program was specifically designed to teach the universal themes of the history of the Holocaust through "a rigorous examination of its particularities." It was a paradigmatic example of the tendency within American education to universalize the themes of Holocaust education. Purporting to use both content and methodology that promote critical thinking, reflection, and the need to make connections between the study of history and contemporary society and individual lives, Facing History gradually expanded from a local to a regional to a nationwide program.

A key component of Facing History is its professional development activities, in which teachers gather to learn how to effectively teach the history of the Holocaust. Facing History reports that over 30,000 educators have been reached by the program, and that nearly 1.5 million students have been taught through its philosophical approach and methodology.

Following a three-year period (1977–80) during which the program implemented, monitored, and evaluated its teacher training and dissemination program in schools throughout New England, the U.S. Department of Education's National Diffusion Network granted the program its imprimatur, which resulted in its being placed in the network's catalog as an "exemplary model program." As a result over the past 30 years Facing History has been replicated in secondary schools and universities throughout the U.S. and Canada as well as in several countries abroad.

Despite its resounding success and its wide acclaim by many (including members of the U.S. Congress, noted historians and researchers, and educators at both the secondary and university levels), Facing History has faced some criticism and opposition, mostly from the political right. In 1986, during the Reagan administration, the issue came to a head. While one senior official in the U.S. Department of Education recommended it as a top priority for support and funding, various reviewers called the program anti-Christian and unfair to Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan. One reviewer who objected to the program said: "The program gives no evidence of balance or objectivity. The Nazi point of view, however unpopular, is still a point of view and is not presented nor is that of the Ku Klux Klan." Such criticism resulted in the rejection of federal funding of the program. Supporters, including some members of Congress, vehemently protested such accusations. For three years, the department rejected funding for the program; but finally, in September 1989, after its fourth review, it reversed itself and approved a four-year grant.

Lucy Dawidowicz criticized the Facing History approach for other reasons. Speaking of its first curriculum volume (published in 1982), she asserted that the focus was not solely the Holocaust, but rather that the Holocaust was "a vehicle" for teaching students about civil disobedience and "indoctrinating" them to favor nuclear disarmament. She also criticized Facing History for approaching the issue of antisemitism in a facile manner, in the more general terms of scapegoating, prejudice, and bigotry. By indirection, she also lumped Facing History into the category of those programs that did not include the study of antisemitism. In her most stringent criticism, she claimed that Facing History overemphasized the importance of obedience to authority as a key component of totalitarian societies while underplaying the terror that is at the heart of such societies. Proponents assert that not all of Dawidowicz' criticism was fair. They have observed that some of her points squarely placed her among the neo-conservative members of the New Right who were and are critical of many then-current educational trends and practices, including multicultural education and social responsibility initiatives, while others placed her among those who claim that the program's approach undermines the uniqueness of the Holocaust. Deborah Lipstadt (1995) has also criticized Facing History's curriculum, calling it "deeply flawed." Noting that Facing History is possibly the "most influential model for teaching the Holocaust in the United States," her criticism is primarily aimed at the context in which the history of the Holocaust is placed. More specifically, she asserts that by attempting to inoculate students against prejudice by addressing such issues as racism and violence in the U.S., the curriculum "elides the differences between the Holocaust and all manner of inhumanities and injustices." Concomitantly, she asserts that by attempting to be relevant to a wide variety of parties, the curriculum encourages teachers to draw historically fallacious parallels, resulting in a distortion of history.

Another curricular program, A Holocaust Curriculum: Life Unworthy of Life, was developed by the Center for the Study of the Child in Detroit, and was also endorsed by the National Diffusion Network. Highly touted by many, including Dawidowicz, it addresses the Holocaust through "stories of specific children, families" in order "to uncover the human dimension of such inhumanity." In Dawidowicz's opinion, because of its approach, accuracy, and depth, it is one of the strongest curricula currently available.

HOLOCAUST EDUCATION IN AMERICAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES. Over the past twenty years, as at the secondary level, Holocaust studies in colleges and universities have proliferated. Holocaust-related courses are taught in various disciplines, including history, political science, psychology, English, comparative literature, religion (including Judaic studies), philosophy, German, and sociology. (No definitive study has yet been conducted on the number, type, or quality of such courses.) Since 1990 specially endowed chairs on the Holocaust have been established at universities in California, Florida, Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey, a graduate program has been developed at Clark University, and M.A. programs designed for teachers have been developed in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Harvard University returned money to a donor when an academic search committee was unable to agree on a candidate to fill a chair in Holocaust Studies (although Holocaust studies are taught in the university). At least one member of the faculty felt that the Holocaust was

not a proud chapter in Jewish history and therefore not worthy of a chair.

Holocaust courses were first taught in the 1970s, usually at the initiative of students. There were two such courses in 1973 and 50 times that number by the end of the decade. In a study in 1995 on university level courses offered on the Holocaust ("Teaching about the Holocaust at the University Level in the United States"), scholar Stephen Haynes surveyed 236 Holocaust educators at American institutions of higher learning. Among the major findings of his study were "courses on the Holocaust are nearly always taught as electives"; "a large majority (71%) of respondents indicated that teacher interest" was the main rationale "for offering a course on the Holocaust"; "exactly half the respondents ranked 'perpetrators' as their primary focus, while the other half answered 'victims'"; "virtually every class taught in the historical mode cover[ed] the rise of Nazism and life in the camps, [while] the phenomenon of rescue [and resistance was] treated in fewer than forty percent of syllabi"; "'bystanders' (whether individuals or nations) are treated in less than a third of syllabi"; "fewer than thirty percent cover Jewish life in Europe before the Third Reich in any detail"; and "[a]ccording to syllabi, Holocaust denial, gender issues and other victims or genocides are treated by between ten and fifteen percent of courses."

Reception of the Various Curricula, Mandates, and Programs. In many quarters, particularly among teachers who perceive the value in teaching this history, the development of state-sponsored curricula and/or mandates/recommendations has been valuable, providing teachers with an invaluable imprimatur. At the very least, the curricula have provided teachers with a starting point. Many, in fact, begin with such curricula and then develop their own teaching strategies and learning activities to meet the needs and interests of their students.

It is also true that in those states that have mandated and/or recommended the teaching of the Holocaust, the response by individual teachers has been mixed. While some teachers wholeheartedly embrace this subject matter and the need to teach it, others are more ambivalent. When teaching about the Holocaust, the latter may simply go through the motions, providing coverage (often superficial) rather than going deeply into key topics and issues. They may also engage students in low-level cognitive activities (e.g., rote memorization of dates, places, people, and events) rather than challenge students to analyze and wrestle with the totality of the subject matter. Finally, some teachers simply cannot see the relevance of the Holocaust, claiming that an event that took place "so long ago" has little or no meaning for their students. But many more find that the issue of relevance disappears in the classroom as students respond to this material positively and make their own connections between contemporary events, however distant from the Holocaust, and what they are reading. In rural Tennessee, illiterate adults are learning to read using Holocaust narratives as their text.

Research. Despite the proliferation of curricula, curricular resources, educational programs, and conferences on teaching about the Holocaust, there is still a dearth of research on the efficacy of teaching about the Holocaust.

The issue that has been explored in most detail is the extent to which the Holocaust is addressed in textbooks, particularly social studies and history texts. Despite the fact that textbooks in the 1980s and 1990s began to address the Holocaust in more detail than those in previous decades, both past and more recent studies comment on the dearth of topics addressed as well as the lack of depth.

HOLOCAUST EDUCATION IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES. One of the central revolutions in Catholic education in the last forty years has been in its depiction of Jews, Judaism, and the Holocaust. This is due to the release of two essential Vatican documents separated in time by over thirty years. The two documents gave rise to renewed understandings of Judaism within Catholicism and placed a central emphasis on the study of the *Shoah* or Holocaust in Nazi Germany. The first is the Vatican statement, *Nostra Aetate*, "In Our Age," released on October 28, 1965. This document is part of the larger, significant cultural changes of the Second Vatican Council, which sought to bring Church teachings into the modern world. In *Nostra Aetate*, the Catholic Church reversed centuries of its teachings and proclaimed a renunciation of all its past persecutions and negative portrayals of Jews and Judaism. It specifically states that, "moved not by any political consideration, but solely by the religious motivation of Christian charity, (the Church) renounces all hatreds, persecutions, displays of antisemitism leveled at any time or from any source against the Jews." This statement represented a radical shift in the manner in which Catholics looked at and learned about Judaism and the Holocaust.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the study of the Holocaust grew around the world from a matter of interest within Jewish communities to a significant field of academic study within the realm of twentieth-century Western history. By the mid-1970s, courses or units of study about the Holocaust appeared within both secular and Catholic universities, colleges and secondary schools. Catholic institutions began sporadically to offer courses on the Holocaust and to partner with Jewish programs on specific training for Catholic educators to increase and enhance their knowledge about the Holocaust and encourage them to teach it in their schools. This development was aided by the release of the second key Vatican document in 1998, "We Remember: Reflections on the *Shoah*" and its subsequent guide for implementation in 2001, "Catholic Teaching on the *Shoah*: Implementing the Holy See's 'We Remember.'"

Two model educational programs are indicative of the kinds of changes that took place within Catholic education regarding teaching about the Holocaust, and the manner in which these changes occurred. In 1987, Seton Hill College in Greensburg, Pennsylvania, established the National Catholic Center for Holocaust Education. The center was founded

in direct response to statements from Pope John Paul II "to recognize the significance of the *Shoah*, and to promote the necessary historical and religious studies on this event which concerns the whole of humanity today." The center offers training programs about the Holocaust for Catholic educators, which include opportunities to travel to the historic sites of the death camps and ghettos in Europe and to study that history in Jerusalem. Through partnerships with both the March of the Living International, a Jewish organization supporting Holocaust remembrance, and Yad Vashem, the center offers Catholic educators a variety of educational programs within the particular perspective and context of Catholic learning. It also distributes literature for Catholics on how to study and to teach about the Holocaust. Among the many publications available through the center are the widely distributed compilations of "The Holocaust – A Guide for Catholic Schools" and "Teaching the Holocaust in Catholic Schools." Over 2,000 copies of the first text have been distributed. "The Holocaust – A Guide for Catholic Schools" contains the central points that guide novice educators when teaching about the Holocaust within a Catholic setting. The second publication collects the statements made at the center's sixth annual Education Conference in 2003. This document includes rationales for teaching about the Holocaust within Catholic education; practical guides for educators teaching this history; and specific descriptions of successful programs that are currently being offered in Catholic institutions around the country.

A second education model for Catholic education is the "Bearing Witness" teacher training program. In 1995, the Washington, D.C. Archdiocese of the Catholic Church partnered with the regional office of the Anti-Defamation League and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum to create a training program for Catholic educators to learn about the Holocaust within a Catholic context. The "Bearing Witness" program focuses on the Church's history of antisemitic persecution of Jews through two millennia; the roles and responsibilities of Catholics during the Holocaust; the specific history of the Holocaust itself; and the effort of the church to renew its teachings on and relationships with Jews, Judaism, and the history of the Holocaust since the Second Vatican Council. The program has become a national model incorporating support and resources from the National Catholic Educational Association, the national Anti-Defamation League, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. More than 600 Catholic educators have participated in the program, which is now being offered through its annual summer conference in Washington, D.C., and in regional programs in cities across the United States.

Catholic education in the United States is not so much a unitary system of education as a group of autonomous schools organized on a consistent pattern, affiliated with local Catholic dioceses or religious orders. These schools exist to promote the transmission of Roman Catholic religious teachings and moral values along with traditional learning. With the Second Vatican Council, the Church placed study of the Holocaust among those "religious teachings and moral values" to be taught in Catholic schools. In 2001 with "Catholic Teaching on the *Shoah*: Implementing the Holy See's 'We Remember,'" the church again reminded her faithful that "Holocaust Education in Catholic contexts should strive to educate students about Jewish culture and history; the development of anti-Judaism and antisemitism; Christianity's participation in World War II and the Holocaust; and the role Catholic values can play in preventing future atrocities… [T]he issues of the Shoah and of Jewish-Christian relations are vast topics… Their enormous importance requires their integration wherever possible throughout the Catholic curricula… These issues need to be integrated into other parts of the daily life of Catholic educational institutions through special events such as commemorations of *Yom Hashoah*, film showings, drama, art, exhibits, colloquia, and public lectures."

In response to this guidance, 98 percent of Catholic schools in the United States currently incorporate Holocaust education into their school curricula, liturgies, and memorial services. This is achieved by including learning opportunities about the Holocaust in history classes, literature programs, and religious studies courses. This mandate from the Catholic Church to her schools stands in stark contrast to the years of indoctrination against Jews that marked centuries of Catholic teaching prior to the Second Vatican Council. The inclusion of Holocaust education in Catholic schools in America is a sign of the revolution in the Catholic Church that has brought Catholicism and Catholic education into the twenty-first century.

[Daniel C. Napolitano (2nd ed.)]

CONCLUSION. With the opening of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the release of Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* in 1993, there has been a renewed and powerful wave of interest in teaching about the Holocaust in the United States. More and more journals (e.g., *Social Education*, the official journal of the National Council for the Social Studies; *The Social Studies*; *Dimensions: A Journal of Holocaust Studies*) are including articles and essays on a fairly regular basis on teaching about the Holocaust; and as a result, an ever-increasing number of teachers are sharing their ideas, methods, and successes. There are several Internet listservs, including Holocaust Listserv, whose focus is teaching about the Holocaust, and these, too, provide an avenue for educators to discuss both historical and pedagogical issues, as well as to share information about resources. As a result of such efforts, the field of Holocaust studies is slowly but surely becoming more sophisticated and pedagogically sound.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: For a discussion of four of the earliest major Holocaust curricula developed and implemented in the United States, see Glynn et al., *American Youth and the Holocaust: A Study of Four Major Holocaust Curricula* (1979); for a discussion of Holocaust education in Jewish institutions, see "Education on the Holocaust," in: I. Gutman (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, vol. 1 (1989); L.S. Dawidowicz' "How They Teach the Holocaust," in: idem, *What is the Use of Jewish History?* (1992); K. Shawn (1995) "Current Issues in Ho-

locaust Education," in: *Dimensions: A Journal of Holocaust Studies*, 9, 2 (1955), 15–18; M. Fine, in: *Habits of Mind: Struggling Over Values in America's Classrooms* (1995); D. Lipstadt, "Not Facing History," in: *The New Republic* (March 6, 1995), 27.

[Samuel Totten and Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

In Israel

The context of teaching the Holocaust in Israel, the national home of the Jewish people, in which the majority of Holocaust survivors chose to settle after World War II (approximately 250,000 displaced persons), is very different from that in any other country. Clearly, the social and historical context of Israeli society has a profound influence on Holocaust education and remembrance and in many ways is still perceived as a "biological wound," according to the Israeli novelist Aharon Appelfeld. Moreover, not only has the Holocaust become an integral part of Israeli popular culture, referenced and represented continually in literature, films, theater productions, and television programs, it has also become associated with many Israelis' national/Jewish identity.

In Israel, the Holocaust is taught both as a discrete subject and as part of a broader topic, such as the history of world civilizations. Since the Holocaust is part of Jewish history and Israeli history, and its commemoration is part of the national calendar, aspects of this subject are often addressed in many educational settings. It is also important to note that the Holocaust is often taught in a variety of disciplines in schools, including literature, history, music, theology, drama, computing, foreign languages, art, philosophy, psychology, sociology, and others. Numerous high school students are engaged in Holocaust-related projects throughout the school year. For example, pupils have composed music to Holocaust poetry and given public performances in their communities; interviewed Holocaust survivors about their life stories; created art exhibitions on Holocaust-related themes; and collected Pages of Testimony from old-age homes (Pages of Testimony are part of an ongoing project sponsored by Yad Vashem to document the victims of the Holocaust).

Since 1982, a minimum of 30 hours of Holocaust studies, as part of the discipline of history, has been mandated in all state Israeli high schools by the Israeli Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport (the official updated directive was published on December 1, 1998 in *Ḥozer Mankal* Number 59/4). History teachers mostly devote 20 to 30 classes to this topic, usually taught in the 11th and 12th grades, and a question related to the history of the Holocaust has become an integral part of the history matriculation exam given to high school students. In addition, Israeli students who choose elective subjects as part of their matriculation, such as Hebrew literature or Jewish philosophy, also are tested on aspects related to the Holocaust. Since 1999, the Holocaust has become a recommended part of the junior high school curriculum as well.

Even the youngest children are exposed to this important aspect of Jewish history. Students begin hearing about the Holocaust in preschools, and even those in day care listen to the two-minute siren at the annual commemoration.

Courses on various aspects of the Holocaust have been taught in all major Israeli universities by world-renowned scholars such as Professors Yehuda Bauer, Israel Gutman, David Bankier, Dan Michman, Daniel Blatman, Dalia Ofer, Otto Dov Kulka, Dina Porat, and Saul Friedlaender. At the Institute for Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, many graduate students have concentrated in Holocaust studies. In addition, courses on the Holocaust are also taught every semester in almost all Israeli colleges and preparatory programs for those students who seek a teaching certificate.

Israeli teachers are often encouraged to attend seminars in order to obtain obligatory continuing educational credits that are recognized by governmental authorities. They also participate in such courses in an effort to improve their salaries, retain their teaching licenses, and/or to improve their teaching skills.

In the early 1980s, many Israeli high school teachers came to the realization that they had to begin preparing classes on their own in order to adhere to the new requirements of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport. In an effort to help teachers comply with the mandate to teach the Shoah, Holocaust memorials began to offer courses for high school teachers, specializing in Holocaust history and pedagogical techniques. Over the last decade, teachers of younger grades have also turned to memorials, requesting age-appropriate educational materials and suggestions on how to answer younger children's questions on what happened during the Shoah.

As a result of this situation, Holocaust memorials and professional teachers' organizations have developed continuing education courses that usually contain academic and pedagogical components, featuring lectures by scholars and educational experts. A number of organizations annually offer teacher-training seminars throughout Israel, such as Yad Vashem, the Ghetto Fighters' House, Massuah, Moreshet, Beit Terezin, and others.

In recent years, many of these institutions have worked together to organize teacher training seminars of 56 or 112 hours, especially in outlying areas. For instance, in 2004–05, Yad Vashem was simultaneously coordinating twenty teacher-training courses throughout the country. In Sederot alone (south of Ashkelon), 120 educators a week attend a course on educational methods in teaching the Holocaust. In addition, teacher training courses are now offered in Hebrew via the Internet for continuing education credit recognized by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport.

Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day (*Yom ha-Shoah*) is a national day of commemoration in Israel. It is a solemn day, beginning at sunset on the 27th of Nisan and ending the following evening, according to the traditional Jewish custom of marking a day. It is important to note that on the Jewish calendar, *Yom ha-Shoah* falls soon after the Passover holiday (in which Jews remember their liberation from bondage in Egypt) and a few days before Israel's Independence Day. Places of entertainment (such as theaters, dance halls, restau-

rants, and cafes) are closed and memorial ceremonies are held throughout the country. There is extensive national media coverage of the special events that take place on this day.

The central ceremonies, in the evening and the following morning, are held at Yad Vashem and are broadcast on television. Marking the start of the day, in the presence of the president of the State of Israel, dignitaries, survivors, children of survivors, and their families gather with the general public to take part in the memorial ceremony at Yad Vashem in which six torches are lit, representing the six million murdered Jews.

The following morning, the ceremony at Yad Vashem begins with the sounding of a siren for two minutes throughout the entire country. For these two minutes, work is halted, people walking in the streets stop, cars pull off to the side of the road, and everybody stands at silent attention. Afterward, the focus of the ceremony at Yad Vashem is the laying of wreaths at the foot of the six torches, by dignitaries and the representatives of survivor groups and institutions. The martyred dead are remembered as individual human beings with personal identities.

Other sites of remembrance in Israel, such as the Ghetto Fighters' House (Beit Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot), Massuah at Kibbutz Tel Yiẓḥak, and Kibbutz Yad Mordechai (named in honor of Mordechai Anilewicz, a leader of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising), also organize memorial ceremonies, as do all schools and universities, military bases, municipalities, and even many places of work. Throughout the day, both television and radio stations broadcast programs about the Holocaust. Special Internet-based dialogues are also organized. Traditional prayers, such as *kaddish* and *El Maleh Raḥamim*, as well as poems and last letters composed by Holocaust victims, are recited at many ceremonies. Holocaust survivors, who are now passing the torch of memory to future generations, are invited to tell their personal stories in schools on Yom ha-Shoah.

Many *ḥaredim* (ultra-Orthodox Jews) prefer to observe the 10th of Tevet rather than Holocaust Remembrance Day. During this traditional fast day known as the "*Yom ha-Kaddish ha-Kelali*," psalms and prayers are recited for the martyred. Some *ḥaredim* refuse to stand at attention for two minutes on Yom ha-Shoah while the siren is sounded, claiming that this is not a traditional Jewish custom of expressing sorrow. However, the vast majority of Jewish religious leaders have ruled that one should stand at attention out of respect.

Visits of school children to Holocaust memorials and museums, such as Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority in Jerusalem founded in 1953; the Ghetto Fighters' House at Kibbutz Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot in the northern part of the country, established in 1949 by Holocaust survivors, among them ghetto fighters and partisans; and Massuah at Kibbutz Tel Yiẓḥak, are organized on a daily basis. At Yad Vashem, during peak periods prior to Yom ha-Shoah, it is not uncommon to see more than 40 groups of visitors a day (each group comprising on the average 30 persons).

According to the data collected by the International School for Holocaust Studies at Yad Vashem, more than 100,000 high school students visit Yad Vashem every year. These students come from all over the country, representing different religious streams and socioeconomic backgrounds. For example, in recent years thousands of Arab and Jewish students (including new immigrants and children from disadvantaged homes) who study in the system of vocational schools supported by the Israeli Ministry of Welfare and Labor have visited the International School for Holocaust Studies at Yad Vashem.

According to the statistics compiled by the Ghetto Fighters' House, their museum has been visited annually by 120,000 drop-in visitors, and over 75,000 individuals participate in the museum's educational programs. Students from both the Jewish and Arab sectors visit the Center for Humanistic Education located at the Ghetto Fighters' House. Additional smaller centers, such as Beit Terezin, Moreshet, Nir Galim, Ot va-Ed, Shem Olam, Ginzach Kiddush Hashem, Yad Lezahava and numerous others work with thousands of students every year.

For approximately twenty years, Israeli students have been traveling on study tours to Poland, primarily to bear witness at Nazi extermination camps like Majdanek, Auschwitz-Birkenau, and Treblinka. In addition, many school groups visit other sites, such as preserved synagogues, Jewish cemeteries (particularly where well-known Jewish personalities or religious leaders are buried), and the areas where ghettos were created by the Nazis and their collaborators. It is estimated that 20,000 Israeli high school students participate in study trips to Poland every year. The journeys to Poland, which are overseen by the Israeli Ministry of Education, are a rite of passage for Israeli youth soon to begin their army or national service.

All guides of Israeli school groups in Poland must be certified by the Israeli Ministry of Education upon their successful completion of a seminar of 270 study hours. These trips in the main are funded by the pupils themselves or by their families. A few Holocaust museums and memorials, such as Yad Vashem, have developed alternative Holocaust-related programs within Israel for those pupils who do not journey to Eastern Europe.

After their return from Poland, pupils often assume leading roles in the coordination of ceremonies on the 10th of Tevet (a fast day) and Yom ha-Shoah in their respective schools, as well as in their youth movement groups, such as the Israeli scouts. In addition, some pupils are required to make presentations of their trip in school and in essence become witnesses passing the legacy of remembrance to future generations.

Over the last five years, a number of new textbooks on the chronology of the Shoah for Israeli high school students have been published, including Nili Keren's *Shoah: A Journey to Memory* (1999) and Israel Gutman's *Shoah and Memory* (1999). Keren's book is divided into four sections, focusing on the following major topics: "Prelude to Genocide"; "The Perpetrators"; "The Victims"; and "The Bystanders." Gutman's book, officially authorized by the Israeli Ministry of Educa-

tion, is part of a two-book curriculum set, coupled with a book about the Jews in world history over the last decades edited by Eliezer Domke.

In the words of the late Abba Kovner, a ghetto fighter and well-known Israeli writer, "perhaps this is the pedagogic imperative of the post-Auschwitz generation, to try and engrave into the memory of the coming generations the message of our generation, a difficult but a true and an honest message…" Obviously, the future trends of Holocaust education and remembrance in any country, even in the State of Israel, remain open-ended.

By the early twenty-first century, Holocaust survivors, many of whom were pioneers in building the state of Israel and soldiers in defending its borders, were dying. Many educators are struggling with the challenge of how to remember the Holocaust without the presence of survivors.

[Shulamit Imber and Richelle Budd Caplan (2nd ed.)]

In Germany

Much as in the United States, in Germany education is the responsibility of the 16 Laender (federal states) rather than the national government of the Federal Republic. The Holocaust is a permanent part of public discourse in Germany, seen on television and in cinema, and written in works of German literature and daily newspapers. It is also a regional presence in the almost one hundred memorials, museums, and sites of destruction and devastation within Germany. In Berlin alone, the Holocaust is remembered in a memorial, a museum for the history of German Jews, in street signs and on lampposts and in plaques on buildings. The same can be seen elsewhere within Germany.

January 27, the date of the liberation of Auschwitz by the Red Army, is annually commemorated as a National Day of Remembrance. There is a special ceremony in Parliament, and there is considerable coverage in the news, though some students are oblivious to it. Furthermore, November 9, the anniversary of *Kristallnacht*, is also an occasion for public programs. In recent years it has had to compete with the anniversary of the breaking down of the Berlin Wall, an event directly experienced by larger segments of society.

The Federal Republic is dedicated to distinguishing itself from Nazi Germany, remaining democratic, protecting human rights and human dignity, and combating antisemitism. Teaching National Socialism and Holocaust – the two are almost always combined in German teaching – is one means of training a new generation to respect the values and maintain the responsibilities of the postwar generation.

More importantly, Germany is undergoing a significant transformation. It is becoming an immigrant community as well, where this history is alien to the immigrant students. It is simply not their own and how they will identify with it and respond to it is an open question in German educational research.

The Holocaust is taught as a part of the subject "History." It is dealt with as a major topic of German and European history in the twentieth century. But it is not restricted to history, as the Holocaust permeates German literature and poetry. Naturally within Germany the focus is often on the perpetrator and seldom on the victims, most especially in German research. But the Holocaust is taught as part of civics lessons and citizenship lessons in religious (Catholic and Protestant – and certainly Jewish) schools. Holocaust denial is a crime in Germany.

The Nazi persecution of the Jews may be studied first at the age of twelve (in the sixth grade), but it is not compulsory then. At the age of fourteen or fifteen all students are taught twentieth-century history and it is in this context that National Socialism and the Holocaust are taught. Typically some sixteen to twenty lessons are scheduled for the period of National Socialism. Teachers must decide how to allocate their time, but since this material is covered on the examination for university admission, some basic standards and content are followed.

Aspects of Holocaust history may also be touched upon in classes on biology (racism), art (works of art produced during the Holocaust period or by artists dealing with this topic afterwards), and music (e.g., music composed in Theresienstadt).

In a Report to the International Task Force (see below, "The Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research"), German representatives related that

> In history lessons the Holocaust is dealt with as a major topic of German and European history in the 20th century.
>
> In civics students study the political, ideological, and psycho-social conditions which made the Holocaust possible, and the planning and organization of the genocide. Another important topic is the way Germany dealt and deals with this part of its history.
>
> Since the Holocaust is a major topic in postwar German literature (novels, plays, poems, essays), it is often addressed in classes on contemporary literature, starting in sixth grade. This can also include literature translated from other languages (e.g., Primo Levi, Imre Kertesz). It can be combined with media studies dealing with feature films.
>
> Classes on religion deal with the attitudes of the churches towards the Nazi persecution of the Jews, the theological efforts to create a new Christian approach to Judaism, and the ethical challenges for every human being which are involved in the history of the Holocaust.

Teacher training differs from state to state and school to school. Courses on the Holocaust and study trips for teachers to historical sites are offered by teacher training centers, state agencies for political education, associations (e.g., the trade union for teachers, foundations of political parties), and by memorials. Teachers are entitled to take part in such courses as part of in-service training, but they can also choose other topics instead.

Germany sponsors just under a hundred memorial museums on victims of the Nazi regime. They are connected to "authentic" sites and deal with the victims, the perpetrators,

and the sites of the crime. They differ in quality and effectiveness and often tell the story of their particular site and not necessarily the story of the entire Holocaust. The victim groups at each of the sites differ. For example, euthanasia sites deal with the victims of euthanasia while some sites, especially in the former East Germany, tell the story of both National Socialism and Communism.

It is estimated that over the past decade three million people a year have visited these memorial sites; many of them, perhaps even most of them, schoolchildren. These visits can play an important role in the education of German school children, although their value is dependent upon the preparation and skill of the teachers and the museum guides.

Textbooks are the responsibility of the states but it is safe to say that the amount of space devoted to National Socialism and the Holocaust has increased over the past two decades in Germany as elsewhere, especially within former East Germany. German teachers can also choose from an abundance of additional material and media. How these materials are used is in the hands of the teachers.

In Germany as elsewhere, there is great interest on the part of the students in studying this period, great interest in the questions about values the material raises and in what it says about earlier generations – now grandparents, or even more often great-grandparents. The Holocaust permeates German society, and contemporary German youth can grapple with it unhampered by the direct associations that made this history so problematic for earlier generations. How they – and the children of immigrants – will respond to it is an open question. But there is evidence of growing interest, and on the university level, at least, of serious confrontation.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

In Sweden

Significant academic, pedagogic, and political interest in the Holocaust came relatively late to Sweden. Scholarly studies about Sweden's response to the wartime genocide of European Jewry were few before the late 1990s, and the country's first undergraduate course on the subject was offered only in 1996, at Uppsala University. In public secondary and middle schools, individual teachers had taught the subject prior to the 1990s, but support and encouragement from educational authorities remained tepid, even though the Holocaust was one of the few historical subjects specifically named in the national *läroplan* (curriculum) issued in 1994. There are numerous reasons for this apparent contradiction. One of the most important underlying reasons is the particular manner in which Sweden's history of World War II has been and is generally taught in schools and interpreted in historical studies. Though the country succeeded in retaining its neutral status during the conflict, its extensive economic and cultural ties with Germany throughout the Nazi era, coupled with the fact that it was never occupied, led, in the postwar decades to the teaching of nationalistic interpretations and myths about the war. Because of this the mainstream of Swedish society was taught about the war and the Holocaust with a narrative that militated against a deeper exploration of the sometimes troubling way Sweden in fact reacted to Nazism in Europe, and to the persecution, plunder, and extermination of the continent's Jewish population.

As elsewhere in Europe following Communism's collapse, and most importantly after Switzerland (another neutral during World War II) was subjected to negative international attention concerning the raft of evocative economic issues often subsumed under the phrase "Nazi gold" during the mid-1990s, interest in Sweden in Holocaust subjects quickened. Acceptance of the notion that even neutral Sweden had something to learn from the numerous tragedies of the war gained currency. These international developments coincided with a sharp rise in domestic antisemitic, nativist, and xenophobic incidents, which resulted in sometimes violent manifestations of attitudes that were by no means limited to marginal neo-Nazi groups. For example, by mid-decade Sweden was an international center for "white power" music while authorities in Stockholm allowed the notoriously antisemitic "Radio Islam" to remain on the air, even when faced with international protest.

In early 1998, politicians from Sweden's long-ruling Social Democratic Party, in a response predicated both on their own domestic circumstances and seeking to preempt the kind of international pressure Switzerland had been subjected to, launched an ambitious public information campaign whose aim was to educate Swedish citizens about the Holocaust. The project was entitled "*Levande historia*" ("Living History"), and it was for Sweden a unique public educational effort steered directly from the office of Social Democratic Prime Minister Göran Persson. With the notion that Sweden could draw some moral and historical lessons from the Holocaust endorsed from the nation's political center, the "Living History" project generated unprecedented interest from the media, parents, and teachers alike. The centerpiece of the campaign was an abundantly illustrated primer of Holocaust history, *Om detta må ni berätta*; *en bok om Förintelsen i Europa, 1933–1945* ("Tell Ye your Children…"). Written by Stéphane Bruchfeld and Paul A. Levine, the book was sent to families and others only when specifically requested, and requests for the book (which was translated into the languages of Sweden's primary immigrant populations) vastly exceeded government expectations. In the initial months after publication in January 1998, hundreds of thousands of copies were requested by parents, teachers, children, school administrators, unions, *studie cirklar* (publicly funded teaching groups), corporations, and others. By 2005 close to 1.5 million copies had been requested and distributed in a nation with a population of around 9 million. The book also received international attention, and has been translated by education ministries and private publishers in more than a dozen languages.

On the domestic front, the government declared January 27 Holocaust Memorial Day and financed the establishment of the Uppsala Program for Holocaust and Genocide

Studies, a research and teaching institution at Uppsala University (initiating a trend followed by other Scandinavian governments). In June 2002 the government opened the original information project's permanent successor, the public education agency now called *Forum för Levande historia* (The Forum for Living History). This agency's mandate is to educate Sweden's population about the Holocaust and other genocides in an attempt to promote tolerance in a democratic polity.

The prime minister's initiative also led directly to two major international developments in Holocaust (and genocide) education. Evolving from a May 1998 meeting in Stockholm among diplomatic representatives of the British, American, and Swedish governments, the still expanding International Task Force for Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research is today an intergovernmental body consisting of diplomats, academics, and experts in Holocaust education from some twenty nations, largely but not exclusively European.

Sweden's other significant international initiative was the four major intergovernmental conferences called the Stockholm International Forum(s). The first was convened in January 2000 and highlighted Holocaust education, remembrance, and research. It was the first large international gathering of the new millennium and attracted representatives from fifty nations and international agencies, including some thirty heads of state and government. The fourth and final conference convened in January 2004 on the theme "Preventing Genocide: The Responsibility to Protect."

Yet alongside these notable successes interest in Sweden in Holocaust education seems to have peaked quickly, and is already waning. As a result, Swedish society's *bearbetning* (reworking) and understanding of its encounter with genocide remains tentative. A recent survey among Swedish youth about attitudes towards Holocaust education found some worrying trends, with more students responding affirmatively to the statement "There is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews" than did so in 1997, before the *Levande historia* project. Some representatives of the cultural and media elite have criticized Holocaust education through the prism of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. As is the case in other countries, even some teachers with a laudable interest in the subject often lack sufficient empirical and conceptual understanding of Holocaust history and memory. This is not surprising in Sweden given the fact that teacher-training colleges have shown little interest in integrating internationally recognized methods of Holocaust pedagogy into their programs. Academic interest in the subject remains marginal, regarding both research and the development of undergraduate and graduate courses in Holocaust history, representation, and memory. Protests against continued public investment in Holocaust education are often heard, and seem to be the product both of traditional attitudes and a studied indifference to Jewish issues. In a society with such a short history of engagement with Holocaust studies, the apparent backlash against the subject's recent visibility seems, at best, premature.

[Paul Levine (2nd ed.)]

The Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research

The Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research was initiated by Swedish Prime Minister Göran Persson in 1998. It consists of representatives of government, as well as governmental and non-governmental organizations. Its purpose is to place political and social leaders' support behind the need for Holocaust education, remembrance, and research both nationally and internationally.

Membership in the Task Force is open to all countries. Members must be committed to the Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust of 2000 and must accept the principles adopted by the Task Force regarding membership. They must also be committed to the implementation of national policies and programs in support of Holocaust education, remembrance, and research. The governments comprising the Task Force agree on the importance of encouraging all archives, both public and private, to make their holdings on the Holocaust widely accessible. The Task Force also encourages appropriate forms of Holocaust remembrance.

Countries wishing to create programs in Holocaust education or to further develop their existing information materials and activities in this area are invited to work together with the Task Force. To this end, Liaison Projects can be established between countries and the Task Force for long-term cooperation.

The Task Force has its own website (http://taskforce.ushmm.org) and maintains an international directory of organizations in Holocaust education, remembrance, and research; an international calendar of events; a directory of archives; listings of remembrance and educational activities; as well as additional information about the Task Force.

Task Force countries (as of June, 2005) include:

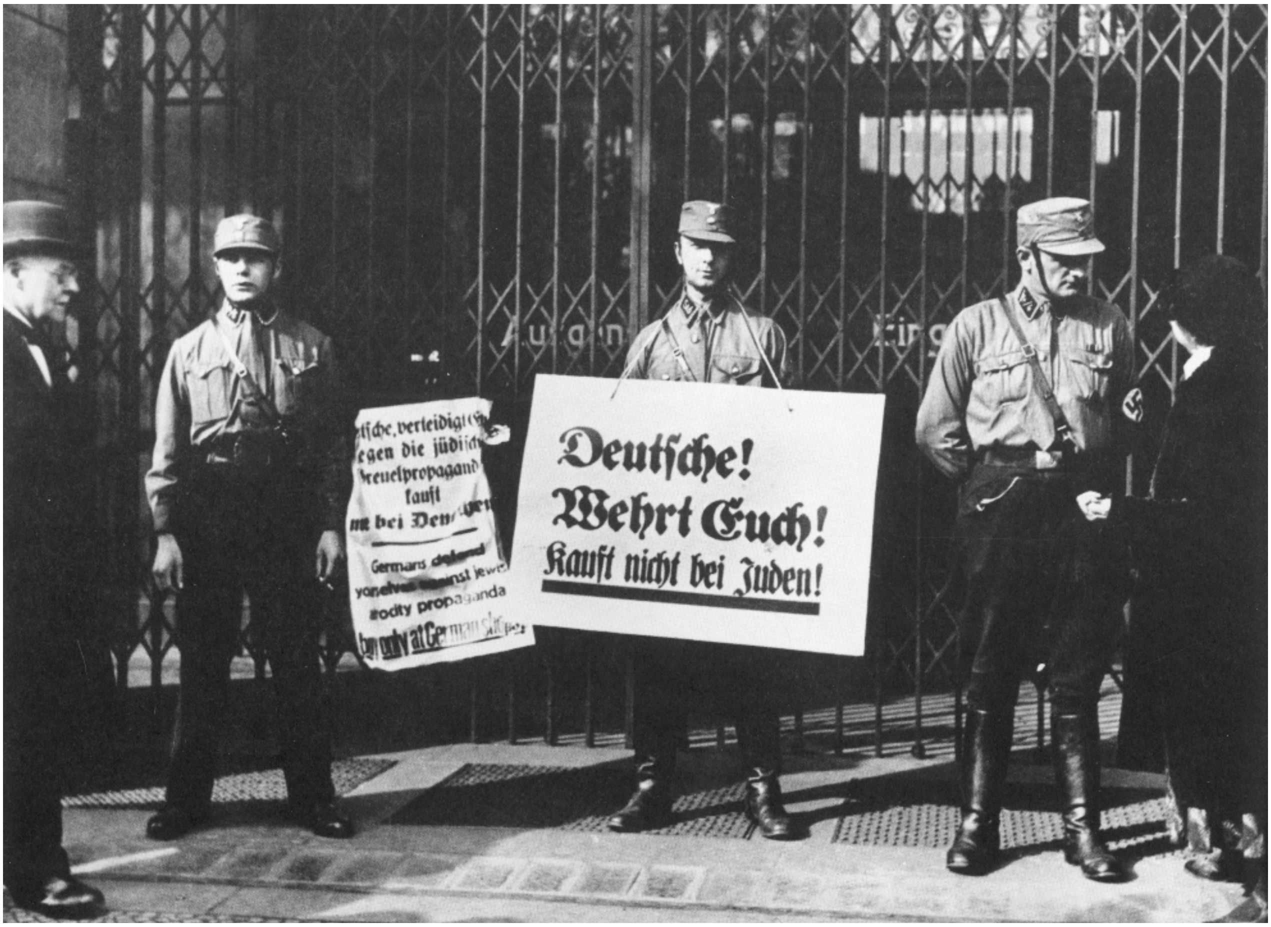
Argentina
Austria
Czech Republic
Denmark
France
Germany
Hungary
Israel
Italy
Latvia
Lithuania
Luxembourg
Netherlands
Norway
Poland
Romania
Sweden
Switzerland
United Kingdom
United States

[William Shulman (2nd ed.)]

A Pictorial History of the Holocaust



Jewish Star of David patch with the word "Jude" (Jew) in the middle, one of the distinctive signs decreed by the Nazis that the Jews had to wear in countries under their domination. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)



SA guards at the entrance to a Jewish store on "Boycott Day," Sunday, April 1, 1933, part of the financial pressure and discrimination against German Jews. The sign reads, "Germans beware! Do not buy from Jews." Offices of Jewish doctors, lawyers, and engineers were also picketed on that day. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)



The word "Jude" and the Star of David on the window of a Jewish store, warning German customers not to patronize it, a common sight in Germany in the first months of 1933. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)



A pre-war glimpse: Jewish residents of Lodz, Poland, Hela and Mordechai Hammer, walking on Piotrkonska ulitze, Lodz, Poland, 1934. (By Courtesy of Eta Grycman and Daniel Hammer.)



Before the storm: Two sisters, Guta and Hela Berliner, taking a stroll on the Sabbath in Lodz, Poland, 1939. (By Courtesy of Rachel Gilon.)



A 1936 class photo in a private Jewish girls high school, Lodz, Poland. Only four in the photograph survived the Holocaust, including Estera Rajzla Hammer (front row, right). (By Courtesy of Eta Grycman and Daniel Hammer.)



Kristallnacht (Nov. 9–10, 1938): Burning of Boerneplatz Synagogue in Frankfurt, Germany, on Nov. 10, one of 191 synagogues (according to Nazi provisional estimates, no complete tally exists) burned during this anti-Jewish outrage, which also saw another 76 synagogues demolished, 815 shops destroyed, 29 warehouses and 171 dwellings set on fire or destroyed. Thirty-six Jews were killed and scores wounded. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)



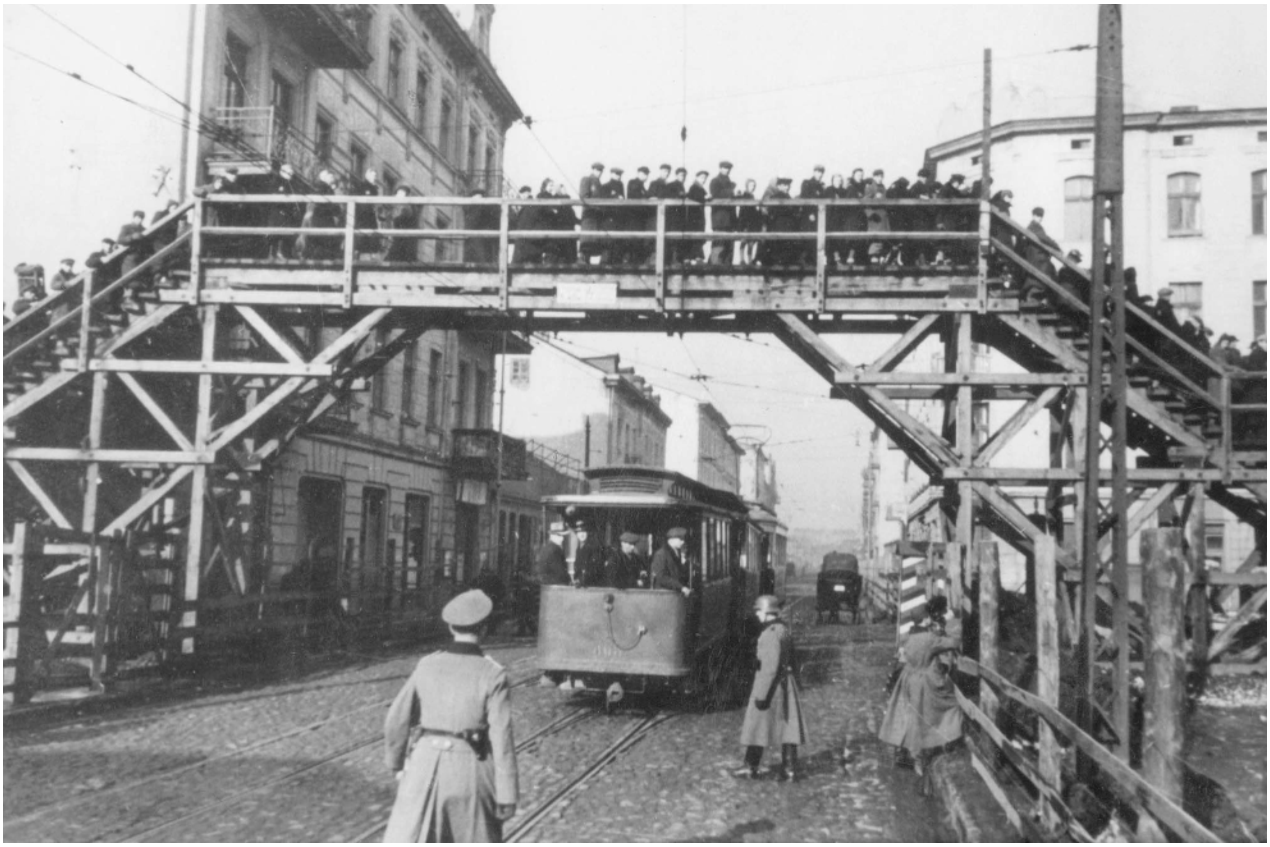
A woman vendor selling Star of David armbands in the Warsaw ghetto, Poland. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)



Humiliation and degradation: SS men amusing themselves by cutting off the beard of a Jew in Plock, Poland. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)



A jeering crowd watches as Dr. Hauser, one of the leaders of the Baden-Baden community, is kicked, beaten and spat on as he is pushed up the steps of the synagogue. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)



A wooden bridge over an "Aryan" street connecting two sections of the Lodz ghetto, Poland, 1940. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

Typical scene from the Warsaw ghetto, Poland, 1940–1941. The ghetto existed from Oct. 1940 until its total liquidation in May 1943 after the April uprising. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)





Young worshiper in a Warsaw ghetto synagogue, Poland. Such synagogues also served as living quarters for refugees. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)



Children being taught the geography of Palestine in the Lodz ghetto, Poland. Part of spiritual resistance, education – usually preparation for the future when there was no hope for the future – serves as a prime example of the Jewish populace's striving to maintain the spark of humanity in general and the special Jewish image in particular. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

Children's choir in the Warsaw ghetto, Poland, one of the many cultural activities organized by the community. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)





Children in the Lodz ghetto, Poland, entering a soup kitchen organized by Jewish welfare and health services. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

A daily ration of bread being delivered by hand-drawn cart to the Lodz ghetto, Poland. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)





Dejected adults eat food from a soup kitchen in the Lodz ghetto, Poland. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)



Book sellers – parting with a rich past to support a meager present – sell books in the Warsaw ghetto, Poland. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

Entrance to a theater in the Warsaw ghetto, Poland. Theatrical performances were some of the cultural activities organized in the ghettos. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)





Lighting Hanukkah candles at Westerbork, the main transit camp for Dutch Jewry during the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands, through which more than 100,000 Jews passed from 1942 to the war's end. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)



Kindergarten in the Theresienstadt ghetto, Czechoslovakia, which functioned from 1941 to 1945 and was used by the Nazis as a showcase ghetto to fool the world. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)



Soldiers of the Wehrmacht executing civilians, Lithuania, 1941. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

Hanging of two Jewish partisans in Minsk, Oct. 1941. On the left: 17-year-old Masha Bruskina. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)





Vinnitsa, Ukraine: the last Jew alive being shot. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)



Orderly deportation of Jewish children from the Lodz ghetto, Poland. Note the Jewish badge on the children's backs. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

Deportation of Jews from the Lodz ghetto, Poland, 1942. Jewish policemen were ordered to supervise the deportations. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)





Jewish child dying alone on the sidewalk of the Lodz ghetto, Poland. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)



Deportees bidding farewell to those left behind in the Lodz ghetto, Poland. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

Deportation of women and children from the Lodz ghetto, Poland. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)





Slovakian Jews boarding trains bound for the death camps of the Lublin area of Poland and Auschwitz, March-Oct 1942. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

Women in cattle cars peering through barbed wire en route to the death camps. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)





Warsaw ghetto, Poland, going up in flames, April-May 1943. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)



The last journey for a weary mother and her children, Auschwitz-Birkenau, Poland. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

The rail lines entering Birkenau (Auschwitz II), established Oct. 1941. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)





Women and children before Selektion, separation of incoming victims to concentration camps into two categories – those destined for immediate killing and those to be sent for forced labor – in Auschwitz-Birkenau, Poland. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

The process of Selektion begins for Hungarian Jews who have reached Auschwitz, Poland, 1944. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)



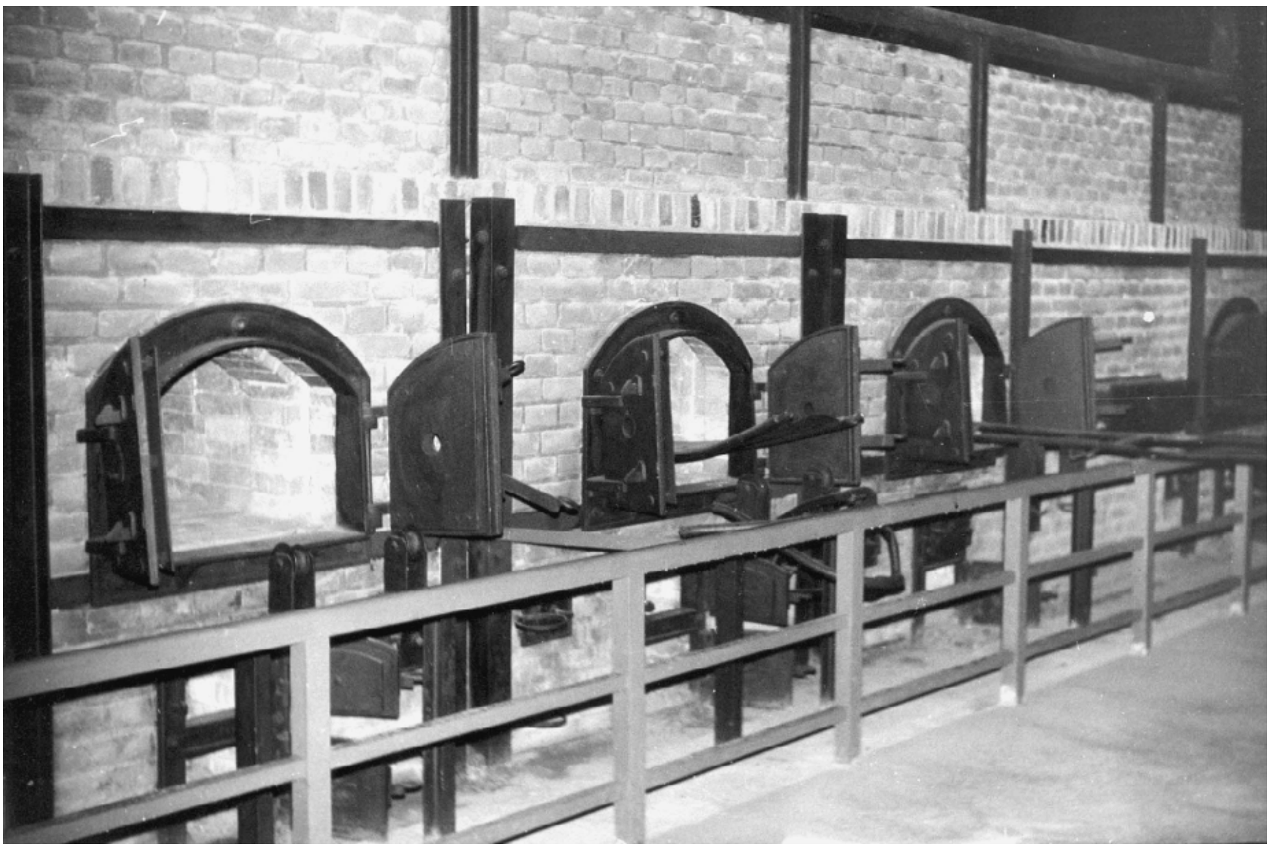


A prisoner commits suicide by running into the electrifide barbed-wire fence. (Henning Langenheim Berlin/photo courtesy of Yad Vashem, The Holocaust Martyrs` and Heroes` Remembrance Authority, Jerusalem.)



Gas chamber in Majdanek, Poland, used in 1942–43. (Photo: Geoffrey Wigoder.)

A crematorium in Majdanek, Poland. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)





Jewish slave laborers digging their own graves in Chelmno. The camp operated from 1941 to 1945; there were only two Jewish survivors. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)



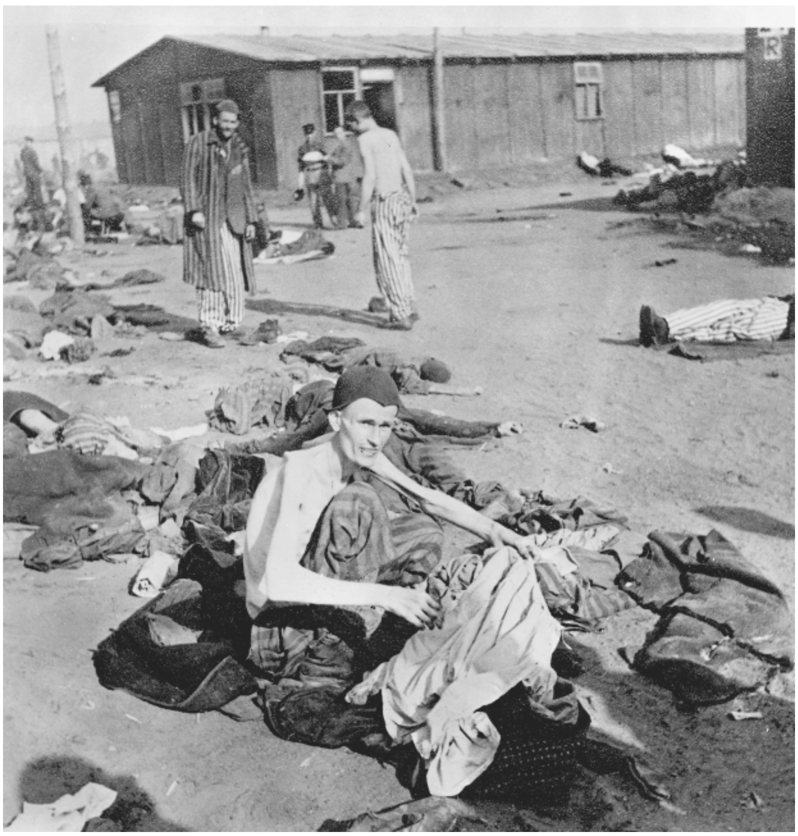
Containers of Zyklon B, the poison gas used in the gas chambers. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)



General Dwight D. Eisenhower (center) viewing human remains at the Ohdruf concentration camp in Germany. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)



Female SS guards forced to bury the bodies of prisoners after liberation of the Bergen-Belsen camp by the British in April, 1945. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)



Bergen-Belsen camp shortly after liberation in 1945. British troops encountered more than 10,000 corpses and around 58,000 surviving inmates. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)



Child survivors of Auschwitz on the day of liberation in Jan. 1945, photographed by Soviet soldiers who liberated the camp. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)



Wobbelin concentration camp, Germany, after liberation by American troops. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

HOLOCAUST, RESCUE FROM. In October 1933 the League of Nations established the "High Commission for Refugees (Jewish and Others) Coming from Germany" (see *Refugees) under James G. McDonald. When the commission failed to achieve any significant result, McDonald resigned in protest on Dec. 27, 1935. Another attempt at international action or at least at the perception of international action, was made by President Roosevelt, who called the international *Evian Conference in July 1938; there the U.S. declined to alter her immigration quotas, while Britain refused to change her restrictions on Jewish immigration to Palestine. A similar stand was taken by the Latin American delegates and only the Dominican Republic declared her readiness to accept 100,000 Jews. The ground rules of the Conference which FDR did not attend were that government regulations need not be changed and government funds would not be used. But an Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees was established, under Lord Winterton and George Rublee, to negotiate with the Germans to allow the emigration of Jews and the removal of some of their capital. These negotiations failed in the spring of 1939.

In May 1939 Britain's White Paper on Palestine restricted Jewish immigration to Palestine to 75,000 over the next five years. *"Illegal" immigration to Palestine began in earnest in 1938, but only 15,000 had arrived by the time the war broke out. After the outbreak of war (September 1939) and until early 1941, about 12,000 additional Jews were rescued by "illegal" entry. An abortive attempt was made in 1942 to bring 769 Jewish refugees to Palestine on the freighter *Struma*, but Britain refused to admit them to Palestine and Turkey and sent the boat into the Black Sea, where it sank on February 24, with the loss of all on board except one survivor, David Stoliar.

During 1939–41, the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) and HICEM managed to rescue over 30,000 European Jews, most of whom reached the U.S. via Italy, and from June 1940, via Portugal and Spain. Working in Southern France, Varian *Fry of the Emergency Rescue Committee brought to the United States internationally known artists and musicians, philosophers and writers, scientists and mathematicians. It was the elite rescue of the truly gifted. Working on his own, without instructions, Hiram Bingham of the American Consulate assisted him. Between the summer of 1940 and early 1941 some 2,400 Polish Jews escaped from Lithuania to Japan and the U.S., and a few hundred went to Palestine via Odessa. A number of Polish Jews left the U.S.S.R. in 1942 with the Polish army of General Anders, including 850 children, mostly orphans, who reached Palestine in 1943. After the entry of the U.S. into the war, escape to the West was limited to those who were already in neutral countries. Immigration to Palestine in late 1942 and 1943 was limited to 350 Jews from Europe. News regarding the Holocaust became generally known only in late 1942, and on December 17 the Allies issued a declaration condemning the mass murders; however, no concrete attempts to rescue Jews were made by the Allies until early in 1944. The Anglo-American *Bermuda Conference in April 1943 produced no results. It was doomed to failure in the first place because it refused to deal with the fate of Jews under German occupation; it only related to refugees who had reached neutral countries. There were efforts at self-rescue within German-occupied Europe by Jews. Money sent from the United States into German-occupied Europe was used to finance the transfer of Jews from more to less threatening locations and contributed to the saving of lives. An offer by *Eichmann's deputy in Bratislava, Dieter *Wisliceny, to the working group of Jewish leaders there (see Gisi *Fleischmann, Michael *Weissmandel) to purchase the rescue of the Jewish remnant in Europe, was transmitted to the U.S. government but the matter was not followed up. The offer was dealt with by the Germans at a very high level (Himmler) and can be perceived as an episode, which later led to a German initiative on Jewish rescue – the "Trucks for Jews" offer. In 1943 and 1944 attempts were made both by Jewish organizations and by individuals in Switzerland to send South American passports or nationality papers to individual Jews in Europe. Individuals, mainly in Poland, Holland, and Belgium, were also informed that Palestine immigration certificates were waiting for them. A number of South American governments refused to take steps to protect the holders of these mostly false papers, and only in 1944 did this attitude change. Nevertheless, small groups of bearers of these papers were kept by the Nazis in special camps, and some of them survived the war. From Switzerland, and partly also from Lisbon, Iran, and Palestine, a number of bodies such as the JDC, the *Jewish Agency, the Orthodox Va'ad ha-Hatzalah, and others corresponded with and sent parcels to Jews. *He-Ḥalutz in Geneva was instrumental in procuring information and contacts necessary for rescue work. While mainstream Jewish organizations in the United States were reluctant to press the American government to change its immigration quotas or to make rescue a high priority during World War II, the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, headed by Peter Bergson (Hillel *Kook) and the Orthodox Va'ad ha-Hatzalah, two bodies created during World War II for the express purpose of saving Jews in Europe, actively campaigned for increased rescue efforts by the United States, pressure which played a role in the establishment of the *War Refugee Board. The JDC also transferred funds to underground Jewish organizations in Europe with the approval of the United States. Yielding to pressure, mainly the initiative of three non-Jewish officials in the Department of the Treasury working through Secretary of the Treasury Henry *Morgenthau, President Roosevelt appointed the *War Refugee Board (WRB) in January 1944 which financed relatively small-scale rescue schemes and the sending of food parcels and funds for underground rescue operations. Early in 1944 Ira A. Hirschmann, the WRB delegate in Turkey, and the International Red Cross in Bucharest aided in bringing back 48,000 Jews from Transnistria to Romania. In Istanbul a center for rescue was developed in 1943–44 dealing largely with immigration to Palestine. Jewish Agency emissaries and others smuggled out over 3,000 people via Istanbul before the liberation of Romania in August. In May 1944 Joel *Brand was

sent from Hungary to negotiate with the Allies on a German offer to trade Jews for trucks and other wares. Official negotiations were vetoed by the Soviets, and publicity, especially in England, doomed the mission, but talks began in Switzerland between Saly Mayer, the JDC representative, and an SS delegation under Kurt Becher with *Himmler's knowledge. As a result of the controversial "Kasztner transport" talks, 1,684 persons were brought from Hungary to Switzerland via *Bergen-Belsen, and 17,000 others were brought to Vienna under more or less tolerable conditions. In February 1945 an additional 1,200 were brought out of *Theresienstadt by the pro-German Swiss statesman, Jean-Marie Musy, who was sent to the Nazis by the representative of the Va'ad ha-Hatzalah in Switzerland, Isaac Sternbuch. In June 1944, the WRB helped obtain the intervention of Sweden, Switzerland, the Holy See, and the International Red Cross, which, along with a strong American warning, persuaded the Hungarian government to stop the deportations of Hungarian Jews in July. However, the demands transmitted by Roswell McClelland, the WRB representative in Switzerland, and the Jewish Agency to bomb the *Auschwitz murder installations and the railways leading to it were refused, though in fact factories adjacent to the camp were bombed in September. In the autumn and winter of 1944 representatives of neutral governments in Budapest, among them Raoul *Wallenberg of Sweden and Charles *Lutz of Switzerland, cooperated with Zionist youth groups in preserving the lives of many thousands of Jews who were equipped with genuine or forged "protection" papers.

The Jewish Agency called for sending Jewish Palestinian parachutists to Europe, but its request was rejected, except for 32 men and women who were sent in 1943–44 to the Balkans, Hungary, and Slovakia. The parachutists' missions failed on the whole because they were too few in number and came too late; seven of them were killed by the Nazis. Between 20,000 and 30,000 Jews escaped from France to Spain and Portugal between 1940 and the summer of 1942; from 1942 on over 11,000 more escaped until the summer of 1944. About 11,000 entered Switzerland in 1942–44. The Jewish underground in France, supported by the JDC and other bodies, facilitated these rescue operations. In October 1943, the Danish underground shipped over 7,200 Danish Jews to safety in Sweden. Several hundred Norwegian Jews were also smuggled into Sweden. In late 1944 and early 1945 Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish efforts, coupled with the intervention of Himmler's Finnish masseur Felix Kersten, led to the evacuation first of Scandinavian Jews from Nazi camps and then of thousands of women from *Ravensbrueck camp, including 1,500 Jewish women.

On the whole, rescue operations achieved little until 1944, because the Allies were indifferent to the problem. It was then thought that only a German defeat would rescue the oppressed and that any diversion of energies from the war effort for rescue activities might diminish the successful conclusion of the war. That decision, made early in the war, was never reexamined despite mounting information that victory might come too late for rescue. There was also a self-imposed silence as the Allies were reluctant to do anything that would even indirectly give credence to the Nazi propaganda, which claimed that World War II was a Jewish war and that the United States was fighting on behalf of the Jews who had dragged the U.S. into the war for their own manipulative reasons.

[Yehuda Bauer / Efraim Zuroff (2nd ed.)]

In the U.S.S.R.

The absolute number of Jewish survivors in the Soviet Union was greater than that in any other European country. For several years after the war rumors spread, largely by Communist propaganda sources, claiming that the Soviet government had made a special effort to rescue Jews from the Nazis or to evacuate them from the advancing German armies. These claims have been shown to be unfounded. Those Jews who escaped Nazi extermination on Soviet soil (including, until June 1941, Soviet-occupied territories in eastern Poland, the Baltic states, north Bukovina, and Bessarabia), did so either by fleeing eastward from the advancing Germans, often encountering Soviet guards who drove them back, or, after June 1941, by being evacuated into the Soviet interior as Soviet administrative personnel or as skilled workers. The Soviet authorities never accorded special help to Jews in order that they might escape Nazi persecutions.

On Sept. 17, 1939, when the Red Army entered eastern Poland, there were in that region hundreds of thousands of Jews who had fled from the German occupation in western Poland, and tens of thousands more were streaming in. The Soviets maintained an open border until the end of October, when the two-way traffic of Jews and non-Jews between the two occupied sectors came to a halt. When this movement ended, and only Nazi-persecuted Jews continued to pour into the Soviet side, the Soviets closed their border and forced the new refugees to return to the German sector, many of whom perished between the lines. The Jewish refugees from western Poland numbered about 300,000–400,000. They were ordered to choose between accepting Soviet citizenship or returning to their previous homes in the western sector, though the Soviets knew (but the refugees did not) that the Germans categorically refused to accept them. The refugees were not offered the alternative of a temporary asylum in Soviet territory. Since the Soviet authorities extended pratically no assistance to the homeless refugees, most, particularly those who left close relatives behind, felt compelled to register for return to their previous places of residence in German-occupied territory. For this "demonstration of disloyalty" the Soviets punished the refugees by deporting them to the Soviet interior. Most of the refugees were arrested in June 1940; families were sent to small, isolated villages in the far north of the Soviet Union, and single people were sent to prisons and concentration camps. An event which typifies the Soviet policy of ignoring the Nazi attitude toward the Jews occurred on Dec. 31, 1939, at Brest Litovsk. In this city the Soviets handed over to the Gestapo several hundred

Communist activists from Germany and Austria, both Jews and non-Jews, who had found refuge in the U.S.S.R. before World War II.

On the eve of the German-Soviet war (June 1941), thousands of Jews, together with non-Jewish "bourgeois" and "unreliable" elements from eastern Poland and the annexed Baltic states and Romanian provinces, were deported to and imprisoned in the Soviet far north and far east. As a result many of the deportees escaped the later Nazi occupation of their places of origin (1941–45).

After the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, the Soviet government, under an agreement with the Polish government-in-exile, ordered (on Aug. 12, 1941) the release of Polish citizens from camps and places of exile. Of those released, the Jews were generally barred from joining the newly formed Polish army, which later left the U.S.S.R. Many Jews thereby suffered from lack of food and housing, in spite of the welfare services extended by the Polish embassy and its representatives in the Soviet provinces. When Stalin announced the "scorched earth" policy and the evacuation of administrative personnel, vital industries, and their equipment and workers, Jews were more interested in speedy evacuation than non-Jews. Jews did exploit the few possibilities available for evacuation; the authorities, however, did not grant any priority to Jews. Soviet Jews, i.e., residents and citizens of the U.S.S.R. in its pre-September 1939 boundaries, could, on their own initiative, try to escape eastward. However, along the pre-1939 border in Belorussia and the Baltic states patrols were set up to prevent refugees who were not officially evacuated from escaping into the Soviet interior. This blockade affected mainly Jews, because very few non-Jews in these areas were eager to flee from the advancing Germans. The number of Jews moving eastward, either on their own initiative or within the framework of the evacuation of administrative personnel and vital industries, increased as the German advance slowed down. It is estimated that of the Jewish residents of the German-occupied areas of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) about 50% managed to flee from the Germans. Among the Soviet anti-German underground in the cities and the partisans in the forests there were serious cases of discrimination and enmity toward Jews, sometimes resulting in executions on the basis of unfounded accusations. Some Jewish partisans, nevertheless, succeeded in establishing "family camps" for noncombatant Jews – the elderly, women, and children – who were smuggled out of the ghettos, particularly in Minsk and other places in Belorussia. There were exceptions to the rule of enmity and indifference shown toward the Jews in several German-occupied cities, e.g., Minsk, where Belorussian women organized the hiding of several scores of Jewish children, and Vilna, where individual Jews, particularly children, were saved by clergymen, intellectuals, and domestics working in Jewish homes. Some Soviet partisan commanders helped Jews escape; and in some cases partisan units, particularly those with a considerable number of Jewish fighters, attacked German-occupied townlets in order to rescue their Jewish inhabitants. In the western Ukraine (former East Galicia), there was an outstanding example of organized hiding of some 150 Jewish children, initiated by Andreas Szeptycki, the Ukrainian head of the Uniate Church in German-occupied Lvov. Szeptycki openly preached and protested against the extermination of the Jews and, after being approached by two rabbis, instructed the Uniate monks and nuns to hide Jewish children in their monasteries.

Jews who fled from the German-occupied territories annexed to the Soviet Union in 1939–40 were accorded by the Soviets the same harsh treatment given to western Ukrainians and other residents of those areas who had collaborated with the Nazis. Many of these Jews were sent to the "labor army," which was in fact a system of slave labor camps whose inmates included criminals. Jewish refugees from the Baltic areas and other countries were conscripted into the Lithuanian and Latvian divisions, the Czechoslovak brigade, and the Polish army established in the U.S.S.R. in 1943 after Moscow severed relations with the Polish government-in-exile in London. In many of these military units, Jews constituted the majority of the soldiers and suffered a high proportion of casualties. Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria were treated as "enemy citizens" and sent to forced labor camps. Because they had served on work teams of the pro-German Hungarian army, although forcibly conscripted, Hungarian Jews captured in 1943 on Soviet territory were treated as "enemy prisoners" together with the routed Hungarian units. The Soviets accorded the Jews the same treatment as the Hungarian soldiers even though the Jews were not considered military personnel, wore civilian clothes, the yellow armband, and had been maltreated by their Nazi and Hungarian commandants.

The unreliability of Soviet censuses in regard to the number of Jews in the U.S.S.R. makes it difficult to calculate the number of Jews who managed to escape Nazi extermination on Soviet soil. Figures of the number of Jews saved, published in the West from Soviet sources (e.g., 1,500,000 mentioned by Itzik *Fefer in the New York Yiddish *Morgen-Frayheyt*, Oct. 21, 1946), were probably greatly exaggerated. In spite of the official Soviet attitude, a considerable number of Jews nevertheless survived the Holocaust because they found themselves on Soviet soil and somehow succeeded in evading the Germans (see *Russia, the Soviet Union during World War II).

[Yosef Litvak]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.D. Morse, *While Six Million Died* (1968); A. Weissberg, *Conspiracy of Silence* (1952); S. Kot, *Conversations with the Kremlin and Dispatches from Russia* (1963); U.S. Department of State, Publication 3023, *Nazi-Soviet Relations 1939–1942* (1948); Polish Embassy in USSR, *Report on the Relief Accorded to Polish Citizens…* (1943); N. Bentwich, *Wanderer Between Two Worlds* (1941); P. Meyer et al., *Jews in the Soviet Satellites* (1953); R. Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews* (1961), 715–33; L. Yahil, *Rescue of Danish Jewry* (1969); M.B. Weissmandel, *Min ha-Meẓar* (1957); Y. Bauer, *From Diplomacy to Resistance* (1970), passim; M. Kaganovich, *Di Milkhome fun Yidishe Partizaner in Mizrekh Eyrope* (1956); H. Smolar, *Fun Minsker Geto* (1946); S. Kacherginsky, *Tsvishn Hamer un Serp* (1949); E. Landau (ed.), *Der Kastner Bericht…* (1961); S.M. Schwarz, *Yevrei v Sovetskam*

Soyuze, 1939–1965 (1966). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Y. Bauer, *Jews for Sale* (1994); idem, *Rethinking the Holocaust* (2001); E. Zuroff, *The Response of Orthodox Jewry in the United States to the Holocaust: The Activities of Vaad Ha-Hatzala Rescue Committee, 1939–1945* (2000).

HOLOCAUST, THE, NBC television film *The Holocaust,* by Gerald Green, first shown in United States in April 1978. It became a focal point for discussion and aroused considerable controversy. Appearing just one year after the mini-series *Roots*, it marked the expansion of Holocaust consciousness into diverse segments of the population. Unexpectedly, the viewing audience was vast. So enrapt was the audience in New York City that when commercials came on the water pressure in the city dropped. Among those critical of the film was Elie *Wiesel, who referred to it, inter alia, as "untrue, cheap, offensive, soap opera and trivializing." On the other hand, Rabbi Irving *Greenberg, one of the most distinguished scholars of the Holocaust in America, called it "a breakthrough." He wrote:

> Ten of millions will see with their own eyes and experience in their own homes a shadow of the incredible and unprecedented total assault on Jews and humanity. It is a challenge to our consciences and to our teaching and learning ability that we study along with it, in order to deepen our understanding of the incomprehensible.

In retrospect, both Wiesel and Greenberg were correct. The mini-series, which has not stood the test of time as a work of art, did have major impact, expanding interest in the Holocaust, moving it beyond the boundaries of an area of concern to Jews alone, triggering interest in Holocaust survivors and in the telling of their stories, sparking the creation of Holocaust memorials and museums and making the Holocaust a focal point of discussion. It also increased interest in the Holocaust on college campuses and in the teaching of and research on the Holocaust.

The decision to show the film in Germany (January 1979) met with violent opposition, and extreme neo-Nazi groups threatened to attack the television stations from which it was telecast, and there were bomb blasts at two regional transmitters during its showing. It nevertheless had a profound effect. It was estimated that no less than 60% of the population viewed it and that it had an effect on the vote in the Bundestag regarding the cancellation of the statute of limitations for those charged with Nazi atrocities. A cruel joke told in Germany at the time is indicative of its effect: "It had more impact than the original." In 1981 the Germans decided to rescreen *The Holocaust* the following year.

The film has been shown in numerous countries throughout the world, including Israel, England, France, Belgium, Denmark, Brazil, Austria, Australia, and Japan.

Most importantly, it demonstrated that there was a vast, international audience for portrayals of the Holocaust in the popular media. This enabled other television shows and movie broadcasts to be shown. It is no exaggeration to say that the mini-series of the Holocaust, problematic as it may have been, was a turning point in Holocaust consciousness in the last quarter of the 20th century. Much of what has been achieved can be attributed directly or indirectly to the doors opened by this successful television series.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

HOLOCAUST DENIAL. In one sense, Holocaust denial began during World War II, as the Nazis tried to carry out their mass murder of Jews in secret and in many cases returned to the sites of destruction to destroy the evidence, plow the camps under or dig up and burn the bodies of those shot by *Einsatzgruppen*. But active denial of the Nazi genocide began shortly after the war, promoted by some former Nazis in South America and elsewhere.

In most societies Holocaust denial is a fringe phenomenon, and is less about historical events and more about classical antisemitic conspiracy theories. If the Holocaust did not occur, but people all over the world believe it did, how could this be? Most deniers allege that Jews made up this story to exact reparations or to justify the creation of Israel, and have fooled the world through alleged control of governments and the media.

While distinguished professors of history worldwide have disagreements about aspects of the Holocaust (exactly when was the "final solution" decided upon, for example), they all agree that the evidence for the genocide of approximately six million Jews, many in purpose-built gas chambers and carried out by the Nazis and their collaborators, is not only incontrovertible, but overwhelming. To believe in denial, one must posit that all these historians are either incompetent, part of a vast conspiracy, or both.

Yet denial persists not because it has a historical purpose, but because it has a political one.

Some of the earlier deniers included a French concentration camp survivor named Paul Rassinier and American isolationist Harry Elmer Barnes. It was not until the 1970s that denial was noticed beyond the world of white supremacy. Arthur Butz, a professor of electrical engineering at Northwestern University, wrote a 1976 book called *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century.* And in 1979 Willis Carto, a long-time active antisemite, created the Institute for Historical Review, designed to give the impression that denial of the Holocaust was simply another credible historical theory. The IHR held its first conference in 1979, which was attended by white supremacists from around the world. Usurping the historical term "revisionism," they claimed they were Holocaust "revisionists," not deniers. While revisionism is an accepted historical approach which seeks new ways to understand historical events, Holocaust deniers, on the other hand, ignore or twist evidence in order to pervert history.

Key deniers over the last decades of the 20th century included the Frenchman Robert Faurisson and a German national then living in Canada named Ernst Zuendel, co-author of *The Hitler We Loved and Why.* And while white supremacists, hoping to rehabilitate Nazism and fascism by removing

the moral albatross of the Holocaust, were the driving force of Holocaust denial, others were involved as well. Left-wing MIT professor Noam *Chomsky wrote in defense of Faurisson. And Holocaust denial could be found in the black separatist community too, including in the Nation of Islam's paper *The Final Call*. Frequently a white supremacist and a black supremacist website are only two mouse clicks away from each other, the connective tissue being links to web-based antisemitica in general and Holocaust denial in particular.

Most deniers know they are not going to persuade people right away that the Holocaust did not happen. They seek to couch their agenda in the language of free speech and open inquiry, and ask why their claims should be rejected out of hand, rather than debated.

Their claims, of course, can be easily exposed. For example, they assert that the seminal piece of Holocaust literature – the Anne Frank diary – is a fraud. They allege that part of the manuscript is written in ballpoint pen and that the ballpoint pen is a postwar invention, appearing in 1951. But they fail to note that this writing represented emendations made by Anne's father, Otto, and that the diaries were first published in 1947. Or they claim that modern crematoria take hours to consume a body, so how could it be that 1940s-vintage crematoria could have accommodated the massive numbers of Jews allegedly killed in Auschwitz? But they fail to note that modern crematoria have to be started up for each corpse and the ashes have to be kept segregated, whereas the regular supply of bodies kept the Nazi ovens fueled, and there was no desire to keep each person's ashes distinct.

Experts on Holocaust denial agree that while the deniers' claims must be exposed, deniers should not be debated. Deniers want people to believe that there is a mere difference of opinion between equally credible scholars, those whom they call "revisionists" and those whom they call "exterminationists." Deniers would be able to create that impression if historians and other scholars appeared on the same platform with them, regardless of what then transpired. No NASA scientist would have a friendly television debate with someone who claimed the earth was flat. The reasons not to appear in debate with deniers are even more compelling: whereas flat earth theorists are quirky and peddling the bizarre, Holocaust deniers are ideologues who twist history and science in order to promote hatred.

Precisely because denial is antisemitism promoted through distortions of history, it must be combated vigorously. Perhaps the biggest blow against the deniers occurred in 2000, in the London trial of David *Irving versus Penguin Books Limited and Deborah Lipstadt.

David Irving was a prolific writer of books about World War II who had close relationships with many white supremacists and former Nazis. He routinely presented Nazis in general and Adolf Hitler in particular in a better light than most historians believed was warranted. But he did not become a full-blown Holocaust denier until the late 1980s. Irving attended the Canadian trial of Ernst Zuendel, who was brought up on charges related to his Holocaust denial activities, and met Fred Leuchter there. Leuchter would later be convicted of practicing engineering without a license, but was then known as a person who worked with various United States prisons on their methods of execution. Leuchter had been commissioned by Zuendel's defense to go to Auschwitz II (Birkenau), scrape the walls of the remnant of a gas chamber, and conclude whether it had sufficient residue of Zyklon B gas to justify the conclusion that people had been killed there. Leuchter issued a report claiming that the killings had not taken place. The report was fatally flawed. To pick one mistake of many, Zyklon B residue, if present after so many years, would only adhere to the surface of walls, but Leuchter took chunks (illegally), and sent them to a lab, which then ground up the entire samples (thereby diluting the residue) before testing. Nonetheless, residue was found which was fully consistent with how we know the chambers were used to kill people, but Leuchter reached the opposite conclusion. Despite the fact that the judge in the case ruled that Leuchter had neither the credentials nor the training to make conclusions about the Auschwitz gas chambers, his report converted Irving, who then published a version under his own imprint.

Irving began editing out any reference to the Holocaust from his writings, stating that "if something didn't happen then you don't even dignify it with a footnote." In addition, he began to work more closely with white supremacist groups, and to say things such as "[m]ore women died on the back seat of Edward Kennedy's car at Chappaquiddick than ever died in a gas chamber in Auschwitz."

When books about Holocaust denial began appearing in the early 1990s, they mentioned Irving. One of those books, Emory University professor Deborah Lipstadt's *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, was published in the United Kingdom, Irving's home. He sued Lipstadt for defamation, as British libel laws put the onus on the defendant to prove the truth of her assertion, and she had claimed he was a dangerous spokesman for Holocaust denial.

Irving lost his libel suit. The record of the case (found at Holocaustdenialontrial.org (or hdot.org)) demonstrated how deniers such as Irving mistranslate, fabricate, use double standards, and otherwise lie in order to promote an antisemitic and pro-Nazi agenda.

While this trial vindicated Lipstadt, discredited Irving, and weakened denial, it did not end denial, which has an increasing market in the Arab and Muslim world. The PLO and other Arab groups had promoted Holocaust denial materials for many decades, but there was a marked increase after the beginning of the second Intifada in 2000. Denial not only paints the Jews as nefarious, but also seeks to deny any legitimacy to the State of Israel, since its modern creation in 1948 is linked to the events of World War II.

Most forms of antisemitism come in a hard-core and soft-core variety. Holocaust denial has a variety of soft-core versions too. One "soft-core" version is the frequent abuse of

Holocaust history to create equivalencies, and to diminish the seriousness and the singularity of Nazi crimes. For example, some claim that while the Nazis had concentration camps, the United States also imprisoned Japanese-Americans during World War II; or that while the Nazis killed innocent Jews, the Allies killed innocent Germans by bombing Dresden. But as with hard-core denial, the softer version also intentionally omits important facts: For example, while the imprisonment of Japanese-Americans was certainly racist, they were not then shot, gassed, or burned. And while reasonable people may have different views on the bombing of Dresden, civilian populations had everything to gain when the Allies took over, and everything to lose when the Nazis did.

An increasingly widespread and related phenomenon is the false equation of Israeli and Nazi leaders, and of Israeli treatment of Palestinians with Nazi treatment of Jews. Such accusations not only reflect immoral equivalences, but also by necessity diminish the horrors of the Holocaust. Regardless of anyone's views on the Middle East conflict, it is historical distortion and the promotion of bigotry to make an equation between alleged instances of discrimination carried out by Israeli authorities and the machinery designed and implemented for the attempted mass murder of an entire people by the Nazis.

Another related phenomenon is that found in the writings of Norman Finkelstein, an assistant professor in political science at DePaul University. Whereas hard-core deniers posit that the Holocaust is fiction, and that Jews are exploiting this nonevent through conspiratorial means to harm non-Jews, Finkelstein accepts that the mass murders did occur, but then joins the deniers in claims that Jews are collectively abusing this history for evil purposes. Not surprisingly, deniers cite Finkelstein enthusiastically.

Holocaust denial is combated today in a variety of ways. In some democracies (with the noticeable exception of the United States because of the First Amendment), denial is recognized as illegal hate speech, and prohibited. Jewish defense agencies, such as the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, the UK's Community Security Trust, the Canadian Jewish Congress, and the Australia/Israel Jewish Affairs Council, have been particularly active in combating denial, with a combination of diplomatic, programmatic, legal, and educational endeavors. They, as well as individuals such as Emory professor Deborah Lipstadt, have been actively engaged in educating the public about the meaning and implications of denial, stressing that denial of the Holocaust is not really about the facts of the Holocaust, and is not benign nuttiness, but rather a new antisemitic canard which abuses history in order to demonize Jews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. Stern, *Holocaust Denial* (1993); D. Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (1993); idem, *History on Trial: My Day in Court with David Irving* (2005); R.A. Kahn, *Holocaust Denial and the Law: A Comparative Study* (2004).

[Kenneth Stern (2nd ed.)]

HOLOCAUST REMEMBRANCE DAY (Heb. יוֹם הַשּׁוֹאָה; Yom ha-Sho'ah). In a resolution passed by the Knesset (April 12, 1951) the 27th day of Nisan was proclaimed as "Holocaust and Ghetto Uprising Remembrance Day – a day of perpetual remembrance for the House of Israel." This date was chosen because it falls between that of the *Warsaw Ghetto uprising (which began on the first day of Passover) and the Israel War of Independence Remembrance Day (on Iyyar 4), and also because it occurs during the traditional mourning of the Counting of the Omer. The Holocaust and Heroism Remembrance Law of *Yad Vashem (1953) determined that one of the tasks of the Yad Vashem Authority is to inculcate in Israel and its people awareness of the day set aside by the Knesset as Holocaust and Heroism Remembrance Day. On March 4, 1959, the Knesset passed the Holocaust and Heroism Remembrance Day Law, which determined that tribute to victims of the Holocaust and ghetto uprising be paid in public observances. An amendment to the law (1961) required that places of entertainment be closed on the eve of Holocaust Remembrance Day. Outside Israel, however, Holocaust Remembrance Day is usually celebrated on April 19, the day on which the Warsaw Ghetto uprising broke out according to the civil calendar. The rabbinate in Israel has ruled Tevet 10 as the Day of *Kaddish* on which persons commemorate the *Yahrzeit* ("memorial anniversary") of relatives, victims of the Holocaust, whose date of death is unknown, with prayer and study.

In 1979, the President's Commission on the Holocaust, established by President Carter, commemorated Holocaust Remembrance Day in the Capitol Rotunda with an unprecedented ceremony attended by the American National leadership including the president, the vice president, and many members of Congress. Since 1979 civic ceremonies have been held in Washington and in individual states and cities, and observances are held in churches. The Jewish community observes Yom ha-Sho'ah as a community in communal commemorations rather than individual synagogue observances. As consciousness of the Holocaust grew in Europe in the 1990s, several European countries adopted an annual Day of Remembrance for the Holocaust. They observed the memorial on the secular calendar, choosing January 27, the date of the Soviet entry into Auschwitz. Aside from Israel, no other country gives significant prominence to Jewish resistance alongside the Holocaust and even within Israel such a dual emphasis has significantly diminished. In 2005 the United Nations, which has not been known for its pro-Israel stance, held its first commemoration of the Holocaust and in November voted for an annual commemoration.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Greenberg, *The Jewish Way: Living the Holidays* (1988).

[Nathan Eck / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

HOLOCAUST RESCUERS, JEWISH. Much attention has been paid to the non-Jews, around 20,000, recognized by *Yad Vashem as *Righteous Among the Nations, who risked their

lives and, in most cases, the lives of their families and friends to rescue Jews who were fleeing the Nazis and earmarked for extermination. This recognition is correct and appropriate. However, what has been overlooked is that there were thousands and thousands of Jews who also acted during the Holocaust to rescue other Jews and arrange for them to be hidden or smuggled out of the country; or provided them with false identification papers so that they could pass as non-Jews. These efforts were often an organized response. In Bulgaria, Solidarite was active. Thousands of Jews survived thanks to this Jewish organization that found hiding places and arranged for false documents for Jews, many of whom were smuggled out of the country and sent to Palestine. In France, there was the Oeuvre des Secours aux Enfants, or the OSE, which saved over 7,000, mostly non-French Jewish children, by providing them with a place to live and with false papers so that they could either be hidden or smuggled out of France. The OSE even went into the French transit camps to take children from their parents just before the family was deported. In Holland, the leaders of the Jewish Council in Enschede, against the advice of the Amsterdam Jewish Council, began urging members of the community to resist the orders of the Germans to go to deportation sites and instead to go into hiding. Because they had financial and other resources to aid their community members, at the end of the war Enschede lost a smaller percentage of their members than the general Jewish population in the Netherlands. Five hundred Jews were saved.

On a second level, there were individual rescuers. Their stories are many and varied. There are stories like that of Malka Fugtazki of Lithuania, who rescued children from the Kovno ghetto by giving them sleeping pills and then tying the child to her body, and with the help of a Jewish guard at the gate, getting to a Lithuanian orphanage that took in the children. Malka was able to rescue 17 children that way. William Perl was a Jewish lawyer in Vienna, who was the leader of a group of Jews that began a rescue operation in 1937 and continued to save Jews for the next five years. He sent thousands of Jewish refugees in boats to Palestine. Bella Galperin saved Rosyln Kirkel by hiding her with her non-Jewish mother-in-law. In Lithuania, Dov Ber Gdud, who had been paying a peasant to hide him and his family, received a note from a friend saying that the friend was running out of money to pay the peasant that was hiding him and four others. Unhesitatingly Dov Ber gave his friend half of his money so that his friends could be saved. At the end of the occupation of Lithuania by the Germans, Dov Ber had only one coin left. If the war had gone on any longer Dov Ber and his family would not have been able to remain in hiding.

The most famous of the Jewish rescuers are Tuvia Bielski and his brothers, who lived by the rule that rescue and resistance must go hand in hand. The Bielskis took into their camp any Jew that could find their way into the forest, whether they were young or old, whether or not they had a weapon, and whether or not they could fight against the Germans. At the end of the war the Bielski group emerged from the forest with 1,200 people of all ages and in all physical conditions.

Jack Werber was born in Radom, Poland, but was deported to Buchenwald in 1939, soon after the German invasion of Poland. He spent the next five and a half years at Buchenwald. In August 1944, a large group of boys aged six to sixteen came in with a transport. Werber was certain that these children would be killed if they were transported elsewhere. He and a few other Jewish inmates were able to disperse the children throughout the camp, feeding, clothing, and hiding them as best they could. When Buchenwald was liberated in April 1945, Werber emerged from the camp with nearly 700 children, among them Elie *Wiesel and the future chief rabbi of Israel, Israel *Lau. Werber wrote: "Suffering great personal loss drove me in my obsession to save children. I saw each one of them as if he were my own."

These are only a few of the many, many examples of Jews who rescued other Jews during the Holocaust.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

°**HOLOFERNES**, chief captain of the Assyrian army, who besieged a Jewish city and was beguiled and beheaded by *Judith (13: 7–9). In the apocryphal Book of Judith, Olofernes (a variant form, as is Orofernes) is the general of Nabuchodnosor (Nebuchadnezzar) attacking Bethulia. The Persian form of the name – akin to Datafernes, Artafernes, and others (the *fernes* connotes "brilliance") – and the presence of a Holofernes associated with Artaxerxes Ochus (Diodorus Siculus 31:19) lead some scholars to conclude that the story reflects events of the period of the Persian Empire. There is no consensus as to a specific date. Others see a reflection of events of the Hasmonean period, since there is a Holofernes whom Demetrius I helped to become king of Cappadocia in 158 B.C.E. (Diodorus Siculus *ibid.*), and other versions of the story refer to Holofernes as king of Greece or the general of a Greek army besieging Jerusalem. Tradition also associates the story with Ḥanukkah and the Hasmonean era. The setting, name, and position of Judith's victim change from one version to another, but the story line remains constant. This seems to indicate that, if Holofernes was originally a historical figure, the details about this figure were forgotten and he became a fictional prototype of the persecutor of Jews who meets a just end. Although Judith was apparently very religious and practiced prayer and self-denial, her act did not suit her piety, since she murdered a defenseless man and then treated Holofernes' decapitated head with disrespect by carrying it off as a trophy. Therefore, some scholars have suggested that this is one of the reasons why the book of Judith was not included in the canon.

For Holofernes in the Arts see *Judith in the Arts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.M. Grintz, *Sefer Yehudit* (1957), 15–17, 184; A.M. Oubarle, in: RB, 66 (1959), 514–49; idem, *Judith, formes et sens des diverses traditions* (1966). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** C.A. Moore,

"Judith: The Case of the Pious Killer," in: *Bible Review*, 6 (1990), 26–36.

[Jacob Petroff / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

HOLON (Heb. 1) (חֹלֹן ,חוֹלוֹן) A priestly town in the Judean mountains (Josh. 15:51; 21:15; I Chron. 6:43-Hilen). Although some scholars identify it with Khirbat ʿAlīn, west of the Arab village of Beit Ummar (S.W. of Kefar Eẓyon), in Joshua 15:51 it is specifically located in the southern district of the Judean hill country.

(2) A locality in the high plain of *Moab, apparently 12 km. N.E. of Dibon, identified with ʿAliyūn (Jer. 48:21).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 349; EM; W.F. Albright, in: BASOR, 18 (1925), 9; idem, in: *L. Ginsberg Jubilee Volume* (1945).

[Abraham J. Brawer]

ḤOLON (Heb. חוֹלוֹן, name derived from *ḥol*, "sand," indicating the sand dunes upon which the town stands), city in Israel's Coastal Plain, 2.5 mi. (4 km.) S.E. of Tel Aviv. The area of Ḥolon was first settled in 1925, when groups of Ẓe'irei Mizrachi and Ohel Sadeh acquired land there. To guard their property, they set up modest huts on the spot, calling their suburb "Shekhunat Green," which then constituted part of the Jaffa municipality. A second stage was reached in the years 1934–36, when further, but still isolated, quarters were built by the public firms Agrobank and Shikkun, which had acquired large holdings on the vast sand-dune area. These suburbs attracted mainly working-class families that could not afford housing in Tel Aviv proper. The quarters continued to expand, in spite of the 1936–39 Arab riots. In 1940 there were five quarters (Agrobank, Kiryat Avodah, Shekhunat Am, Shekhunat Green, Moledet) with a combined population of 1,800, most of them workers. In the same year, Ḥolon received local council status. Until 1948 the population grew to 7,000 with the absorption of new immigrants and first industrial enterprises. In the War of Independence (1948), Ḥolon was at first completely isolated, but the fall of Arab Jaffa provided the much-needed link with Tel Aviv. Further land was added to Ḥolon's municipal area, bringing its total to 19,500 dunams, and it received municipal council status in 1950. Many new suburbs were built from 1949, and Ḥolon became a major industrial center. Its geographical advantages were the proximity of Tel Aviv, the railway line, major highways, the Tel Aviv harbor and later the Ashdod port, as well as the large dune areas that were easily adapted for industrial and residential construction. Ḥolon's share in the absorption of the mass immigration is indicated by its population increase from 15,000 in 1950 to 84,700 at the end of 1969. In 2002 the population was 165,800, making it the eighth largest city in Israel. It occupies a municipal area of 7.4 sq. mi. (19.2 sq. km.).

Ḥolon's position within the Tel Aviv conurbation deeply influenced this city's development. In matters of financial, commercial, and many other services, including some aspects of education, recreation, and health, Ḥolon depends on Tel Aviv. Also, Tel Aviv provides employment to many of Ḥolon's inhabitants. Ḥolon's own economy has been principally based on its industry, concentrated mainly in a special area where large, medium, and small enterprises are located.

The city has large public parks and irrigated lawns covering an area of over 100 acres. Among cultural institutions are Yad la-Banim, a cultural center in memory of local youth who fell in the country's defense, as well as a number of *ulpanim*. Ḥolon has a *Samaritan community. In 2003/4 the city opened a number of cultural institutions, such as the Ḥolon Theater, the Children's Museum, the Interdisciplinary Center for the Arts and Sciences, and the Center for Digital Art.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Ḥolon 1959* (Heb., Eng., and Fr., 1959); I.M. Emanuel, *Yadan Ḥolon* (1961); *Shesh Shenot Ma'aseh* (photographs, 1965). **WEBSITE:** www.holon.muni.il.

[Shlomo Hasson / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HOLTZMAN, ELIZABETH J. (1941–), U.S. politician; at age 32 the youngest woman ever elected to the House of Representatives. Holtzman was one of twin children born in Brooklyn, NY, to Sidney and Filia (Ravitz) Holtzman. A graduate of Radcliffe College (B.A., 1962) and Harvard University Law School (J.D., 1965), "Liz" began her political activism in her student years as a participant in the Civil Rights movement. Between periods of private law practice, she briefly served as Mayor John V. Lindsay's liaison to the New York Department of Parks, Recreation, and Cultural Affairs (1969–70). Holtzman became increasingly active in New York Democratic politics and she defeated 50-year incumbent Emanuel *Celler in the 1972 U.S. Congressional race to represent Brooklyn's 16th Congressional District. She was re-elected to the succeeding three Congresses (1973–80). She made history as a key player on the House Judiciary Committee during the 1974 Watergate hearings and she later voted to impeach President Richard Nixon. Holtzman was committed to bringing former Nazi war criminals living in the United States to justice. As chair of the House Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees and International Law she wrote and passed through Congress the Holtzman Amendment, authorizing the deportation of Nazi war criminals and the establishment of the special investigation unit at the Justice Department. She co-authored the first refugee law in the United States, which helped thousands of Jewish refugees from the former Soviet Union enter the U.S. in the late 1970s and 1980s. Holtzman lost in a three-way race in 1980 for a New York U.S. Senate seat and was later elected district attorney for Kings County (Brooklyn), becoming the first female district attorney in the City of New York (1982–1989.) Elected as New York City Comptroller (1990–1993) she maximized city pension funds enabling the expansion of employment opportunities and low-cost housing. After a second failed bid for the U.S. Senate (1992), and loss of the comptroller's seat (1993) Holtzman returned to private law practice. She was appointed in 1999 by President Clinton to the Nazi War Criminal Records Interagency Working Group (IWG). Honors for outstanding public service include awards from the National Council on Jewish Women, Warsaw

Ghetto Resistance Organization, Brooklyn Coalition for Soviet Jewry, Radcliffe College, Civil Liberties Unions of New York, New Jersey and Los Angeles and the Young Women's Christian Association. Her autobiography, *Who Said It Would Be Easy? One Woman's Life in the Political Arena,* written with Cynthia L. Cooper, appeared in 1996.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Lederhendler, "Holtzman, Elizabeth," in: *Jewish Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia* (P.E. Hyman and D.D. Moore, eds.), Vol. 1 (1997), 657–59.

[Judith Friedman Rosen (2nd ed.)]

HOLTZMAN, KENNETH DALE ("**Kenny**"; 1945–), U.S. baseball player, winningest Jewish pitcher in history. Holtzman was born in St. Louis. As a child, Holtzman would alternate eating Friday nights at the kosher homes of both sets of grandparents, who all came from Russia. Holtzman was a star at University City High School, where he was selected the Most Valuable Player on the state championship team in 1962. He attended the University of Illinois, from where he graduated in 1967 with a B.A. in business administration, but not before signing a $70,000 bonus from the Chicago Cubs. He made his debut at age 19 on Sept. 4, 1965, promptly giving up a home run on his first pitch. Five days later he watched Sandy *Koufax pitch his perfect game, and afterward Holtzman asked for his autograph. Being a Jewish lefthander who was known for both the velocity of his fastball and his ability to control it, Holtzman was being called "another Koufax" as soon as he arrived in the big leagues. The two greatest Jewish pitchers in history faced each other for the one and only time in their careers on Sept. 25, 1966, the day after both had attended synagogue on Yom Kippur. Holtzman was finishing his first full season and Koufax his final season, as the rookie twirled a no-hitter for eight innings and beat the veteran 2–1. It was the last regular-season loss of Koufax's career.

Holtzman spent much of the 1967 season in the National Guard, pitching occasionally on the weekend and recording a 9–0 record in the 12 games in which he appeared. He pitched a no-hitter against Atlanta on Aug. 19, 1969, winning 3–0, and pitched another no-hitter on June 3, 1971, winning 1–0 against Cincinnati while scoring the game's only run. Holtzman, who asked to be traded after the season, was sent to the Oakland A's and won 19, 21, and 19 games in his first three seasons with the team, helping them to three straight championships. In 13 career post-season games, Holtzman was 6–4 with a 2.30 ERA in 70 innings pitched, including 4–0 in four series-deciding games. He was 4–1 in the World Series with a 2.54 ERA in eight starts.

When the second game of the 1973 American League Championship Series game against Baltimore fell on Yom Kippur, Holtzman, who was scheduled to pitch, did not play, as usual. A limousine was sent to pick him up at his hotel that morning to take him to the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, where he was escorted to the synagogue's front row. There he met his limousine patron: Jerry Hoffberger, owner of the Orioles.

Holtzman was traded to Baltimore before the 1976 season, and then to the Yankees on June 15, 1976, where manager Billy Martin chose to overlook Holtzman's career record and used him sparingly for two seasons, and not at all in postseason play. Holtzman was traded on June 10, 1978, to the Chicago Cubs, where he ended his career the following season. Holtzman won four World Series, was twice named to the American League All Star team (1972, 1973), and threw 2,867 innings with a 3.49 career earned run average, 1,601 strikeouts, 31 shutouts, and pitched at least 215 innings in nine of his 15 seasons. Holtzman's final regular-season record of 174–150 gave him more wins than any Jew in history.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

HOLY CONGREGATION IN JERUSALEM (**Kehilla Kaddisha de-vi-Yrushalayim**), religious association in Jerusalem at the end of the second century C.E. In Ereẓ Israel sources it was known as "The Holy Community" (*Edah Kedoshah*) and comprised an association of R. Meir's pupils who adopted a way of life resembling in many respects that of the associations of *Ḥaverim in the Second Temple period. The mode of life pursued by its members may be gauged from the following statement: "And why are they called the Holy Community [*Edah Kedoshah*]? Because there were Yose b. Meshullam and Simeon b. Menasia who divided the day into three, devoting one third of it to the Torah, one third to prayer, and one third to work. Some declare that they occupied themselves with Torah during the winter and engaged in work during the summer" (Eccles. R. 9:9). In the sources, the concept "holy" is largely synonymous with abstinence and levitical cleanness (see TJ, Shab. 1:6, 3c; TJ, Meg. 1:13, 72b; et al.). Thus Yose b. Meshullam, one of its leaders, adopted a strict view concerning observance of purity by its members who probably observed its rules pertaining to sacred food, as did the associations in the Second Temple period, even for ordinary meals.

The virtues of prayer, work, and the strict observance of levitical purity having been highly extolled by R. Meir, some of his pupils, who, according to Safrai, included R. Samuel of Phrygia, gave practical expression to his doctrines through an association similar to those of the associations that flourished in the days of the Second Temple. Like the *Ḥaverim* of the Second Temple period, and unlike the Qumran sect and the Essenes, the members of the Holy Congregation did not withdraw from society but participated with their contemporaries in composing the *halakhah*. Thus the Babylonian Talmud on several occasions quotes halakhic and aggadic statements in the name of the Holy Congregation in Jerusalem (Ber. 9b; Beẓah 14b; et al.); Judah ha-Nasi and Joshua b. Levi cite *halakhot* in its name; leaders of the Holy Congregation are mentioned in the Mishnah (Ḥag. 1:7; Ter. 4:7; et al.); and some *mishnayot*, of which they were the authors, are cited anonymously (cf. Tosef., Bek. 4:11, with Mishnah Bek., 6:8; et al.).

In view of the evidence that Jews were prohibited from living in Jerusalem after the Bar Kokhba revolt, some scholars regard the Holy Congregation in Jerusalem as dating from

Second Temple and Jabneh times. Others are of the opinion that it was composed of refugees from Jerusalem who settled in Galilee, and hence emend its name to "The Holy Congregation from Jerusalem." Rabin contends that it originated in the days of Jabneh and that Simeon b. Menasia and Yose b. Meshullam flourished at a later stage of its history when it was no longer in Jerusalem. Because of the association's connections with Jerusalem, some scholars maintain that there was no prohibition against Jews living there after the destruction of the Second Temple, but this view is untenable, since there are adequate grounds that such a prohibition did in fact exist. The most acceptable view is that of Alon, namely, that during the period of the Severi when the political position of the Jews had greatly improved, the Roman authorities did not enforce the prohibition, even though it had not been officially rescinded. The years that had elapsed from the Bar Kokhba revolt until the days of Judah ha-Nasi also undoubtedly contributed to a relaxation of the decree.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Buechler, *Die Priester und der Cultus* (1895), 35ff.; A. Marmorstein, in: *Jeschurun*, 11 (1924), 149–56; J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (1969), 246ff.; L. Baeck, *The Pharisees and other Essays* (1947), 3ff.; S. Krauss, *Synagogale Altertuemer* (1922), 107–9; idem, in: YMḤEY, 4 (1937), 52–60; S. Klein, *Ereẓ Yehudah* (1939), 183, 268–70; idem (ed.), *Sefer ha-Yishuv*, 1 (1939), introd., 21f.; Alon, Toledot, 1 (1959^{3}), 110ff.; Epstein, Tannaim, 182f.; C. Rabin, *Qumran Studies* (1957), 37–52; S. Safrai, in: *Zion*, 22 (1957), 183–93.

[A'hron Oppenheimer]

HOLY PLACES. Because of its history, the Land of Israel possesses places holy to the three monotheistic religions, although the term "holy" means something different to each of these religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. (See Map: Holy Places in Israel.) While the veneration of these sites by believers is genuine, the authenticity of the sites themselves is sometimes questionable.

Jewish Holy Places

Although certain sites in Israel (mostly graves) are popularly considered to be holy and as such are venerated and visited, the notion is almost nonexistent in primary Jewish sources. The Mishnah (Kel. 1:6) states: "There are ten degrees of holiness. The land of Israel is holier than any other land … in that from it they may bring the **omer*, the firstfruits, and the Two Loaves which they may not bring from any other land. The walled cities are still more holy in that they must send forth the lepers from their midst … Within the wall [of Jerusalem] is still more holy for there only may they eat the Lesser Holy Things … The Holy of Holies is still more holy for none may enter therein save only the high priest on the *Day of Atonement at the time of the **Avodah*." It seems clear therefore, that holiness, insofar as it can be applied to places, is measured according to the laws and **mitzvot* applying to the place in question, and not according to what may once have happened there or to who might be buried there. As a Christian theologian put it:

> "For Christians and Muslims that term [sacred sites] is an adequate expression of what matters. Here are sacred places, hallowed by the most holy events, here are the places for pilgrimage, the very focus of highest devotion … But Judaism is different … The sites sacred to Judaism have no shrines. Its religion is not tied to 'sites' but to the land, not to what happened in Jerusalem but to Jerusalem itself" (K. Stendahl, in: *Harvard Divinity Bulletin* (Autumn 1967), 7).

However, in the course of time, and perhaps under non-Jewish influences, Jews came to regard some places as being holy and prayer offered there as more efficacious than at other places. The most venerated of these places is the *Western Wall, a relic of the Temple of Herod. While Jews were allowed to pray there by the Muslim authorities and, in the modern period, by the British mandatory government, severe restrictions were placed on their presence there, especially after the riots in 1929. From 1948 the Wall, being in the sector of the city occupied by Jordan, was not accessible to Jews, notwithstanding a clause in the armistice agreement to the contrary. With the reunification of the city in 1967 the Wall became the central attraction for Jewish pilgrims. Prayer services are held there daily from sunrise to nightfall and people come at all times for meditation. While there is a popular custom of inserting slips of paper bearing petitions in the cracks of the Wall, some people refrain from even touching it because of its holiness. The Temple site itself is even more holy, but Jewish religious law forbids entry into its precincts, as all people are considered ritually unclean because of the impurity of touching dead persons (Num. 19:11–22).

The other holy places are all graves of biblical figures or famous rabbis and pious men from the mishnaic period until today. In Jerusalem the Mount of Olives was a center of pilgrimage, perhaps because of its proximity to the Temple site or because of the prophecy that on the Day of the Lord (i.e., the Day of Resurrection according to the oral tradition) "His feet shall stand upon the Mount of Olives" (Zech. 14:4). The mount has served as a general burial ground for many centuries and, according to tradition (II Chron. 24:20f.), the prophet *Zechariah is buried at its foot. Also in Jerusalem is the tomb of King *David on Mount *Zion, which is certainly spurious. This fact did not, however, prevent it from being a popular focus for pilgrimage especially during the period when the Western Wall was not accessible. The grave of *Simeon the Just in Jerusalem is also popular and, to some degree, serves as a substitute for that of *Simeon b. Yoḥai in Meron (see below). The most important grave is that of the patriarchs in *Hebron. This shrine, known in the Bible as the cave of the *Machpelah, is housed in a building with Herodian walls, which was converted in its last phase into a mosque and was therefore inaccessible to both Jews and Christians for centuries. "Infidels" were allowed to ascend to the seventh step of the entrance, but there is evidence that in the late Middle Ages there was a synagogue next to the mosque. After 1967 this site became a focus for pilgrimage and special hours are set aside for non-Muslim visitors. The traditional tomb of *Rachel is near Bethlehem, while that

of her son *Joseph is in Shechem. In Haifa the cave of *Elijah, where according to tradition the prophet hid, is considered holy and a place for pilgrimage.

Most of the graves visited by pilgrims are in Galilee, because most of the rabbis of the Talmud lived and taught there. Particularly important is the town of *Meron where Simeon b. Yoḥai and his son Eleazar are reputedly buried. Extensive popular celebrations take place there on *Lag ba-Omer and a kind of cult has grown up around the grave. *Hillel and *Shammai, among others, are also believed to be buried in Meron. *Safed and *Tiberias are very important centers for pilgrims to the graves of famous scholars. In the former are the reputed graves of *Shemaiah and *Avtalion, *Phinehas b. Jair, R. Joseph *Caro, the kabbalists Isaac *Luria, Moses *Cordovero, and Solomon *Alkabeẓ, as well as many later scholars, saints, and ḥasidic *ẓaddikim*. Tiberias was a center of rabbinic activity in talmudic times, and the graves of the *tannaim* *Akiva, *Meir, *Johanan b. Zakkai, and *Eliezer b. Hyrcanus and those of the *amoraim* *Ammi and *Assi as well as of *Maimonides, and Isaiah *Horowitz are frequently visited. Visiting the graves of the pious in the Holy Land was considered an act of piety, and was widespread from the early Middle Ages. The custom of visiting graves itself seems to be of old Arabic origin. Nearly all the Jewish travelers who visited Ereẓ Israel mentioned graves in their accounts and, indeed, many travel books outlining itineraries and listing the graves enjoyed wide circulation. A pilgrimage to a holy grave was considered to have therapeutic value and many customs developed for such visits. Candles were lit at the grave; often the supplicants made ceremonial processions around it and prostrated themselves on it. There was – and still is – a widespread custom of placing a small stone or pebble on the grave and some pilgrims take a stone from it when they leave. It is also common practice to leave a written petition at the grave. As early as the beginning of the tenth century the Karaite scholar Sahl b. Maẓli'aḥ complained: "How can I remain silent when some Jews are behaving like idolators? They sit at the graves, sometimes sleeping there at night, and appeal to the dead: 'Oh! Rabbi Yose ha-Gelili! Heal me! Grant me children!' They kindle lights there and offer incense …" (Pinsker, *Likkutei Kadmoniyyot*, *Nispaḥim*, II p. 32).

Visiting holy graves was considered particularly desirable by the kabbalists of Safed. Isaac Luria, the foremost exponent of that school, is credited with having "revealed" hitherto unknown graves, although the location of most of them is known by oral and earlier written traditions and *itineraries. The purpose of such visits seems to have been to commune with the departed saint and absorb some of his qualities. The grave thus served as a point of focus: the recitation of psalms and prayers, as well as meditation and study there, would enable the pilgrim to reach new heights of spirituality.

Christian Holy Places

These are to be found throughout the country. They are almost all connected with the life and death of *Jesus of Nazareth. During the first two centuries the early Christians expected a rapid end to this present age and had, therefore, little interest in preserving the memory of holy sites. Moreover, as members of a persecuted religion they were unable to make public pilgrimages or erect conspicuous shrines. The story begins, therefore, with the cessation of persecution and the recognition of the Church by *Constantine (312–337 C.E.). Constantine's mother, Helena, visited the Holy Land seeking traces of the life and death of Jesus. She established the place of his birth in Bethlehem and of his crucifixion and resurrection in Jerusalem. On these sites magnificent churches were built, relics of which are embodied in the churches of the Nativity and of the Holy Sepulcher, though the present structures date from various later periods. Churches were also built in other parts of the country at the sites of various miracles and significant events and in commemoration of important Christian figures. There are several holy places around the Sea of Galilee; Kefar Nahum (Capernaum) was the site of many of Jesus' miracles and is considered sacred, as is the Mount of Beatitudes, the site of the Sermon on the Mount. The miracle of the wine is commemorated at Kafr Kana and that of the fish and the bread at Tabgha. Nazareth is regarded as a holy city in that it has a number of churches on holy sites. The site of the baptism on the Jordan River is also considered holy. In Jerusalem the stations of the cross on the Via Dolorosa are points for pilgrimage, as are the Hall of the Last Supper and the Dormition Abbey (where, according to Christian tradition, Mary fell into an eternal sleep) on Mount Zion. The Monastery of the Cross is reputedly on the site from which the wood for the cross was taken. The splitting of the Christian world into different sects gradually produced intense rivalry about the use of these shrines. At first there was a good deal of mutual accommodation, but in the 11th century there was a major schism between the eastern (Greek Orthodox) and the Latin (Roman Catholic) churches, and thereafter each struggled to exclude the other from their uses. The churches of Georgia, Armenia, Syria, Egypt (the Coptic Church), and Ethiopia also possessed ancient rights in the holy places. After the Arab conquest, legal ownership was claimed by Islam, which retained and regulated the use of shrines of interest for themselves, while selling to Jews or Christians permission to conduct their own worship in those allowed them. The result was continuous and unedifying bribery, and gradually the lesser churches were elbowed out of any central position.

In 1757 the Turkish government established the rights in nine of the most important shrines; this statute, known as the status quo, was confirmed in 1852, guaranteed by the European powers in 1878, and carefully registered by the British in 1929. The only Jewish shrine affected by the status quo was the Western Wall, as access to it involved passage over Muslim property which was claimed as holy to Islam in that Muhammad's steed Burāq was tethered at the top of the wall during the time that the prophet ascended to heaven. In many places the rivalry between the churches was settled by the adoption of different sites to commemorate the same event. There are,

thus, two Gardens of Gethsemane (Mark 14:32), two scenes of the Transfiguration (9:2), and so on. The major churches are, however, shared between the sects.

Muslim Holy Places

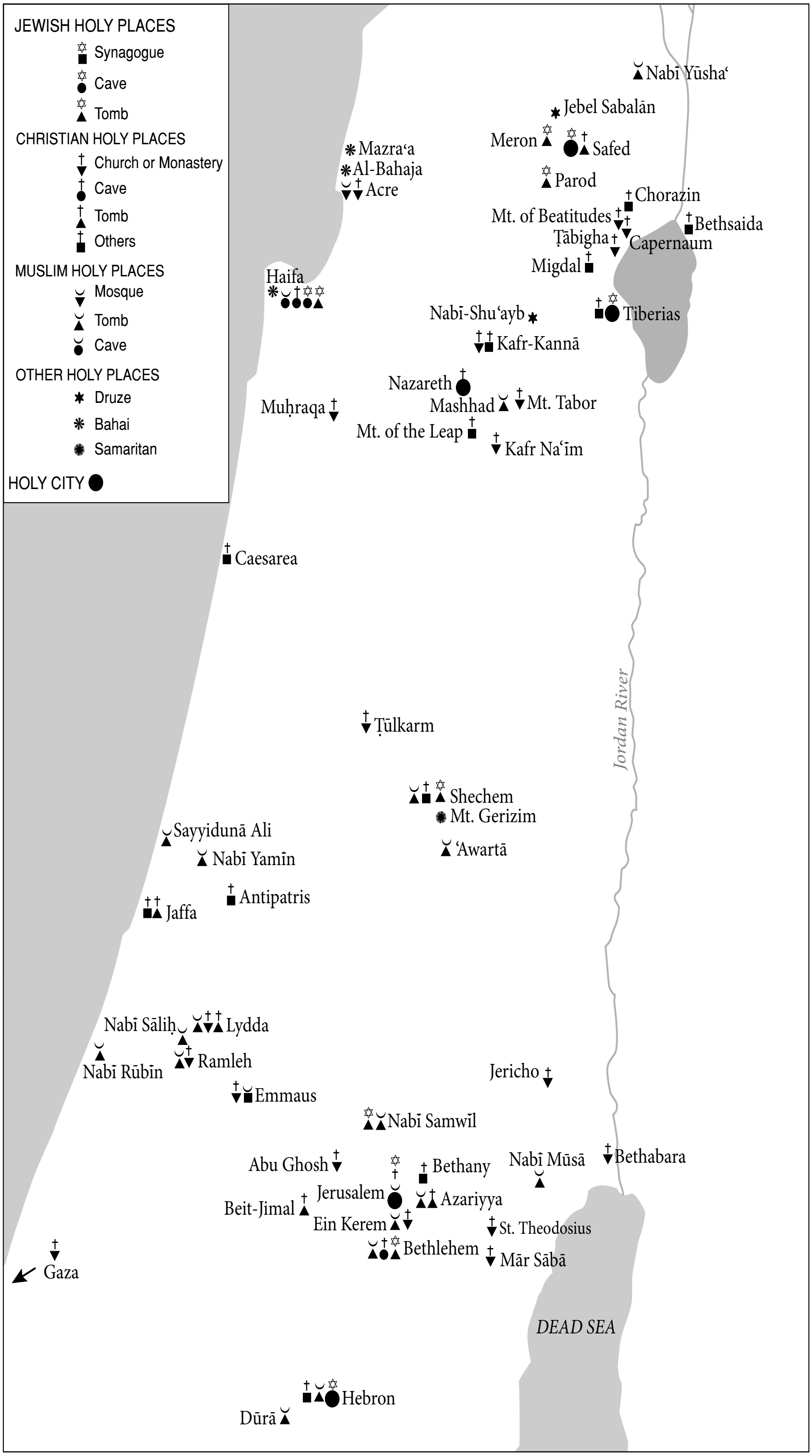
The main Muslim holy site is the complex of buildings known in Arabic as *Ḥaram al-Sharīf* and was erected after the Arab conquest of *Jerusalem at various times on the immense platform of the Temple Mount. The site is dominated by the beautiful Dome of the Rock, built by the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik in 72 A.H. (691 C.E.). From the rock at the center of the mosque, *Muhammad is said to have ascended to heaven (*miʿrāj*). Also on the platform is the al-Aqṣā Mosque, completed two years later. The name, meaning "furthermost" (from Mecca), is mentioned in the *Koran (Sura 17:2) in the description of the prophet's miraculous journey from Mecca (*isrāʾ*). As with most of the other Muslim holy places in the country, the real origin of the veneration lies in Muhammad's respect for the earlier monotheisms. The tombs of the patriarchs in Hebron and of King David on Mount Zion were both regarded as holy. Nabī Rūbīn at Nahal Sorek is revered as the grave of the biblical Reuben. However, there are some exclusively Muslim graves. Among them are those of Ṣāliḥ, who lived before Muhammad and is mentioned in the Koran, in Ramleh, and, in Herzliyyah, Sayyidunā *Ali, a Muslim who fell in the wars against the crusaders in the 13th century. More curious is Nebi Mūsā (the tomb of *Moses), on the road to Jericho, which from the time of Saladin became the scene of an annual pilgrimage dated by the Christian calendar to rival the Easter pilgrimages. Islam also claims a part in the shrines devoted to Mary, the mother of Jesus, and Muslims are entitled to pray in the Church of the Nativity and that of the Tomb of the Virgin outside the eastern wall of Jerusalem.

Other Religions

The holy place of the *Samaritans is Mount *Gerizim, where, according to their tradition, Abraham bound Isaac, and the Temple should be built. Every year the sacrifice of the paschal lamb takes place there. For the *Druze, Nabī Shuʿayb, the grave of Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, is a main focus for pilgrimage at *Kefar Ḥattin. They adore other graves too, e.g., Nabī Sabalān (Heb. Zebulun, one of Jacob's sons), in the Galilee. The *Bahai revere the place in Haifa where Mirza Ali Muhammad is buried. A beautiful shrine has been built there. Near Acre is the grave of Bahāʾ-Allah (after whom that religious movement is called), who was buried in the house in which he lived and died in exile.

The Political Aspect of the Holy Places

With the advance of the *Seljuk Turks in 1071 Christian pilgrimages to the Holy Land were severely hampered. A *crusade was called in 1095 in order to free the Holy Sepulcher and safeguard the pilgrimage routes. Jerusalem was finally conquered by the crusaders in 1099 and its shrines were placed under the protection of the Latin ruler, who was proclaimed *advocatus* (defender) of the Holy Sepulcher. The Orthodox Church subsequently lost much of its influence over the control of the holy places, which fell into the hands of the Latin Church. After the fall of Jerusalem to the Turks in 1187 Christian pilgrimages were again suspended, but Richard I of England gained the right of access for Christians to the Holy Sepulcher five years later. This was not sufficient for Innocent III who summoned the unsuccessful Fourth Crusade to the shrines in 1198. By the Treaty of Jaffa in 1229 between Emperor Frederick II and the sultan of *Egypt, Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Bethlehem were reopened to pilgrims. With the conquest of the Holy Land by the Ottoman Turks in the 16th century the problem of the holy places took on a new aspect. Political factors of an international nature were introduced. During the four centuries of Ottoman rule (1517–1917) there were many ups and downs in the struggle about the possession of the Holy Places between the two main divisions of Christianity in the East: the Latins and the churches united with Rome and the Greek Orthodox Church and its denominational dependents. Greek influence grew after the fall of Byzantium, owing to the fact that the Greeks were then subjects of the Ottoman Empire. Some of them, having attained important offices at the court of Constantinople, had a direct influence upon the affairs of the Christian holy places. It was consequently not by chance that at the same time the Greek Orthodox Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulcher was reorganized and its authority over the holy places was reinforced. The reaction of Western Christianity did not fail to come. Francis I, king of France, stepped in as the protector of the Latin interests in the holy places, and in 1535 negotiated a treaty with *Suleiman the Magnificent, which marks the beginning of a new era in regard to the conflicting claims to the holy places. The Greeks reacted in defense of their interests and the balance of the rights in the holy places was shifted several times from the Greeks to the Latins and back. Decisive moments in the history of this struggle were the *Capitulations of 1740, which awarded far-reaching rights to the Latins, and the firman of 1757, which reversed the situation in favor of the Orthodox. In the second half of the 18th century, czarist Russia entered the fray in support of the Orthodox. A further important step was the firman given in 1852 by the sultan, ʿAbd al Majīd, confirming de facto the situation in existence since 1757. The international importance of the problem of the holy places, however, was emphasized at the Congress of *Berlin in 1878. That treaty (art. 62) uses the expression "status quo," which since then has been employed to describe the de facto situation in respect to the holy places. Nevertheless, it has never been possible to define this "status quo," as there have never been exact descriptions of the de jure and de facto conditions of the situation. At the end of World War I, with the defeat of the *Ottoman Empire, the League of Nations, with the assent of the principle powers, granted Great Britain the mandate over Palestine (June 24, 1922). According to Article 13 of the mandate, all responsibility "in connection with the holy places and religious buildings or sites in Palestine, including that of preserving existing rights and of guaranteeing access to the holy places, religious buildings and sites, and free access of worship" was placed on the mandatory power.



Main centers of religious pilgrimage in Israel.

The latter in turn was responsible solely to the League of Nations in "all matters connected therewith." Article 14 required the appointment by the mandatory of a special commission "to study, define, and determine the rights and claims in connection with the holy places and the rights and claims relating to the different religious communities in Palestine." The composition and function of the commission had to be approved by the Council of the League. Thus, the rights of the mandatory power were circumscribed and matters connected with the holy places were under the supervision of the League of Nations. A very general control was indeed acknowledged. This, however, by no means implied territorial internationalization for the better guarantee of the religious aspects of Jerusalem and the holy places.

In 1947 the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations prepared a list of holy places and sites in Palestine, containing 174 names, 80 of which were in the area of Jerusalem and 94 in other parts of the country. When Great Britain declared that it was no longer willing to administer the mandate, the General Assembly of the United Nations on Nov. 29, 1947, adopted Resolution 189/II on the basis of suggestions presented by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP). These suggestions called for the partition of Palestine into two states, one Jewish and one Arab, and the internationalization of Jerusalem. The projected plan aimed to withdraw control from Israel and Jordan over the main holy places in and around Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Throughout the period of 1948 to 1967, the physical internationalization of Jerusalem was rejected by the parties directly concerned: Israel, which had the western part of the Holy City, and Jordan which was in possession of the eastern part. By April 3, 1949, the date of the armistice agreement between Israel and Jordan, the situation had crystallized. Consequently, the great majority of the holy places and all those to which the "status quo" is applied, remained in Jordanian-held territory. On Dec. 9, 1949, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution calling for the internationalization of the entire Jerusalem area and its environs. And later on, the Trusteeship Council adopted a draft statute under which the city was to be constituted a "corpus separatum." More resolutions were adopted in the following years. While the matter was discussed in the international forum, Israel always opposed the scheme of territorial internationalization as being unrealistic and unpracticable. Israel instead suggested a functional internationalization involving an international answerability for freedom of access to the holy places and of worship at them. Following the cease-fire agreement of June 1967, the Holy City was reunified and Bethlehem came under Israel administration; from 1967 all the holy places of the Holy Land were situated in Israel territory. Israel had already enunciated its policy with regard to the holy places when it declared in its Declaration of Independence, "The State … will safeguard the holy places of all religions." But following the events of June 1967 and Israel's increased responsibility with regard to holy places formerly situated in the Jordanian-held zone, a new pronouncement by the Israel government was felt to be appropriate. At a meeting on June 27, 1967, which included the two chief rabbis, the representatives of the Muslim clergy, and the heads of the Christian communities, the prime minister of Israel, Mr. Levi Eshkol, affirmed that the government of Israel held it to be an essential principle of its policy to safeguard the holy places, emphasizing that the internal administration of their sites and measures to be taken for their management would be left entirely to the spiritual heads concerned. On the same day the Knesset passed the Law for the Protection of the Holy Places, which prescribes that whoever in any way desecrates or violates a holy place is liable to seven years' imprisonment and to a five-year term if he is found guilty of preventing free access to such a place.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Ish-Shalom, *Kivrei Avot* (1948); Z. Vilnay, *Maẓẓevot Kodesh be-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1951), incl. bibl. for Jewish graves; J. Parkes, *History of Palestine* (1949), 370ff., incl. bibl.; T. Canaan, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine* (1927); S.P. Colbi, *Christianity in the Holy Land, Past and Present* (1969); H. Lauterpacht, *Jerusalem and the Holy Places* (1968); B. Collin, *Le problème juridique des Lieux-Saints* (1956).

[James W. Parkes, Raphael Posner, and Saul Paul Colbi]

HOLZBERG, SIMCHAH (1924–1994) Israel Prize recipient for special contributions in social and national fields. Holzberg was born in Poland where his entire family was exterminated by the Nazis, he alone surviving the concentration camps. He immigrated to Israel in 1949. After his army service he was employed as a construction worker, but at the same time devoted himself to organizing public libraries on the Holocaust and assisting in the publication of books on this subject. Known as "the father of the wounded," from the Six-Day War on he devoted himself to assisting wounded soldiers and their families as well as terror vicims. He was awarded the Israel Prize in 1976. An Israeli stamp was issued in his honor in 1999.

HOLZMAN, WILLIAM ("**Red**"; 1920–1998), U.S. basketball coach, leading the New York Knicks to two NBA Championships, and a member of the Basketball Hall of Fame. Holzman was born on New York's Lower East Side, the youngest of three children to Sophie, a Romanian immigrant, and Abraham, an immigrant tailor from Poland. When Holzman was seven his Yiddish-speaking family moved to Ocean Hill in Brooklyn, where Holzman became an All-City guard at Franklin K. Lane High School. Holzman then attended the University of Baltimore for a year before transferring to City College of New York. There he played two years under legendary coach Nat *Holman, learning his philosophy of team-oriented basketball that would later become Holzman's trademark with the New York Knicks. In his senior year, Holzman was co-captain of the CCNY team that played to a 16–3 record, and was named All-Metropolitan and third team All-American. Holzman enlisted in the U.S. Navy in 1942, and played on the Norfolk, Virginia, Naval Base team for two years. After being discharged in 1945, Holzman began a nine-year professional career, the first eight with the Rochester Royals, playing for team owner

and coach Les *Harrison. The team won the NBL championship in 1946, and Holzman was NBL First Team All-Star in 1946 and 1948, and NBL Second Team All-Star in 1947. That team also won the NBA championship in 1951, making Holzman one of only 10 players to win championships as a player and coach. In 1953, Holzman left the Royals and joined the Milwaukee Hawks as a player-coach, retiring as a player after one season but remaining as coach. The Hawks moved to St. Louis in 1955, and Holzman was fired after the team lost 19 of its first 33 games in 1956–57, ending his first coaching stint with a record of 83–120. He then became a scout for the New York Knicks in 1957, and head coach on Dec. 27, 1967, a position he held for 14 of the next 15 years. Holzman's record over that span was 613–384, including NBA championships in 1970 and 1973. Holzman compiled a regular-season record of 696–604 (.535) and a 58–48 playoff mark in his 18-year NBA coaching career. He was named NBA Coach of the Year in 1970 and NBA Coach of the Decade for the 1970s by the pro basketball writers; he was the first recipient of the National Basketball Coaches Association Achievement Award in 1981. Holzman was elected to the Basketball Hall of Fame in 1985, and on March 10, 1990, the Knicks hung a jersey from the rafters of Madison Square Garden with the number 613, representing the number of his wins as Knicks coach. Holzman was also named a member of the New York City Basketball Hall of Fame, the City College Hall of Fame, and the PSAL Hall of Fame. He was the author of six books, including *The Knicks* (1971), *Holzman's Basketball: Winning Strategy and Tactics* (1973), *A View from the Bench* (1980), and *Red On Red* (1987).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

ḤOMA (d. c. 330 C.E.), wife of *Abbaye. Ḥoma was the daughter of Issi b. Isaac b. Judah and before her marriage to Abbaye had been married twice, to Reḥava of Pumbedita, and after his death to Isaac, the son of Rabbah b. Ḥana. Abbaye married her despite the fact that two husbands had predeceased her by relying on the statement of Isaac in the name of Johanan that a precedent can only be established after an incident has occurred three times (Yev. 64b). After the death of Abbaye himself, Ḥoma came to ask Rava for an allowance of food and wine. He acceded to her request for an allowance for food but had reservations about the wine since he knew that Abbaye did not drink it. Ḥoma thereupon replied that she had been given wine to drink by Abbaye from a horn resembling her arm, and uncovered her arm to demonstrate what she meant. At this, states the Talmud, "a light shone upon the court," in reference to her beauty (Ket. 65a). When Rava returned home and related the event to his wife, the daughter of R. Ḥisda, she promptly went after Ḥoma and beat her until she had chased her out of Maḥoza, fearing that Ḥoma's revealing her beauty would entice another man to marry her, who might share the fate of her three previous husbands.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 411f.

[Anthony Lincoln Lavine]

HOMBERG, NAPHTALI HERZ (1749–1841), pioneer of the *Haskalah movement. Born in Lieben near Prague, he attended the yeshivot of Prague, Pressburg, and Gross-Glogau, subsequently going to Breslau. In 1767 he began to learn German secretly and later studied languages and mathematics in Berlin and Hamburg. Influenced by the ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Homberg turned to pedagogy and in 1779 became tutor to Moses *Mendelssohn's son Joseph. In 1782 he moved to Vienna, attracted by the educational activities initiated by the government following the toleration edicts issued by *Joseph II. He contributed the section on Deuteronomy of Mendelssohn's German Bible translation *Biur*; from 1783 to 1784 he taught at the Jewish school in Trieste, established in accord with the educational principles advocated by Naphtali Herz *Wessely. His efforts to obtain a teaching post at a university were unsuccessful because he was a Jew.

In 1787 the Austrian authorities appointed Homberg superintendent of the German-language Jewish schools in Galicia and assistant censor of Jewish books (see *Censorship). In this capacity he wrote *Iggeret el Ro'ei Seh Pezurah Yisrael* (addressed to the rabbis in 1788) proposing that Jewish education should be adapted to European culture, and advocating the teaching of Hebrew grammar, German, and handicrafts, and showing special concern for education of the poor. Homberg threatened the rabbis that if they did not adapt themselves to his principles the government would force them to do so. Altogether Homberg founded 107 classes and schools in Galicia, including a teachers seminary at Lemberg (Lvov). Most Jews tried to avoid sending their children to these schools, regarding them as instruments of conversion to Christianity. Homberg was ruthless in denouncing to the authorities religious Jews who refused to comply with his requirements, and in applying pressure against them. In his official memoranda he blamed both the rabbis and the Talmud for preventing Jews from fulfilling their civic duties toward the Christian state. He accused them of retaining their loyalties to Ereẓ Israel, supporting its Jewish community, and evading military service. Homberg recommended to the authorities that they disband most traditional educational institutions, prohibit use of the Hebrew language, and force the communal bodies to employ only modern teachers. He also proposed that Jewish literature be purified of superstition and that every text inciting hatred against gentiles be excised from Jewish literature. He suggested that Jews should be compelled to take up productive occupations and that civil rights be granted to Jews who obeyed the laws of the state. Homberg pleaded for the abolition of all external marks distinguishing Jews from gentiles, such as their beard and traditional dress.

Considered the expert on Jewish affairs in government circles, he was called temporarily to Vienna in 1793 to elaborate on suggestions for the reorganization of Jewish life, which served as the basis for the Bohemian *Systemalpatent* of 1797 (see *Bohemia) and for this he was rewarded with an imperial gold medal. Homberg suggested that civil rights should be granted to all Jews who lived "an irreproachable bourgeois life" for 10 years, as well as to Jewish artisans, agriculturists,

and soldiers. He regarded as the ultimate goal "to forsake all prejudices and achieve complete union with the Christians."

Homberg compiled a list of Jewish books to be prohibited or censored. It included many kabbalistic works and works of moral instruction, most ḥasidic writings, and even the prayer book. He prepared for publication a version of *Ze'enah u-Re-enah* in Hebrew characters, adapting it to his opinions; although approved by the government censorship, it was not printed (the manuscript is in the National Library in Jerusalem). When the *candle tax was introduced in Galicia (1797) Homberg supported it, and was accused of securing for himself a portion of the revenue. For this reason, as well as an additional charge of embezzlement, he was forced to leave Galicia in 1802 and went to Vienna as censor of Jewish books there. His repeated applications for permanent residence were rejected, although he argued in his favor that his four sons had adopted Christianity.

In 1808 Homberg published *Imrei Shefer,* a catechism for young people in Hebrew and German. When the French *Sanhedrin convened in Paris in 1806 Homberg published a pamphlet commenting on their deliberations and emphasizing that the Torah permits both intermarriage and civil marriage; however, in part because of concern for the spread of Deism, it was viewed with suspicion by the ruling circles. In a memorandum written in 1812 he proposed that a council of rabbis should be convened to decide on abrogations of the Oral Law and emendations of the prayer book. In 1814 Homberg moved to Prague where he became teacher of religion and ethics in the German-language schools with Peter *Beer, and inspector of Jewish home tutors. In 1812 he published a catechism in German, *Benei Zion* (approved by Mordecai *Banet), which was made a compulsory textbook in all Jewish schools in the Hapsburg dominions. All young couples applying for a secular marriage license in Bohemia and Moravia were required to take an examination in it. Most Jews of Galicia resisted the law and were married in a religious ceremony without the benefit of the governmental license. In his book Homberg denied the belief in Israel as the chosen people, the Messiah, and the return to Zion, and tried to show the existence of an essential identity between Judaism and Christianity. He denied all the traditional Jewish customs. A condensation, *Ben Jakkir,* also in German, was published in 1814. To its second edition (1826) Homberg appended a summary of the principles of Jewish religion according to Moses Mendelssohn's *Jerusalem*. He also wrote in this period *Ha-Korem*, a commentary on the Pentateuch, and commentaries on Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Job, published in Vienna in 1817–18. Homberg incurred the nearly universal hatred of his Jewish contemporaries. Even Moses Mendelssohn, his mentor, had reservations about Homberg's collaboration with the gentile authorities in order to compel acceptance among Jews of his ideas on enlightenment. Similar misgivings were shared by Naphtali Herz Wessely and later Isaac Samuel *Reggio. The verdict of H. *Graetz was that he was "morally and by performance the weakest" personality in the circles of Enlightenment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Sandler, *Ha-Be'ur la-Torah shel M. Mendelssohn* (1940), index; Klausner, Sifrut, 1 (1952), 211–23 (bibl.); R. Mahler, *Divrei Yemei Yisrael, Dorot Aḥaronim*, vol. 1, book 2 (1954^2), index; idem, *Ha-Ḥasidut ve-ha-Haskalah* (1961), index; R. Kestenberg-Gladstein, *Die neuere Geschichte der Juden in Boehmen*, 1 (1969), index; Zinberg, Sifrut, 6 (1960), index; A.F. Pribram, *Urkunden und Akten zur Geschichte der Juden in Wien*, 2 (1918), index; B. Wachstein, *Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Wien*, 2 (1917), index; M. Grunwald, *Vienna* (1936), index; M. Eliav, *Ha-Ḥinnukh ha-Yehudi be-Germanyah* (1960), index; Roubik, in: JGGJC, 5 (1933), 319–37; Singer, *ibid.*, 7 (1935), 209–28.

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

HOMBURG (**Bad Homburg**), city near Frankfurt on the Main, Germany. In 1335 permission was given by Emperor Louis IV to Gottfried von Eppstein to settle 10 Jews in each of the localities of Eppstein, Homburg, and Steinheim; it is uncertain, however, whether any Jews settled in Homburg at that time. Evidence for the existence of a permanent Jewish settlement in Homburg is found only at the beginning of the 16th century. Up to 1600 it consisted of two or three families, and by 1632 these had increased to 16. The first cemetery was purchased in the 17th century. The community continued to grow so rapidly that in 1703 the landgrave Frederick II of Hesse decided on the construction of a special *Judengasse*. A synagogue, built in 1731, was replaced by a new one in 1867. The Jewish community of Homburg was originally under the jurisdiction of the rabbinate of *Friedberg but began to appoint its own rabbis in the 19th century.

A Hebrew printing house was run in Homburg by Seligmann b. Hirz Reis in 1710 until 1713 when he moved to Offenbach. Among other items, he published Jacob ibn Ḥabib's *Ein Ya'akov* (1712). Hebrew printing was resumed there in 1724 by Samson b. Salman Hanau but lack of capital limited his output. The press was acquired in 1736 by Aaron b. Ẓevi Dessau whose publications included the Shulḥan Arukh (*Ḥoshen Mishpat*) with commentary (1742). The press was sold in 1748 and transferred in 1749 to *Roedelheim. At the beginning of the 20th century, the spa of Homburg became a meeting place of Russian-Jewish intellectuals. The Jewish population numbered 604 (7.14% of the total population) in 1865, declining to 379 in 1910 (2.64%), and 300 in 1933. Of the 74 Jews who remained on May 17, 1939, 42 were deported in 1942/3.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: FJW, 215; Germ Jud, 2 (1968), 369; PKG.

[Bernhard Brilling]

HOMEM, ANTONIO (1564–1624), Marrano martyr. Homem was a great-grandson of the physician Moses Bueno of Oporto, a victim of the forced conversion of 1497. Brought up by his mother, an "old Christian," he was educated by the Jesuits, and in 1614 was appointed professor of canon law at the University of Coimbra. He also acquired a reputation as a theologian, preacher, and confessor. At the same time, Homem was the leader of the Marrano group, including several members of the university faculty, which flourished then at Coimbra, and he officiated at the secret Jewish services they held. In a sermon

delivered on the Day of Atonement in 1615 he is reported to have taught that the essential difference between Judaism and Christianity lay in the observance of the Sabbath and the worship of images, and that while living in persecution it was sufficient to have in mind the intention of performing the divine precepts. In 1619 Homem was arrested by the Inquisition and sent to Lisbon for trial, and with several other members of the group perished in an Auto-da-Fé on May 5, 1624. Other members of the Homem family, such as Francisco Nuñez Homem, afterward David Abendana (d. 1625), were among the founding members of the Amsterdam Sephardi community.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. José Texeira, *Antonio Homem e a Inquisição* (1895); A. Baião, *Episodios Dramaticos da Inquisição Portuguesa*, 1 (1919), 103–24; Brugmans-Frank, 1 (1940), 204–5; I. da Costa, *Noble Families among the Sephardic Jews* (1936), 83.

[Cecil Roth]

°**HOMER**, early Greek poet who was highly esteemed in the Hellenistic Jewish world. He is quoted by Philo, Josephus, and the Sibylline oracles. Spurious Homeric verses, extolling monotheism and the sanctity of the Sabbath, formed part of Jewish propaganda literature. Homer was known in certain Jewish circles in Palestine. The *Sifrei Hamiros* mentioned in the Mishnah (Yad. 4:6) may possibly refer to Homer, and allusions to Homeric myths (e.g., the siren, the monster centaurs) can be discovered in rabbinic literature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (1950), 108ff.; C.H. Gordon, *Before the Bible* (1962), 218ff.; idem, in HUCA, 26 (1955), 43–108.

[Solomon Rappaport]

HOMICIDE. The shedding of blood (*shefikhut damim*) is the primeval sin (Gen. 4:8) and throughout the centuries ranks in Jewish law as the gravest and most reprehensible of all offenses (cf. Maim. *Guide*, 3:41, and Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 1:4); "violence" in Genesis 6:13 was murder (Gen. R. 31:6), and the "very wicked sinners" of Sodom (Gen. 13:13) were murderers (Sanh. 109a). Bloodshed is the subject of the first admonition of a criminal nature in the Bible: "Whoever sheds the blood of man by man shall his blood be shed; for in His image did God make man" (Gen. 9:6). God will require a reckoning for human life, of every man for that of his fellow man (Gen. 9:5). Blood unlawfully shed cries out to God from the ground (Gen. 4:10) and "pollutes the land, and the land can have no expiation for blood that is shed on it except by the blood of him who shed it" (Num. 35:33) (see *Bloodguilt). Blood unlawfully shed is innocent blood (*dam naki*) (Deut. 19:10, 13; 21:8; 27:25; I Sam. 19:5; II Kings 21:16; 24:4; Isa. 59:7; Jer. 2:34; 7:6; 19:4; 22:3, 17; Joel 4:19; et al.), of the righteous (Ex. 23:7; II Sam. 4:11; I Kings 2:32; Lam. 4:13), or blood shed "without cause" (*dam ḥinnam*) (I Kings 2:31; I Sam. 25:31). "Blood" is also often used as a term indicating general lawlessness and criminality (Isa. 1:15; Prov. 1:16, 18), "men of blood" are lawless criminals (II Sam. 16:7–8; Prov. 29:10), and "cities of blood" places of corruption and wickedness (Nah. 3:1). Following the biblical reference to the image of God (Gen. 9:6), it is said that all bloodshed is a disparagement of God's own image (Tosef., Yev. 8:4; Gen. R. 34:4), and caused God to turn away from the land, the Temple to be destroyed (Tosef., Yoma 1:12; Shab. 33a; Sif. Num. 161) and dispersion (*galut*) to come into the world (Avot 5:9; Num. R. 7:10).

Killing is prohibited as one of the Ten Commandments (Ex. 20:13; Deut. 5:17), but the death penalty is prescribed only for willful murder (Ex. 21:12, 14; Lev. 24:17, 21; Num. 35:16–21; Deut. 19:11), as distinguished from unpremeditated manslaughter or accidental killing (Ex. 21:13; Num. 35:22,23; Deut. 19:4–6). In biblical law, willfulness or premeditation is established by showing either that a deadly instrument was used (Num. 35:16–18) or that the assailant harbored hatred or enmity toward the victim (Num. 35:20–21; Deut. 19:11). The willful murderer is executed, but the accidental killer finds asylum in a *city of refuge. The following special cases of killing are mentioned in the Bible: causing the death of a slave by excessive chastisement (Ex. 21:20–21) – the injunction "he shall surely be punished" (*ibid.*) was later interpreted to imply capital punishment (Sanh. 52b); when a man surprises a burglar at night and kills him, there is no "bloodguilt" on him – it is otherwise if the killing is committed during daytime (Ex. 22:1–2); a man is liable to capital punishment where death is caused by his ox which he knew to be dangerous and failed to guard properly (Ex. 21:29) – but the death penalty may be substituted by *ransom (Ex. 21:30); when death ensues as a result of assaulting a man "with stone or fist," though without intent to kill, the killing is regarded as murder (Ex. 21:18 *e contrario*; cf. also Mekh. *Mishpatim*, 6); when a man had been killed and the killer was unknown, a solemn ritual had to be performed (see *Eglah Arufah*) in order that "the guilt for the blood of the innocent" should not remain among the people (Deut. 21:1–9).

Judicial murder was likewise regarded as "shedding the blood of the innocent" (Jer. 26:15; cf. Sus. 62) and hence as capital homicide (I Kings 21:19 as interpreted by Maim. Yad, Roẓe'aḥ, 4:9). Talmudic law greatly refined the distinctions between premeditated and unpremeditated homicide. Willful murder (*mezid*) was distinguished from "nearly willful" manslaughter (*shogeg karov la-mezid*), and unpremeditated homicide was subdivided into killings that were negligent, accidental, "nearly unavoidable" (*shogeg karov le-ones*), under duress (*ones*), or justifiable (Maim. Yad, Roẓe'aḥ Chs. 3–6). (For details of gradations of criminal intent, duress, and justification, see *Penal Law.)

"Justifiable" homicides include both those that are permissible, e.g., killing the burglar at night, and those that are obligatory, such as the participation in public executions (Lev. 20:2; 24:14; Deut. 17:7; 21:21; 22:21); killing a man in self-defense (Sanh. 72a), or to prevent a man from killing another or from committing rape (Sanh. 8:7); or the killing, in public, of persistent heretics and apostates (Maim. Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 4:10; Tur., ḤM 425). Failure to perform any such obligatory killing is regarded as a sin, but is not punishable (Maim. *ibid.*

1:15–16). Where heathens threaten to kill a whole group unless one of them is delivered up for being killed, they must rather all be killed and not deliver anyone; but if the demand is for a named individual, then he should be surrendered (TJ, Ter. 8:10 46b; Tosef., Ter. 7:20). While killing may be justifiable in self-defense or in defense of another's life (*supra*), the preservation of life (*pikku'aḥ nefesh*) in general does not afford justification to kill (Ket. 19a).

Talmudic law also further extended the principle that premeditation in murder is to be determined either by the nature of the instrument used or by previous expressions of enmity. While there are deadly instruments, such as iron bars or knives, the use of which would afford conclusive evidence of premeditation (Maim. Yad, Roẓe'aḥ, 3:4), the court will in the majority of cases have to infer premeditation not only from the nature of the instrument used, but also from other circumstances, such as which part of the victim's body was hit or served the assailant as his target, or the distance from which he hit or threw stones at the victim, or the assailant's strength to attack and the victim's strength to resist (*ibid.* 3:2; 5,6). Thus, where a man is pushed from the roof of a house, or into water or fire, premeditation will be inferred only when in all the proven circumstances – height of the house, depth of the water, respective strengths of assailant and victim – death was the natural consequence of the act and must have been intended by the assailant (*ibid.* 3:9). There is, however, notwithstanding the presence of premeditation, no capital murder in Jewish law, unless death is caused by the direct physical act of the assailant. Thus, starving a man to death, or exposing him to heat or cold or wild beasts, or in any other way bringing about his death by the anticipated – and however certain – operation of a supervening cause, would not be capital murder (*ibid.* 3:10–13). The same applies to murder committed not by the instigator himself, but by his agent or servant (*ibid.* 2:2; as to accomplices see *Penal Law).

As regards liability to capital punishment, it does not matter even that the victim was a newborn infant (Nid. 5:3; Maim., *ibid.* 2:6) provided he was viable for at least 30 days (*ibid.*), nor that the victim was so old or sick as to be about to die anyhow (Sanh. 78a; Maim. *ibid.* 2:7); but when a man was *in extremis* from fatal wounds inflicted on him by others, it would not be capital murder to kill him (*ibid.*). The categories of capital murder were thus drastically cut down by talmudic law: only premeditated murder, at the hands of the accused himself, committed after previous warning by two witnesses (*hatra'ah*, see *Evidence, *Penal Law), was punishable by death. *Execution was by the sword (Sanh. 9:1). The other, noncapital, categories of homicide – excluding homicides under duress and justification – could still be punished by the death penalty, either at the hands of the king or, in situations of emergency, even by the court (Maim. *ibid.* 2:4; and see *Extraordinary Remedies); failing this, in the language of Maimonides, "the court would be bound to administer *floggings so grave as to approach the death penalty, to impose *imprisonment on severest conditions for long periods, and to inflict all sorts of pain in order to deter and frighten other criminals" (*ibid.* 2:5). In this respect, homicide differs from all other capital offenses, for which either the prescribed capital punishment is inflicted or none at all; the reason is that homicide – as distinguished from other grave capital offenses, such as idolatry, incest, or the desecration of the Sabbath – "destroys the civilization of the world" (*ibid.* 4:9). In exceptional cases of excess of justification, as where the justificatory purpose could have been attained by means short of killing, or where the justificatory purpose allowed by law was exceeded, "He is deemed a shedder of blood and he deserves to be put to death. He may not, however be put to death by the court" (Maim. Yad, Roẓe'aḥ, 1:13). In post-talmudic times, homicides within the Jewish communities were relatively rare, and even the justifiable – including the obligatory – classes of homicide fell into obsolescence. Opinions differed in the various periods and various places as to what the proper punishment was to be: some early scholars held that no murderer should be executed, but only flogged and ostracized (see *Ḥerem; Natronai Gaon, quoted in Tur, ḤM 425; *Or Zaru'a*, Hilkhot Tefillah 112; *Sha'arei Ẓedek* 4:7, 38); others held that murderers should be executed, but not by the sword (*Zikhron Yehudah* 58; Resp. Ribash 251; Resp. Maharam of Lublin 138; et al.; cf. *Ḥokhmat Shelomo*, Sanh. 52b. On the law in the State of Israel see *Capital Punishment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Mayer, *Die Rechte der Israeliten, Athener und Roemer*, 3 (1876), 522–33; S. Mendelsohn, *Criminal Jurisprudence of the Ancient Hebrews* (1891), 58–77; H. Vogelstein, in: MGWJ, 48 (1904), 513–53; M. Sulzberger, *Ancient Hebrew Law of Homicide* (1915); J. Ziegler, in: *Festschrift Adolf Schwarz* (1917), 75–88; S. Assaf, *Ha-Onshin Aḥarei Ḥatimat ha-Talmud* (1922), 147 (index), s.v. *Roẓe'aḥ*; ET, 1 (1951[3]), 162–8, 282f.; P. Dickstein (Daykan) *Dinei Onshin*, 3 (1953), 720–30; J. Ginzberg, *Mishpatim le-Yisrael* (1956), 378 (index), s.v. *Hereg*, etc.; M.Z. Neriyah, in: *Ha-Torah ve-ha-Medinah*, 11–13 (1956[2]), 126–47; D. Daube, *Collaboration with Tyranny in Rabbinic Law* (1965). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (1988), 1:126, 175, 224, 247, 283, 287, 290f., 300f., 423, 434, 435, 500, 569, 808f.; 2:845, 883, 995, 1274; 3:1426; idem, *Jewish Law* (1994), 1:142, 194, 253, 287, 334, 340, 344f., 357f.; 2:516, 530, 531, 609, 699, 990f; 3:1033, 1077, 1203, 1521; 4:1699; idem, *Jewish Law* (*Cases and Materials)* (1999), 369–388, 638–676; M. Elon and B. Lifshitz, *Mafte'aḥ ha-She'elot ve-ha-Teshuvot shel Ḥakhmei Sefarad u-Ẓefon Afrikah* (legal digest), 2 (1986), 342; B. Lifshitz and E. Shochetman, *Mafte'aḥ ha-She'elot ve-ha-Teshuvot shel Ḥakhmei Ashkenaz, Ẓarefat ve-Italyah* (legal digest) (1977), 235; Y. Haba, "*Mivḥanim li-Keviat Ramat ha-Asham be-Aveirat Reẓah ba-Mishpat ha-Ivri*," in: *Kiryat ha-Mishpat*, 2 (5762), 265–93; A. Warhaftig, "*Go'el ha-Dam,*" in: *Teḥumin,* 11 (5750), 326–60; P. Segel, "*Velo Tikḥu Kofer le-Nefesh Roẓe'ah – Le-Pasluto shel Heskem le-Pidyon Roẓe'ah,*" in: *Shenaton ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri,* 13 (1987), 215–26.

[Haim Hermann Cohn / Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

HOMILETIC LITERATURE. The scope of this article extends from the Middle Ages to modern times (for the talmudic period see *Midrash, **Aggadah*, and *Preaching) and deals with the nature of the homily and works in the sphere of homiletic literature. For a discussion of the history and art of preaching see *Preaching.

Middle Ages

DEVELOPMENT. Medieval Hebrew homiletic literature was not a direct continuation of the homiletic literature of the midrashic-talmudic period. Contemporaneous social and cultural conditions were basic to its development. Medieval homiletic forms therefore vary in many aspects from those of the older homiletic literature, though in some respects it is still in the tradition of the Midrash. The *darshan* (preacher) might have considered the midrashic form ideal but it no longer answered medieval needs.

With the exception of the great corpus of halakhic writings, homiletic literature is the richest and most extensive medieval literary form. Collections of sermons are found in the wealth of works written by rabbis throughout the Middle Ages. The homily was central to both Eastern and Western Jewries, and was used also in philosophical and kabbalistic literature. Homiletic literature appealed to all social and intellectual levels, and persons from different stations in life perpetuated it. Financially, some preachers were only slightly better off than the *kabẓanim* (itinerant beggars) and wandered from one small town to the next to preach for a very small fee. Others were among those rabbis who achieved great fame, wealth, and influence. While the Middle Ages produced comprehensive collections of homilies centered on accepted Jewish norms, the sermon was also a means through which profound and revolutionary medieval ideas were introduced into Judaism.

Homiletic literature, a genre within *ethical literature, mainly aims to educate the public toward moral and religious behavior in everyday life and during times of crisis. It differs from other ethical literary forms in that it appeals directly to its audience. It is in fact a product of the direct confrontation between the public and the teacher and has therefore a much more immediate effect. During the Middle Ages, the sermon exerted great influence on Jewish ideology and historical development; it was the most effective tool in forging abstract ideas into a historical force. Homiletic literature is also the most continuous and widespread form of ethical literature. Beginning with the 16th century, there is hardly a Jewish community in Eastern Europe or the East that did not produce preachers whose sermons were written down and often printed. Since the 12th century, with the exception of halakhic writings, homiletic literature is the only Hebrew literary form to enjoy uninterrupted development.

FUNCTION. For the medieval listener the homily fulfilled the functions of a newspaper, the theater, the television and radio, a good work of fiction, didactic writings, and political treatises. A good sermon had to be informative, educational, and entertaining. It served as a platform to disseminate information and news, whether local or of distant lands. To the listener the sermon was also a behavioral guide for every situation with which he might be confronted. At the same time, however, he enjoyed it from an artistic point of view. The art of rhetoric, which flourished during the Middle Ages, found its keenest expression in the sermon. As far as may be discerned from extant medieval literary documents, the medieval listener reacted to the preacher first and foremost as an artist, and judged the sermon aesthetically: the didactic and informative elements were secondary. It is, however, difficult to evaluate the role of rhetoric in the medieval sermons at hand since the aesthetic value of their rhetoric can only be fully appreciated in the oral form. The sermon which was committed to writing either by the preacher or his disciples usually concentrated on didactic elements rather than on the rhetorical and artistic techniques used in the oral presentation. The vast body of extant homiletic works, either in printed form or in manuscripts, should therefore be seen only as the partial realization of the Jewish homily, rather than its fullest aesthetic expression.

TRADITIONAL FORM OF THE HOMILY. The traditionalism inherent in homiletic literature made it a popular form of education and artistic enjoyment. The listeners were at least partially acquainted with the vast body of homiletic works which tradition had bequeathed to medieval Jewish society and on which the preacher drew. The great Talmudic rabbis who had formulated the *halakhah* had also dealt with homiletics. Their homiletic sayings, and occasionally parts of their sermons, are incorporated in talmudic and midrashic literature which every medieval Jew studied. Knowledge of homiletic literature was regarded as one of the highest social and cultural virtues. No other medieval literary form, except the *halakhah*, was held in such high esteem. The medieval *darshan* was seen as a descendant of the sages of the Midrash and his role was therefore hallowed by tradition. The traditionalism in homiletics has its roots not only in the history of the Jewish homily but is based on the inner character of the Hebrew sermon. Homiletic literature is essentially a traditional art form where ancient and holy texts are the point of departure for a discussion of contemporary problems, thus showing that the old tradition is relevant to contemporary times.

In midrashic literature, it is frequently difficult to distinguish between exegesis and homiletics. The point of distinction between these two literary forms is the inclination of the writer: if he is primarily concerned with the ancient text, the work will be regarded as exegetical; but if it is in the form of a sermon, it will be regarded as homiletic The medieval *darshan* was regarded not only as a preacher, but also as the disciple of the ancient sages whose exegesis of the Bible was accepted as the one and true interpretation. Since the Jew of the Middle Ages knew talmudic-midrashic literature, as well as the Bible, all of which was considered holy, accordingly, medieval sermons frequently do not start with a biblical verse, but with a talmudic saying, which the *darshan* interprets to suit his homiletic purpose. In most medieval Hebrew homiletical works, the interpretation of biblical verses and rabbinic sayings are interwoven in the fabric of the sermon and the medieval *darshanim* repeatedly showed that the same meaning was hidden within the words of these two ancient literatures.

The medieval Hebrew sermon drew on the Midrash for most of its literary devices and, like the ancient Hebrew homily, was filled to overflowing with verses and sayings. One of the main aims of the *darshan* was to make his idea the dominant concept in the sermon and to show through numerous quotations that it is frequently found in the ancient tradition. It was customary to cite or quote the Bible to which the *darshan* would add at least two rabbinic sayings to substantiate his argument. The biblical and rabbinic references formed one section of the homily and were aimed at showing one particular detail of the whole thesis of the *darshan*. It created the impression that the sermon was entirely within the traditional Jewish context and that nothing new had been said in the *derashah*; that the *darshan* had merely expressed and emphasized in a new form certain ideas imbedded in the ancient texts which were really well-known to the public. Even philosophers, kabbalists, Shabbateans, and Ḥasidim couched their most revolutionary ideas in traditional terminology and delivered sermons whose language was readily acceptable to their listeners. Indeed, the listeners readily thought that these new ideas were a correct outgrowth out of the ancient texts that were quoted. Homiletics thus helped to smooth the way for the introduction of new ideas into traditional Judaism. Moreover, homiletics was the great popularizing agent in Hebrew literature, for the appearance of a new idea in a homily helped to gain it widespread acceptance.

HOMILETICS AND ETHICAL LITERATURE. Medieval homiletic literature was an integral part of Hebrew ethical literature and some of the most important ethical works were written in the form of homilies, e.g., *Hegyon ha-Nefesh* by *Abraham bar Ḥiyya (12th century Spain); *Kad Ha-Kemaḥ* by *Baḥya b. Asher b. Ḥlava (late 13th century). In addition, important innovations in ethical theory, ideas of Judah Loew b. Bezalel, *Ephraim Solomon ben Aaron of Luntschitz, and the ethical formulations of the ḥasidic movement, were first expressed in homiletic form. There is a close relationship between homiletics and ethics in that both aimed at teaching the community new moral and theological ideas through the use of homilies. In both forms new ideas were expressed in a traditional manner, though the sermon could generally do this far better than the ethical treatise. The *darshan* drew on all earlier respected sources, of which the best known and most widely read were to be found in ethical literature in general, and in earlier homiletic literature in particular. Thus during the Middle Ages and early modern period the literary treasure-house on which the preacher drew for his quotations grew from generation to generation. Continually quoted were the homilies of Maimonides, Saadiah b. Joseph Gaon, Jonah b. Abraham Gerondi, Naḥmanides, Baḥya b. Joseph ibn Paquda, the Zohar, Moses Alshekh, Solomon b. Moses Alkabeẓ, Judah Loew b. Bezalel, and Moses Ḥayyim b. Luzzatto. The *darshan* even drew upon the sayings of writers whose outlook was different from his own. Thus Baḥya b. Joseph ibn Paquda, a philosopher and rationalist, was quoted by kabbalists, rabbinical thinkers, and Ḥasidim who essentially disagreed with his main ideas, as well as by preachers who shared his philosophical views. At a time when a biblical verse could be interpreted in as many ways as the preacher wished, it was usual for statements by early medieval thinkers to be taken out of context and brought as proof of an idea which that thinker would not have accepted. The phenomenon is undoubtedly part of the traditionalistic character of the homily which utilized all Jewish literature and thought as legitimate sources to substantiate its validity. Even ancient ideological conflicts were forgotten so that the preacher might use the sayings of both sides to demonstrate his own concept which might differ from either earlier theory. In relation to the homily, Judaism was ideologically unified in support of the ideas of the preacher. It is one of the unique aspects of traditional Jewish literature that the validity of a work is not voided just because one disagrees with the approach taken. Homiletic literature has served an important role in the history of Jewish thought. It helped to mitigate the sharpness of ideological conflict and change, and to form a body of accepted, traditional or pseudo-traditional ideas common to all Jews. Often ideas and books rejected either by most Jews or all were reinterpreted in a homiletical way which enabled them to remain within the fabric of Jewish culture. Thus homiletics was instrumental in making Jewish medieval culture a continuous whole.

Structure of Sermon

The Hebrew sermon in medieval and early modern times was not constructed as a single homiletic entity. The preacher divided the homily into two parts, the "large" sermon and the "small," each requiring its own norms, formulas, and artistic values. The "large" sermon comprised the overall structure of the homily, which was usually based upon either a verse or verses from the weekly portion of the Torah, one of the festivals, a marriage, bar mitzvah or commemoration of the death of a communal leader or a famous rabbi. The sermon was regarded as an artistic unit with a beginning, middle, and end, whose structure was influenced by the accepted rhetorical norms of the time. It usually took about a half hour to deliver, which in print covers from five to 10 pages. The second part of the sermon, the "small" homiletic unit – the *derush* – is the basic element from which the sermon was constructed. The *derush*, toward which the preacher directed most of his creative capacity, has no exact parallel in the Christian or Muslim sermon. Essentially exegetical in character, the *derush* was derived from the ancient Midrash. Whereas the "large" homiletic unit was didactic, either moralistic or ideological, the "small" unit was exegetic – an independent homily on a biblical verse or a talmudic saying. The artistic unity of the sermon depended upon the ability of the preacher to weave a long series of *derushim* into a whole. The methods used to construct the *derush* were largely influenced by midrashic literature. Preachers did not try to reveal the simple meaning of the biblical verse, but rather to show that the verse contained unimagined depths, open to multiple interpretation. Medi-

eval preachers, unlike midrashic sages, used grammatical and linguistic methods not to discover the true meaning of the language, but to find an exegesis suitable to their didactic and homiletical purposes. Similarly, other methods, especially the various forms of **gematria* and **notarikon*, were used to prove that the verse under consideration had meanings unconnected to the literal meaning of its words. After the 16th century (see below) such methods became paramount, preachers drawing further away from the simple, literal meaning of their chosen texts.

Preachers and listeners, however, knew and regarded the literal meaning of the ancient texts. But listeners did not come to the *derashah* for an exegesis of the Bible in order to understand it better. That could be accomplished at home by studying well-known biblical and talmudic commentaries. It was expected that the *derashah* would show the contemporary relevance of the ancient texts. Further, the *derashah* was expected to be an artistic performance where seemingly unconnected ideas were suddenly shown to be related. It was accepted that the exegetical part of the sermon was, to some extent, a verbal game at which the preacher had to prove his mastery. He could, therefore, use any means of exegesis justified by tradition.

During the Renaissance some preachers read Cicero and other, usually Latin, classical writers and the "large" sermon, or the *derashah* as a whole, absorbed certain classical rhetorical teachings. For example, the structure of the homily was divided into an introduction, a thesis and its development, and a conclusion. But the impact of classical writers upon the Hebrew homily was slight and superficial, the predominant influence remaining the midrashic tradition. The classical speeches of Cicero and others could not replace the sermon from *Leviticus Rabbah* as the ideal. However, when Jews preached in other languages, in Italian for instance, they used classical rhetorical forms extensively. Similarly, the modern Jewish sermon in German, English, or French is not essentially different in form from Christian sermons in those languages. Only in languages other than Hebrew did Jewish preachers share significantly the more universal norms of classical rhetoric.

Aesthetics of Sermon

The artistic value of the sermon was based upon one rhetorical device: surprise, universally employed by Hebrew homilists throughout the Middle Ages. But the element of surprise was difficult to achieve. On the one hand, the texts used by the Hebrew homilist were well-known to his listeners, who were usually able to recite verses by heart and were familiar with the talmudic and midrashic sayings. (The opposite was true of medieval Christians who were usually ignorant of both the Old and New Testaments.) On the other hand, the didactic content of the sermon could not be startlingly new. Moralistic preaching intended to reprove the listeners and guide them toward correct behavior but did not reveal any ideas unknown to the community. Preachers who used new theological ideas, philosophical or kabbalistic, did not present them as novel, but rather as traditional ideas found in the ancient literature and used by former teachers and homilists. Yet surprise was the element the preacher strove to achieve in his homily; it was also what the congregation expected, and the basis on which his artistic prowess was assessed. Surprise was achieved in only one way: by creating an unexpected connection between the text and the theme of the sermon. In a good sermon, the well-known text was revealed in a totally new light. That every listener knew the preacher's text, its context, its accepted interpretation, and usually the main commentaries, and some of its aggadic and midrashic exegesis, actually served the preacher's artistic method. Interest in the sermon was created by the fact that the listeners were anxious to learn what the preacher saw in verses whose interpretation they already knew. The artistry of the preacher was revealed in demonstrating that the text had unsuspected depths, and that it could be connected to the theme of the sermon, though initially there had apparently been no link between them.

The method of surprise was practiced in different ways. If the sermon was dedicated to Ḥanukkah, for example, the preacher quoted a text in which there was no mention of anything connected with that holiday. Then he would proceed to prove that the text was directly connected with the occasion, thus surprising the audience with his homiletical artistry. Another practice, common in the opening of ancient homilies, was to cite two texts or two verses which seemed to have nothing in common, and which were far removed from the thesis of the sermon, and to demonstrate their unsuspected connection.

This technique was utilized throughout the homily. Often a preacher quoted a text, explained it in a surprising manner, then, seemingly forgetting it, he treated other texts only to unexpectedly show their relationship to the first text. The skillful *darshan*, who revealed surprising meaning within an ancient text, used the text as a unifying theme throughout the sermon. The method outlined above achieved the following: it brought the sacred text to life and proved it to be relevant to contemporary circumstances and problems; it enabled the preacher to extricate new ideas from the ancient texts; it gave unity to the sermon, enabling the listeners to remember its main points; and, above all – the artfulness of the preacher was a source of enjoyment to the congregation.

Although the artistic ideal discussed above was seldom achieved, most preachers attempted some approximation of it. Often the intensity of the didactic motive within the sermon and the preacher prevented this ideal from being realized. In fact, the artistic development of the sermon diminished as the didactic intensity of the preacher increased. When angered by some breach in moral behavior, the preacher devoted himself to correcting that evil and gave little attention to artistic considerations. Rather the preacher quoted text after text, each clearly related to the moral problem at hand; the demand for clarity superseding the demand for artistry. Similarly, when the preacher was teaching a philosophical idea unfamiliar to his listeners he presented texts which directly and literally

proved his thesis. Only when the didactic impulse was not so strong was the artistic element allowed to shape the sermon.

The aesthetic element in the medieval sermon is not always obvious to the modern reader, principally because of the special cultural tradition shared by the preacher and his listeners. The preacher expressed his ideas in the form most understandable to a specific community at a specific time in its history. Thus, the modern reader finds it difficult to follow *gematriyya'ot*, which were commonplace to the medieval listener. The more intense the cultural tradition within a certain community, the more difficult it is for outsiders to follow the artistry of the preacher.

Some rhetorical devices used by most preachers were not deleted even when a powerful didactic tension existed between the preacher and his listeners. Such devices included the classical rhetorical techniques of ethical literature like the story, the fable, the joke, and the epigram. However, the aesthetic value of the medieval sermon rested mainly on the element of surprise.

Another important reason why the rhetorical artistry of the medieval homily remains obscure to the modern reader is that few sermons of that period have survived in the form in which they were delivered. The process of committing a sermon to writing usually resulted in changing its structure and even its purpose. In a written sermon, and more so in a printed one, the content was not confined to an immediate problem of interest only to one community. In writing down his sermon the preacher gave the problems wider meaning and a more general applicability, but at the cost of losing the immediacy of impact of the oral version. Obviously, in a written sermon most of the rhetorical devices lose much of their effect. Because a book must be written in a form that bears repeated reading, the element of surprise, the most important rhetorical device of the oral sermon, was superfluous and meaningless. Accordingly, it is impossible to judge the artistry of the oral sermon by those which have come down to us in writing.

In writing down their sermons, some preachers remained relatively faithful to the original texts delivered orally. Others departed so completely from the oral form that the written sermon is almost a different work. Most of the sermons that survive are between these two types, i.e., they preserve the main elements of the oral form but have lost their original structure, rhetorical devices, and special didactic themes. Many ancient homiletic works did not reach the Middle Ages in their original form, but were arranged in an exegetical manner where each verse is explained. Medieval writers followed the tradition of the ancient sages and left a large body of literature whose character is somewhere between the homiletic and the exegetic. This category includes some of the most significant medieval works, such as those of Isaac b. Moses *Arama in Spain, Moses Alshekh and Solomon Alkabeẓ in Safed, and Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague. Medieval homiletic literature falls into two groups: that based upon oral preaching, and that based purely upon written exegesis. The major distinction is that exegetic works comment successively upon every verse without establishing a connection between the commentaries. Homiletic exegesis chooses problems from the Torah and comments upon them at length. This selectivity of both text and theme separates homiletic works from purely exegetic works. Homilies such as these, however, have little to do with oral preaching and rhetorical art.

History

No other body of Hebrew literature has received so little attention from modern scholars as homiletic literature. There is not even a comprehensive study of the field, and only a few critical editions of important works exist. Most homiletic works remain in manuscript, and those that were printed lack scholarly bibliography. There are very few studies of individual homilists, biographically or bibliographically. At present it is therefore impossible to give a detailed history of the Hebrew homily. Nevertheless a rough outline is possible.

In the early Middle Ages oral homilies were delivered, but preachers usually did not write down their sermons, which were thereby lost. During the gaonic period, vast literary work was done in homiletics, but as a continuation of early midrashic literature. Most of the extant midrashic works were compiled during that period, with medieval editors adding new material to the old. A few such works are *Exodus Rabbah, Numbers Rabba, Genesis Rabbati, Midrash ha-Gadol*, and later, anthologies like the famous *Yalkut Shimoni. Some original works, for example *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer, were written in a manner similar to the ancient homiletic tradition. Apparently, during this period rearranging and editing old homiletic material was a sufficient substitute for creative work, at least in the area of writing.

The first example of original medieval homiletic work is found in *She'iltot* by *Aḥa of Shabḥa. Modern studies have shown this to be a collection of homilies, delivered orally and then written down, whose main aim was halakhic elucidation but which also dealt with aggadic, moral, and ethical problems. *She'iltot* has a definite rhetorical structure, based upon a thesis, a question, an answer, an exposition, and a conclusion. This literature flourished in Babylonia in the gaonic period, and was transmitted to Palestine. *She'iltot* was translated or edited from the Aramaic into Hebrew in the form of the *Sefer ve-Hizhir* (1880), which may also be only a surviving remnant of a greater body of homiletic literature.

In Europe the growth of homiletic literature proper (excluding editing of old midrashic material) is closely connected with the flourishing of Jewish *philosophy. The first such homiletic work extant is Abraham bar Ḥiyya's *Hegyon ha-Nefesh*, a collection of four sermons, whose common theme is repentance. Abraham bar Ḥiyya was followed by Jacob *Anatoli and other philosophical homilists who created a school of homilists that continued to develop until the expulsion of the Jews from Spain (Isaac Arama, the author of *Akedat Yiẓḥak*, being one of the last of this school). The philosophical hom-

ilist faced a new series of problems, i.e., the formulation of a homiletic connection between biblical verses and philosophical ideas, derived from Plato or Aristotle, which have no basis in the Bible. The artistry of the philosophical homilist was demonstrated when he succeeded in proving that seemingly foreign philosophical ideas, if interpreted in the right homiletic manner, have a basis in the Scriptures.

At about the same time, another school of homilists was developing among the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz in Germany. *Sefer Ḥasidim*, the main ethical work of this movement, contains hundreds of long and short homilies on ethical themes, extensively used by subsequent moralists and homilists, first in Germany and then in Safed and in Eastern Europe. The esoteric theological literature of this movement also contains much homiletic material. However, the main contribution of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz to Hebrew homiletics was the formulation of hermeneutical methods of homiletic interpretation of verses from the Bible, prayers, and *piyyutim*. These methods, based upon study of the letters in each section of the sacred literature, checking their meaning in *notarikon* and counting their numerical value, among dozens of other devices, served the later Hebrew homilists especially in Eastern Europe.

To a large extent kabbalistic literature was also based on homiletic works. Some, like the Zohar and the Sefer ha-*Bahir, were pseudepigraphical and written in the manner of early midrashim. In these works medieval homiletics were expressed in the language of the tannaitic period. However, some kabbalists, like Baḥya ben Asher in his homiletic exegesis of the Torah, also developed contemporary homiletics, using the accepted medieval norms. Many kabbalists, for example, Naḥmanides and Baḥya b. Asher in *Kad ha-Kemaḥ*, also wrote quasi-rabbinic sermons in which they did not reveal, or did not stress, their kabbalistic teachings. Kabbalistic homiletic literature penetrated to new depths the symbolic significance of the ancient texts and later generations have made use of their hermeneutical methods.

One of the peaks in the development of Hebrew homiletic literature was reached in Italy during the Renaissance and the 17th century. Some of the greatest Hebrew homilists – Judah *Moscato, Azariah *Figo, Leone of Modena – lived in those periods. The general cultural atmosphere and the influence of classical Latin rhetoric on Jewish scholars in Italy encouraged preachers to devote more thought to the aesthetic aspects of the homily. Ideological controversies and moral admonishing were transmuted by a new concentration on the beauty of the sermon. All of the methods developed earlier – including those of the kabbalists – were used in a new and more aesthetic way. Nevertheless, this influence was not very great because the major source of 16th century Hebrew homiletic literature was Safed.

After the expulsion from Spain, new centers of Jewish learning were established in other countries, especially Turkey (Salonika, Smyrna) and Palestine. In these areas homiletic literature was infused with new vigor, and the foundation for later and even modern homiletics was laid. Most of the important preachers were of the school of Joseph *Taitaẓak, and the most important among them was Moses Alshekh. In his monumental collection of homilies, Moses treated every portion of the Torah in depth, raising numerous homiletical problems and developing exemplary literary homilies about each portion. Other writers in Safed, among them Solomon *Alkabeẓ, contributed to the city's fame as a homiletical center. During this period in the Ottoman Empire in general and Salonika, Smyrna, and Safed in particular, there was also an increase in the quantity of creative work in homiletics. Eastern Europe, although the population center of Jewry and soon to be the cultural center as well, came completely under the influence of the East. Many works of the hundreds of preachers in the East were lost or remained in manuscripts, but those which survived became the major source for later Hebrew homilists.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, homiletics became the most developed branch of Jewish literature with the exception of halakhic writings. The number of homiletic collections compiled at this time probably reached into the thousands. All ideological conflicts of the period were recorded, or sometimes initiated, in the works of great writers and socially sensitive men like Judah Loew b. Bezalel or Ephraim Solomon ben Aaron of Luntschitz. The Shabbatean movement also produced homiletic literature; in fact, some of the greatest homiletic works of the period were written by believers in Shabbetai Ẓevi who only hinted at this belief in their writings. Among them were *Elijah ha-Kohen of Smyrna (*Shevet Musar*), Jonathan *Eybeschuetz, and the anonymous author of the important collection, **Ḥemdat Yamim*, one of the period's best homiletic works in Hebrew.

Ḥasidic literature of the 18th and 19th centuries is, from the point of view of literary forms, a direct continuation of the homiletic literature produced in Eastern Europe by preceding generations. Like most homiletic works, ḥasidic homilies are kabbalistic in ideology and moralistic in expression. *Ḥasidism, however, is the only religious movement in Judaism which made homiletic literature its dominant, and for a long time, almost exclusive means of expression. Few ḥasidic works were written as ethical works, and since 1815 some collections of stories are found in ḥasidic literature; but collections of homilies were the only writings produced by early and most important ḥasidic teachers – *Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye, *Dov Baer of Mezhirich, *Levi Isaac of Berdichev, *Elimelech of Lyzhansk, *Naḥman of Bratslav, and even *Shneur Zalman of Lyady (whose *Tanya* is written in the manner of an ethical book). In the court of the ḥasidic rabbi, the Sabbath sermon acquired new importance because it became the rabbi's chief means of teaching the theology of the new movement to his disciples. Studying the homiletic teachings of the rabbi became in some cases more important than the study of *halakhah*. Even today, ḥasidic rabbis publish their teachings in the form of homilies.

[Joseph Dan]

Modern Period

The modern sermon, traditional *derashah*, has a tendency to find its way into print, though by definition its efficacy lay in the spoken word. Not only did preachers themselves publish their sermons, but also relatives, friends, and admirers frequently did so as an act of posthumous respect, accompanied by the apologetic statement "by public demand." Sometimes sermons were published by listeners who wrote out from memory sermons they had heard. The sermon stands midway between the *derashah* and the lecture, the dividing line, particularly in their published form, not always being very clear. As with the *derashah*, sermonic literature can be an important source for the social and religious history of a given period.

HISTORY. Modern homiletic literature begins in the 19th century (see *Preaching), but its antecedents lie in the 17th and 18th centuries. Refugees from Spain and Portugal brought with them to Amsterdam, London, Hamburg, Bordeaux, Bayonne and elsewhere a tradition of sermons in the vernacular – probably influenced by the Church (see the bibliography of Spanish and Portuguese sermons in M. Kayserling's supplements to his *Bibliothek juedischer Kanzelredner*, 1870–72, 2 vols.; C. Roth, Mag. Bibl. 322 ff.). In the 18th century sermons delivered in synagogues on patriotic occasions were usually published, some of them in translation from the original Hebrew or Yiddish. Moses Mendelssohn wrote the sermon which David Fraenkel delivered in Berlin on the occasion of the victories of Frederick II at Rossbach and Leuthen during the Seven Years' War (1757, published by M. Kayserling, *Zum Siegesfeste*, 1866; see also Rosenbach, *An American Jewish Bibliography* (1926), no. 36; also in English, C. Roth, *ibid.*, 324; Rosenbach, *ibid.*, nos. 35, 37, 38, 42). Similarly, Mendelssohn composed a sermon for Aaron Moses on the occasion of the Peace of Hubertusburg (1763). A sermon written in Hebrew on the death of Frederick II in 1786 by N.H. Wessely was translated into German by L. Bendavid (for England see C. Roth, *ibid.*; for an 18th-century example in the U.S. see Rosenbach *ibid.*, no. 80, cf. Roth, *ibid.*, 325, no. 26). On the occasion of the coronation of Franz I as emperor of Austria (1792), Moses Muenz preached a sermon in Vienna which was published in German translation; and David Sinzheim devoted one to the "glorious victories" of Napoleon in 1805. The Napoleonic Wars also occasioned sermons by Prussian rabbis as when special services were held for Jews who volunteered for the Prussian forces (cf. S.M. Weyl's sermon *Hoffnung und Vertrauen* held in Berlin on March 28, 1813, translated from the Hebrew by I.L. Auerbach; and L.J. Saalschuetz, *Rede und Gebet*, Koenigsberg, 1815). The coming of peace in 1814 was celebrated by Herz Homberg in a sermon in Vienna, and by M. Benlevi in Hildesheim.

THE SERMON IN THE AGE OF REFORM. While the patriotic sermon continued to occupy an important place in the modern preacher's repertory (see below: Subjects and Titles), the age of emancipation and synagogue reform brought to the fore the regular Sabbath and festival sermon in the vernacular, which have since constituted the bulk of homiletic literature. The traditionalists at first opposed the new sermon as much as other reforms, and for a time its use was restricted to its innovators. The consistorial system introduced by Napoleon in France and its dependencies in other European countries, included a provision which required the rabbi to deliver his sermon in the vernacular. In Germany such sermons were first delivered, among other places, in I. *Jacobson's school in Seesen, the Philanthropin school in Frankfurt, the private Reform services held in Berlin, the new Temple in Hamburg, and the improvised services arranged at the Leipzig fairs. In his *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vortraege der Juden* (1832), L. *Zunz, one of the early preachers, showed the antiquity of the Jewish homily in the vernacular. His sermons at the Reform services in Berlin, two of which appeared separately in 1817 and 1820, were published in 1823. Others among the early preachers whose sermons were published either singly or in collections were Joseph b. Wolf, Dessau; Israel Jacobson, Seesen and Berlin; I.L. *Auerbach, Leipzig; David *Friedlaender, E. Kley, and G. *Salomon, Berlin and Hamburg; and Joseph von Maier, Stuttgart. In Vienna, I.N. *Mannheimer introduced German sermons in 1821. Some Orthodox rabbis, such as J. *Ettlinger, I. *Bernays, S.R. *Hirsch, Z.B. *Auerbach, and S. Plessner soon recognized the futility of opposing such a useful vehicle of religious influence and instruction and published sermons of their own. Before the middle of the 19th century, men like M. *Creizenach, M. *Jost, S. *Herxheimer, S. *Formstecher, A. *Geiger, L. *Philippsohn, J.L. *Saalschuetz, and M. *Sachs occupied pulpits in German synagogues and published their sermons in book form or in special periodicals (see below).

SERMONS IN EUROPE 1850– . The printed sermon became a well-established genre of Jewish literature in Europe by the middle of the 19th century, a time in which Protestant sermonic literature flourished in Victorian England in particular. In Germany, Reform rabbis like Samuel Holdheim, A. Geiger, the historian Levi *Herzfeld, scholars M. *Joel and J. *Perles, N. and A. *Bruell, and Marcus *Horovitz, and prominent preachers L. *Stein, S. *Maybaum, D. *Leindoerfer had their sermons published. Congregations in Austria and the German-speaking parts of Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia, and even Galicia and Romania offered their pulpits to preachers from Germany and vice versa. Thus A. *Jellinek was active both in Leipzig and Vienna; A. *Schwarz in Karlsruhe and Vienna; David *Kaufmann in Berlin and Budapest as was Joel *Mueller. To Vienna belong the sermons of M. *Guedemann, A. *Schmiedl, D. *Feuchtwang, and H.P. *Chajes; the latter's sermons appeared both in German and Italian (from his Florence and Trieste period). In Hungary, too, Reform produced a sermonic literature in German and Hungarian by such prominent scholars and preachers as H.B. Fassel; L. and J. *Loew, S. *Hevesi, A. Perls, and A. Kiss. Even in Poland and Russia the first attempts at Reform were accompanied by sermons in German as exemplified by those published by W. Tugendhaft (Vilna, 1843), S.A. *Schwabacher (Odessa, 1875, 1884) and I.W. Olschwanger (St. Petersburg, 1879). Early ser-

mons in the U.S. (see below) were also preached and printed in German. Prominent preachers in the early 20th century who published sermons were C. Seligmann and L. *Baeck among Reform rabbis, S. *Breuer and N.A. *Nobel among the Orthodox.

ENGLAND. In England, from the middle of the 19th century, both Orthodox and Reform synagogue sermons began to be published: A. Belais (*Biblical Expositions*, English and Hebrew, 1844); Raphael Meldola (1844), I. Albu (*A Word in Due Season*, 1853); M.H. Bresslau (1858); of mild or radical Reform tendencies are those of D.W. Marks (1851, 1862, 1865); M. Joseph (1893, 1906, 1930), Israel *Abrahams and Claude G. *Montefiore (1895^2, 1906) I.I. *Mattuck (1937); A.A. Green (1935); and several volumes by Ignaz *Maybaum (1951, 1962, 1965) dealing with the theological problems arising from the Holocaust. Sermons were published by four successive chief rabbis of Great Britain: N.M. and H. *Adler, J.H. *Hertz, and I. *Brodie. Other rabbis whose sermons were published included: H. *Gollancz (1909, 1916, 1924), E. Levine (1935), S.L. Lehrman (1957), and A. Cohen (1960). The chief rabbis in South Africa, J.L. *Landau (1936) and L.I. Rabinowitz (1952^2, 1955) had their sermons printed, as did J. Newman (1958). Earlier, some German sermons had been translated into English (cf. G. Solomon, *Twelve Sermons*, 1893).

FRANCE AND OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. In France the outstanding preacher in the 19th century was Chief Rabbi Zadoc Kahn, several volumes of whose sermons were published (1875, 1878, 1886–96). Also published were the sermons of chief rabbis J.W. Klein (1863); Alfred *Levy (1896); M.A. Weil (1880), B. Lipman (1928), and J. Kaplan. Many sermons in Dutch appeared in print (see Kayserling, *Bibliothek Juedischer Kanzelredner* 2 (1872), 69–70). Some of the Danish sermons by J.N. Mannheimer (1819), who was Danish by birth and served as preacher in Copenhagen (1816–21), were printed. The sermons of A.A. *Wolff, who preached in Danish, French, and German, and more recently, of M. Melchior and W.S. Jacobson (1941) were published as were the Swedish sermons of M. Ehrenpreis (see Kayserling, *ibid.* 70–71). Among the printed sermons of Italian preachers are those of Lelio della *Torre (1834, 1869, 1879, 1904), Marco Tedeschi (1866, 1929), S.D. *Luzzatto (1857), S.H. *Margulies (1891, 1956), E. *Benamozegh (1886), D. Prato (1950), and D.A. Vivanti (1929). Early Spanish or Portuguese sermons have already been mentioned; those by the Portuguese rabbi and scholar M.B. *Amzalak were published in 1927. There is also a homiletical literature in Ladino. Sermons in Russian, Polish, and Romanian were preached and published by the few modern, usually government-appointed rabbis in these countries, such as M. Jastrow, S. *Poznanski, and M. *Schorr. Some sermons have even been translated into Marathi (H. Alder, 1878; B.S. Ashtumker, *The Jewish Pulpit and Sermons*, Bombay, 1878).

YIDDISH AND HEBREW SERMONS. The arrival of large numbers of East European immigrants in England and the U.S., where Yiddish remained their language for at least one generation, resulted in additional homiletical literature in that language. In those countries collections of Yiddish sermons were published more as an aid to preachers than for the general public (see below). There is little original modern sermonic literature in Hebrew. In 1812–13 six sermons in German by Joseph b. Wolf of Dessau appeared with a Hebrew translation. Sermons by I.N. Mannheimer were translated into Hebrew (1865) as were those by A. Jellinek (1861, 1891, 1906, 1930). For the sermons of N.A. Nobel see *Hagut ve-Halakhah* (1969). Some Orthodox rabbis adopted the new medium, such as M.A. *Amiel (*Derashot el-Ammi*, 1924, and *Hegyonot el-Ammi*, 1933–36); J.L. *Zirelsohn (*Ma'arkhei Lev*, 1932); and A. Lewin (*Ha-Derash ve-ha-Iyyun*, 1928).

SUBJECTS AND TITLES. Collections of sermons often contain material for all occasions by the same author, or such material by different authors arranged according to subjects: Sabbath (Pentateuch readings), festivals – or the two combined; bar and bat mitzvah; weddings and funerals; rabbis' inaugural and farewell; consecrations of synagogues, cemeteries, and other communal institutions; and various anniversaries and jubilees. The Russian pogroms of 1903 and after produced many protest sermons. Patriotic sermons included those given on the occasion of national holidays, the restoration of peace, sovereign's birthday or death, wars and victories – which represent the least commendable category, especially when preachers indulged in chauvinistic sentiments and addressed volunteers or draftees.

A curiosity is a sermon preached for duelling students at Vienna. Sermons to children and youth, such as those by Charlotte de *Rothschild (also translated into German) and Simeon *Singer (1908), also constitute a special category. The title, especially of individual sermons, reflects the subject of the address. Collections often appear under such titles as *Sabbath Sermons, Festival Sermons* or just *Sermons*; but more fanciful names are also found, e.g., *My Religion, Oaks and Acorns, Reaching for the Moon, God on Trial, Hear, Oh Israel*, and *Short and Sweet*. Some sermons, published in languages other than Hebrew, have secondary Hebrew titles which are not always identical with the main title. Occasionally preachers devote a series of sermons to a particular subject (M. Horovitz, *Der Talmud*, 1883; S. Carlebach, *Das Gebet des R. Nechunjoh b. Hakkonoh*, 1903; *Eḥad mi Yode'a*, 1896; S. Hirsch, *Die Messiaslehre der Juden in Kanzel vortraegen*, 1843). Others wrote philosophical lectures (cf. R. Lewin, *Mose und Kant*, 1924).

FORM AND STYLE. Sermons, of course, reflect the literary ability of the preacher. Some sermons are written in a magnificent style, others are hardly readable. Nineteenth-century preachers produced an extremely ornate sermonic style, while modern preachers use a more sober and simple idiom. Sermons vary greatly in Jewish substance, ranging from the more or less original exposition of Bible and Midrash, with morals applied to contemporary problems, to the development of philosophical themes and the declamation of humanistic

and ethical ideals as the essence of Judaism. Some sermons are long, having required at least an hour to deliver, others are short and pithy expositions which must have held the attention of the congregation to the end. There is even a sermon in verse (M. Jacobson, 1894).

FORM OF PUBLICATION. Some authors have published general collections of sermons. Others have published, either singly or in small groups, sermons delivered on special occasions. There are also collections of general or occasional sermons edited by different authors. These collections, along with periodicals devoted to sermonic literature, were intended mainly for the "professional" preacher. Among the collections of sermons the following should be mentioned: in German, S.L. Liepmannssohn's *Israelitische Predigtbibliothek*, 1842; W. Levy's collection of the same name in 1916; and, above all, M. Kayserling's *Bibliothek juedischer Kanzelredner* (2 vols., 1870, 1872). In English, *Best Jewish Sermons* (ed. I. Teplitz); G. Zelikovitch's *Der Idish-Amerikaner Redner* (521 sermons in English, Hebrew, and Yiddish, 1922[4]); the *Manuals of…Sermons* published since 1943 by the Rabbinical Council of America; the *I. Bettan Memorial* volume published by the Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1961; and *The American Rabbi*, 1961–62. For collections of Yiddish sermons see above. Sermonic periodicals included S.H. Sonneschein's *Homiletische Monatsschrift fuer Rabbiner* (1868); L. Philippson's *Israelitisches Predigtund Schulmagazin* (1834–36); *Katheder und Kanzel* (1894); and *Homiletische Zeitschrift* (*Yein Levanon*, 1912–13). For English periodicals see U.S. below. There were also homiletical journals in Hungarian.

A related type of literature are the collections of homiletic material, of which there are many in Hebrew and Yiddish, and which can also be found in handbooks for rabbis. An early work of this kind is A. Ehrenteil's *Ha-Maggid – Der juedische Prediger* (1854).

HOMILETICS. Many works, mostly lectures given at rabbinical seminaries, have been published as teaching manuals for student teachers and as contributions to homiletics as a branch of Jewish learning. Other works, like Zunz's famous *Gottesdienstliche Vortraege*, describe the history of the synagogue sermon. Between 1844 and 1856 E. Kley published his *Predigt-Skizzen, Beitrage zu einer kuenftigen Homiletik* (2 vols.). Also of importance are S. Maybaum's *Juedische Homiletik* (with texts and themes, 1890); L. Philippson's *Die Rhetorik und juedische Homiletik* of the same year; and J. Wohlgemuth's *Beitraege zu einer juedischen Homiletik* (1903–64). In French there is M. Weill's *La Parole de Dieu; ou, La Chaire israélite ancienne et moderne* (1880); and in English, A. Cohen's *Jewish Homiletics* (1937); S.B. Freehof's *Modern Jewish Preaching* (1941); and *Aspects of Homiletics* (HUC-JIR, 1957). In Hebrew mention should be made of S.J. Glickberg's *Ha-Derashah be-Yisrael* (1940) and *Torat ha-Derashah* (1948).

IN THE U.S. The first Jewish sermon printed in the U.S. was one delivered by R.H.I. Karigal at Newport, R.I., in 1773. However, recognition of the sermon as an integral part of the synagogue service only came after Isaac Leeser obtained the right to preach regularly in 1843. Leeser published his sermons which were delivered in English to an Orthodox congregation, in *Discourses – Argumentative and Devotional* (2 vols. 1837) and *Discourses on the Jewish Religion* (10 vols. 1866–67).

During the mid-19th century the Reform movement, predominantly under German influence, gained strength. The sermon as an essential feature of the service was a Reform innovation and the pulpit was an important means of expounding Reform ideas. For some time during the 19th century the most renowned Jewish preachers in the U.S. spoke in German, and many of their discourses were printed in that language (see HJ, 7, 1945, 103). Inevitably the use of German declined, especially after 1833, when Hebrew Union College began to ordain English-speaking rabbis. At this time the Sunday service became an institution of the Reform avant-garde. Such services were usually a mere framework for the rabbi's address, many of which were printed, e.g., the series of 36 delivered by Joseph Krauskopf. The Sunday service declined after World War I, though it was continued by such prominent figures as Abba Hillel Silver and Solomon B. Freehof.

Whether delivered in English or German, the Jewish sermon exhibited the influence of the contemporary Protestant sermon. After 1880, there arose a large Yiddish-speaking community whose rabbis and **maggidim* used the mode of textual exposition long developed among Jews. One of the most famous of the *maggidim* of this period was Ẓevi Hirsch Masliansky, some of whose addresses were issued, either in Yiddish or in translation. A distinguished Conservative preacher, I.H. Levinthal, exemplifies the successful marriage of "*derush*" and the style of the English pulpit. Although pulpit oratory has declined in significance, the output of printed sermons is considerable, whether in the form of single addresses or collections published by individual rabbis or rabbinical associations.

Recording devices, which are readily available, have made the perpetuation of the pulpit message easier. Likewise, there is copious material on the art of preaching. Rabbinic periodicals present texts and subjects, and even compilations of sentences and phrases, classified and indexed, intended to provide preachers with oratorical sparkle.

[Alexander Carlebach]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Gliksberg, *Ha-Derashah be-Yisrael* (1940); I. Bettan, *Studies in Jewish Preaching* (1939); Zunz-Albeck, Deraṣhot; Zinberg, Sifrut, passim; S. Shalem, *Rabbi Moshe Alsheikh* (1966); S. Baron, *Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 6 (1969), 152ff.; H.R. Rabinowitz, *Deyokna'ot shel Darshanim* (1967); S.K. Mirsky, *Al ha-Darshanut ve-Sifrut ha-Derush ba-Amerikah* (1938); Zunz, Vortraege. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Melamed in: *Aryeh Yishag* (2003), 107–30; M. Fachter, in: *Ereẓ Yisra'el be-Hagut ha-Yehudi bi-Ymei ha-Beinayim* (1991), 290–319; K. Kaplan, in: *Yahudut Zemanenu* (1994), 169–200; J. Dan in: *Ha-Safrut* (1972), 558–67; idem, in: *World Congress for Jewish Studies*, 6:3 (1977) 203–13; idem. in: *Ha-Tarbut ha-Ammamit* (1996), 141–53; J. Elbaum, in: ibid., 167–81; H. Turninsky, in: ibid., 183–95;

S. Regev, in: *Da'at* (2003), 201–19; M. Halamish, in: *Yakhin* (2002), 19–24; D. Schwartz, in: *Me'ah Shenot Ẓiyyonut Datit* (2003) 357–392; A. Taub, in: *Talmud Torah be-Halakha, be-Hashkafa u-ve-Hinukh ha-Yehudi* (2002), 101–8; M. Piekarz, *The Beginning of Hasidism: Ideological Trends in Derush and Musar Literature* (Hebrew) (1978); Y. Hasidai, "*Reishit Darkam shel ha-Ḥasidim ve-ha-Mitnaggedim le-Or Safrut ha-Derush*" (Diss., 1984); M. Fachter, "*Safrut ha-Derush ve-ha-Musar shel Ḥakhmei Ẓefat be-Me'ah ha-16*," (Diss., 1976); Z. Gross, at: http://hsf.bgu.ac.il/cjt/files/electures/sifruthadrush.htm; K. Kaplan, *Ortodoxia ba-Olam he-Ḥadash: Rabbanim u-Derashot be-Amerikah (1881–1924)* (2002).

HOMOLKA, OSCAR (1898–1978), Austrian actor. By the age of 30, Homolka had played more than 400 parts in Austria and Germany, among them the title roles in Shakespeare's *Richard III* and Eugene O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones*. For 10 years under Max Reinhardt's management he acted in Shaw, Galsworthy and Edgar Wallace. When Hitler came to power, Homolka emigrated to England. His London debut was in *Close Quarters* (1935). He also played in *Power and Glory* (1938), an anti-Fascist drama by the Čapek brothers. He appeared on Broadway in *I Remember Mama* (1944), Ibsen's *The Master Builder* (1955), and the Japanese play, *Rashomon* (1959). He died in Sussex.

HOMOSEXUALITY. Among the sexual perversions proscribed as criminal offenses in the moral code of the Torah are homosexual relations between males (Lev. 18:22). Both offending parties are threatened with capital punishment (Lev. 20:13), though minors under 13 years of age are exempt from this as from any other penalty (Sanh. 54a). Talmudic law extends the prohibition, but not the penalty, which is limited to flagellation, also to lesbianism, i.e., homosexual intimacies between women, based on the general warning not to indulge in the abhorrent practices of the Egyptians and the Canaanites (Sifra 9:8). While the laws on both offenses are codified by Maimonides (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah, 1:14; and 21:8), the prohibition of homosexuality proper is omitted from R. Joseph Caro's Shulḥan Arukh. This omission reflects the perceived absence of homosexuality among Jews rather than any difference of views on the criminality of these acts. The Bible refers to actual incidents involving homosexuality only in describing the abominations of the sinful city of Sodom, where the entire population demanded of Lot the surrender of his visitors "that we may know them" (Gen. 19:5), i.e., have carnal knowledge of them (hence the common use of the term "sodomy" for homosexuality), and again in the story of similar conduct by a group of Benjamites in Gibeah, leading to a disastrous civil war (Judg. 19–20). In addition to these isolated cases, the Talmud records that the Egyptian Potiphar purchased Joseph "for himself" (Sot. 13b), that is, for homosexual purposes (Rashi). For the talmudic period, too, the records know of very few such incidents (see TJ, Sanh. 6:6, 23c; Jos., Ant. 15:25–30). An instructive indication of the rare incidence of homosexuality among Jews may also be found in the interesting history of a legal enactment designed to prevent it. To this end R. Judah forbade two bachelors to sleep together under one blanket (Kid. 4:14); but the view of the sages prevailed that there was no need for such a safeguard against homosexuality (Kid. 82a). Maimonides (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 22:2) still followed the Talmud in holding that "Jews are not suspect to practice homosexuality," and therefore permitted two males to be closeted together. By the 16th century conditions had evidently changed to induce Caro, after recording this view, to add: "Nevertheless, in our times, when lewdness is rampant, one should abstain from being alone with another male" (Sh. Ar., EH 24). Yet, a century later R. Joel *Sirkes again suspended the restriction, except as a praiseworthy act of piety, on the ground that "in our lands [Poland] such lewdness is unheard of" (*Bayit Ḥadash* to Tur, EH 24). Rabbinic sources advance various reasons for the strict ban on homosexuality which, incidentally, is regarded as a universal law included among "the Seven Commandments of the Sons of Noah" (Sanh. 57b–58a). It is an unnatural perversion, debasing the dignity of man (*Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh*, no. 209). Moreover, such acts frustrate the procreative purpose of sex, just as do any other forms of "spilling the seed in vain" (*ibid.*). A third objection is seen in the damage to family life, by the homosexual abandoning his wife (Tos. and R. Asher to Ned. 51a). Jewish law, then, rejected the view that homosexuality was to be regarded merely as a disease or as morally neutral, categorically rejecting the view that homosexual acts "between two consenting adults" were to be judged by the same criterion as heterosexual marriage – that is, whether they were intended to foster a permanent relation of love. Jewish law holds that no hedonistic ethic, even if called "love," can justify the morality of homosexuality any more than it can legitimize adultery or incest, however genuinely such acts may be performed out of love and by mutual consent.

[Immanuel Jakobovits]

With the coming of the "sexual revolution" and the breakdown of old taboos in Western society since the 1960s, attitudes toward homosexuality have greatly changed. While Orthodox Judaism continues to view homosexuality with abhorrence, the more liberal movements have sanctioned gay congregations and even gay marriages, removing the stigma entirely from such relationships.

See also *Lesbianism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Oẓar ha-Posekim*, 9 (1965), 236–8; L.M. Epstein, *Sex Laws and Customs in Judaism*, (1948), 64f., 134–8; N. Lamm, in: *Jewish Life*, 35 (1967–68), no. 3, 11ff.; no. 5, 53ff. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Shneer and K. Aviv (eds.), *Queer Jews* (2002); D. Boyarin et al. (eds.), *Queer Theory and the Jewish Question* (2003).

HOND, MEIJER DE (1882–1943), Dutch rabbi and author. After studying in Amsterdam (where he was born) and in Berlin, De Hond returned to his native city, where he was especially active on behalf of workingmen and youth. He founded periodicals and established religious and philanthropic organizations, such as "Betsalel" and "De Joodse Invalide." A splendid speaker and prolific author, he wrote many sketches of ghetto life (*Kiekjes*, 1926), warm and rather romanticized descriptions of his milieu, and a play, *Rabbie Akiba* (1934).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Nussbaum, in: *Elleh Ezkerah*, 2 (1957), 22–28.

[Frederik Jacob Hirsch]

HONDURAS, republic of Central America with 6,975,205 inhabitants in 2005. The proceedings of the Inquisition attest to the presence of Jews in Honduras during the colonial period, but very little information is available on the subject. A small number of Jews reached Honduras during the 19th century. Central European immigrants, some of whom came via other South American countries and Mexico, began to arrive in Honduras around 1920. In 1928 another five families came from Poland. A community was not established, however, until the arrival of some refugees from Germany. In 1935 the government announced its readiness to accept Jewish scientists and educators from Germany, but the offer was not adequately exploited. In 1939 restrictions were imposed on the entry of Jews, blacks, and gypsies. Nevertheless, a considerable number of Jews were saved during the war by Honduran consuls in Europe who issued them passports and visas, frequently illegally. By 1947 there were 129 Jews in the country, and another 64 arrived the following year. During the next two decades Jews emigrated from Honduras, and a census taken in 1967 found 86 Jews in Tegucigalpa, the capital. Twenty-two of the 42 children aged 1–17 were the offspring of intermarriages. At the beginning of the 21st century there were only a few dozen Jews, living in San Pedro Sula, the economic center of the country, and Tegucigalpa. There is minimal community activity. The Comunidad Hebrea de Tegucigalpa, which sponsors educational activities for youth, is affiliated with the Federation of Jewish Communities in Central America and Panama. The Jewish National Fund and WIZO also carry on activities. The only synagogue in the country was in San Pedro Sula together with a Sunday school.

Honduras abstained in the vote for the partition of Palestine in 1947, but was one of the first countries to recognize the State of Israel in 1948 and diplomatic relations are on an ambassadorial level.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Shatzky, *Yidishe Yishuvim in Latayn-Amerike* (1952); A. Monk and J. Isaacson (eds.), *Comunidades Judias de Latinoamérica* (1968).

[Moshe Nes El]

HONEIN, the ancient port of the kingdom of Tlemcen. After 1391 a large influx of Spanish refugees, among whom were members of the *Sasportas family, immigrated to Honein. Ephraim Alnaqua was the *dayyan* of the community for a long time, while Moses *Gabbai was co-*dayyan*. The community was largely made up of fishermen, merchants, and shipowners, and included merchants who carried on a considerable volume of trade with Europe. The town was abandoned by the Jews in 1509 because of the Spanish invasion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.M. Hershman, *Rabbi Isaac ben Sheshet Perfet and his Times* (1943), index.

[David Corcos]

HONEY (Heb. דְּבַשׁ). The principal honey of Israel seems to have been a thick syrup made from either grapes or dates, called *dibs* in Arabic. It is often mentioned in lists of foodstuffs of the land (e.g., Deut. 8:8; II Sam. 17:29; II Chron. 31:5; for the phrase "land flowing with milk and honey" see *Milk). It is considered a delicacy (I Kings 14:3; Ezek. 16:13), and is mentioned as the epitome of sweetness (Ps. 19:11; 119:103; Prov. 16:24; Ezek. 3:3). Along with leaven it was prohibited in burnt offerings (Lev. 2:4). Manna had the taste of "wafers (?) in honey" (Ex. 16:31), but the Talmud declares that it had this taste only for children (Yoma 75b). Its quality of sweetness caused it to be used figuratively for gracious and pleasant things, such as the words of God (Ps. 19:11; 119:103), the wisdom of Torah (Prov. 24:13; 25:16), the speech of a friend (Prov. 16:24; Song 4:11), as well as the seductive language of the strange woman (Prov. 5:3). Bees' honey, found wild, is sufficiently rare to have been considered among the finest of foods ("honey out of the rock" in Deut. 32:13; Ps. 81:17). This wild honey figures prominently in the story of the wedding of *Samson at Timnah (Judg. 14), where Samson, having found honey amid a swarm of bees in the carcass (more plausibly, skeleton) of a lion he had killed, wagered 30 festal garments on the riddle "out of the eater came something to eat, out of the strong came something sweet" (Judg. 14:14). The Philistines, unable to solve the riddle, had Samson's wife learn the answer: "What is sweeter than honey, what is stronger than a lion?" (Judg. 14:18). Samson, enraged, slaughtered 30 men in Ashkelon to pay the wager, and departed. Bees' honey was also found in the forest, where it was eaten by Jonathan in violation of his father's oath (I Sam. 14:24–30). Because it is the source of honey, the date is included among the seven choice agricultural species of Ereẓ Israel (see Deut. 8:8). During the talmudic period, however, honey came to refer specifically to bees' honey, with the result that a distinction was made; regarding vows, the commonly accepted use of the word determined the extent of the vow, and it was decided that "He who takes a vow to abstain from honey is permitted to eat date honey" (Ned. 6:9).

In accordance with the rule "that which issues from an unclean creature is unclean" (Bek. 1:2) it should follow that bees' honey is forbidden since the bee belongs to the class of unclean insects. The rabbis, however, permitted its use by asserting that honey is not the product of the bee; it is merely stored in its body (Bek. 7b; likewise, a Neo-Assyrian text of the eighth century B.C.E. refers to the "buzzing insects that 'collect' honey"). The custom practiced in many families, of dipping bread in honey (instead of the usual salt), during the period from Rosh ha-Shanah to Hoshana Rabba, symbolizes the wish for a sweet new year. Similarly, on Rosh Ha-Shanah, an apple is dipped in honey and eaten, and a prayer for a "good and sweet year" is recited.

During the Middle Ages, there developed a picturesque ceremony of introducing the child to his Jewish studies; it included the custom of writing the letters of the alphabet on a slate and covering them with honey. These the child licked

with his tongue so that the words of the Scriptures might be as "sweet as honey" (*Ma'aseh Roke'aḥ*, 295–6, *Maḥzor Vitry*, ed. by S. Hurwitz (1923), 628, 508). Honey cake was a feature of the same ceremony. Called "*Honig lekakh*" in Yiddish, it is a favorite pastry to this day.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ET, 7 (1956), 195–201; Eisenstein, Dinim, 81. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** CAD, D 163a; E. Firmage, in: ABD, 6:1150.

[Tikva S. Frymer / Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

HONG KONG, former British crown colony (1842–1997), S. China. The *Sassoon family arrived on the scene when Hong Kong was ceded to Great Britain in 1842. They transferred their offices from neighboring Canton to Hong Kong and helped to develop this new port. The Sassoons and the *Kadoorie brothers made it their policy to employ only Jewish managers and clerks, mainly of Baghdadi origin. The Hong Kong Jewish community was first established in 1857 and the Ohel Leah synagogue, built by Sir Jacob Sassoon, was opened in 1900. The outbreak of World War II and the consequent Japanese occupation of Hong Kong temporarily suspended all Jewish activities there. The Jewish population numbered 60 Sephardim in 1882; 100 in 1921, mainly Sephardim; 250 in 1954, half Sephardim and half Ashkenazim; 230 in all in 1959; and 200 in 1968, 70 Sephardim and 130 Ashkenazim. An honorary consul of Israel resided in Hong Kong.

[Rudolph Loewenthal]

In 1974 it was stated that the Ohel Leah Synagogue and the Jewish Recreation Club in Hong Kong had a combined membership of some 450, but two years later the number was given as a mere 200.

In 1973 Rev. Solomon Truzman, a graduate of the Montefiore College in England, was appointed minister. In the same year Father Hubert Vogt, a German Franciscan Friar, brought to the notice of Sir Lawrence Kadoorie that four *Sifrei Torah* (donated in 1915 to the Hong Kong congregation) were for sale at the open-air "Thieves' Market" in Hong Kong; Sir Lawrence and his brother, Horace, purchased them and presented them to the synagogue. It is thought that they must have been taken to China some years ago and brought back from Hankow by a refugee immediately after the war.

In 1973 an official Israel Consulate was opened on the island, but was closed at the end of 1974 with the interests of Israel subsequently served by Honorary Consul-General Victor Zirinsky. By the mid-1990s the Hong Kong community was substantial in size. Its population was estimated at 3,000–4,000 in the mid-1990s and at about 3,000 in 2004. The increase consisted mainly of single people. Americans and Israelis constituted two-thirds of the community. There were four congregations with three rabbis, and the community opened a new Jewish community center, replacing the old Jewish Club. A full time Jewish day school was also opened. There is little antisemitism. The takeover of Hong Kong by mainland China in 1997 had no real effect on the local Jewish community. There was an Israeli consulate-general on Harcourt Road.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Cohen, *Journal of a Jewish Traveler* (1925), 115–21. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** C.B. Pluss, *A Social History of the Jews of Hong Kong: A Resource Guide* (1998).

HONIGMANN, BARBARA (1949–), German writer and essayist. Honigmann grew up in the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany in an assimilated family. Together with other Jewish intellectuals of the "second generation," i.e., children of Holocaust survivors, she questioned her parents' silence and decided to live as a Jewess in a religious sense, joining the Jewish community in East Berlin. Unable, however, to find her way to Jewish writing within Germany, she decide to abandon the GDR, moving to Strasbourg in 1984, where she fit into the Jewish community: Her way "from the East to the West, from Germany to France, and from assimilation into the midst of Torah Judaism," she described in her first autobiographical book, *Roman von einem Kinde* (1986). She understood this cultural change of position as a way out of the "negative symbiosis," out of her feeling of "being unable to get away from one another," as she characterized the relationship between Germans and Jews after 1945, and consequently as a way toward a positive Judaism. In France Honigmann succeeded in writing after she had already worked as a dramatist in the GDR and finished several plays. Her writing in German led to further autobiographical narratives like *Eine Liebe aus nichts* (1991), *Soharas Reise* (1996), *Damals, dann und danach* (1999), *Alles, alles Liebe!* (2000), and *Ein Kapitel aus meinem Leben* (2004), still indicating an ambivalent attitude towards Germany: on the one hand a distance from the real, political Germany, on the other an inclusion in the imaginary tradition of German language and literature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. Remmler, in: S. Gilman (ed.), *Reemerging Jewish Culture in Germany* (1994), 184–209; A. Feinberg, in: *New German Critique*, 70 (1997), 161–81; H. Schruff, *Wechselwirkungen* (2000); A. Kilcher, in: S. Gilman and H. Steinecke (eds.): *Deutsch-juedische Literatur der neunziger Jahre* (2002), 131–46.

[Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

ḤONI HA-ME'AGGEL, renowned miracle worker in the period of the Second Temple (first century B.C.E.). The Talmud recounts wondrous tales as to the manner in which his prayers for rain were answered. "It once happened that the people turned to Ḥoni ha-Me'aggel and asked him to pray for rain. He prayed, but no rain fell. What did he do? He drew a circle and stood within it and exclaimed, 'Master of the Universe, Thy children have turned to me because they believe me to be as a member of Thy household. I swear by Thy great name that I will not move from here until Thou hast mercy upon Thy children.' Rain then began to fall. He said, 'It is not for this that I have prayed but for rain to fill cisterns, ditches, and pools.' The rain then began to come down with great force. He exclaimed, 'It is not for this that I have prayed but for rain of benevolence, blessing and bounty.' Rain then fell in the normal way… Thereupon Simeon b. Shetaḥ sent to him this message: 'Were it not that you are Ḥoni I would have placed you under the ban [because he troubled the All-Present about

the rain many times; see Rashi on Ber. 19a], but what can I do unto you who importune God and He accedes to your request as a son importunes his father and he accedes to his request'" (Ta'an. 3:8; an extended version occurs in Ta'an. 23a; TJ, Ta'an, 3:10–12, 66d). His name, ha-Me'aggel ("circle drawer"), is usually taken to be connected with this incident (see Rashi on Men. 94b). Ẓemaḥ Gaon, however (quoted in the *Sefer ha-Yuḥasin ha-Shalem*, p. 63), regarded it as the name of a place, and another suggestion is that it refers to his calling which was to repair roofs – or ovens – with a *ma'gillah* ("roller"; S. Klein in *Zion*, 1 (1929/30), no. 1, p. 3f.; S.H. Kook, *ibid.*, p. 28). Josephus (Ant. 14:22), who also refers to him as a saint and miracle worker, describes the courageous act which, according to him, caused Ḥoni's murder during the period of fratricidal warfare between the Hasmonean brothers Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II. When Aristobulus was besieged in Jerusalem by the army of Hyrcanus, his men seized Ḥoni and requested him to curse Aristobulus and his army. Ḥoni, however, prayed, "Master of the Universe, these men are Thy people, and those who are besieged are Thy priests; I beseech Thee not to do what they ask," and he was thereupon stoned to death. The *aggadah* in the Talmud, on the other hand, gives a different account of his death. Ḥoni once saw a man planting a carob tree and asked him how long it took for it to bear fruit. When the man answered, "Seventy years," he said to him, "Are you certain you will live another 70 years?" The man replied, "As my forefathers planted for me, so do I plant for my children." Ḥoni sat down to have a meal and sleep overcame him. Hidden from sight by the rocky nature of the terrain, he slept for 70 years. When he awoke he saw a man gathering the fruit of the carob tree and he asked him whether he was the one who planted the carob tree. The man replied, "I am his grandson," and Ḥoni realized that he had slept for 70 years. He then went to his house and asked, "Is Ḥoni ha-Me'aggel's son alive?" The people replied, "His son is no more, but his grandson is still living." He said to them, "I am Ḥoni ha-Me'aggel," but they did not believe him. He then repaired to the *bet ha-midrash*, where he heard the scholars saying: "The *halakhot* are as clear to us as in the days of Ḥoni ha-Me'aggel, for whenever he entered the *bet ha-midrash* he would resolve for the scholars any difficulty they had." Whereupon he called out, "I am he," but they did not believe him, nor did they accord him the honor due to him. This grieved him greatly and he prayed for death and died (Ta'an. 23a). The Jerusalem Talmud (Ta'an. 3:10, 66d) relates a similar story about an earlier Ḥoni ha-Me'aggel, the ancestor of this one, who lived shortly before the destruction of the First Temple.

Ḥoni appears as a charismatic personality and the people considered him undoubtedly a kind of folk prophet with the ability to work miracles. Even Simeon b. Shetaḥ, despite his displeasure with Ḥoni's self-confidence and his wish to place Ḥoni under a ban, was compelled to give way to those who regarded Ḥoni as "a son who importunes his father." On the other hand, the story of the 70 years sleep, found only in the amoraic *aggadah*, is merely the Hebrew version of a popular legend. Diogenes Laertius attributes a similar story to Epimenides the wonder worker of Knossos in the sixth century B.C.E., and a similar story is found in the apocryphal IV Baruch. Despite the fact that the above-quoted passage refers to him as a great scholar, no halakhic statements by him or in his name are found in the Talmud.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.E. Urbach, in: *Tarbiz*, 17 (1946), 7; G.B. Sarfatti, *ibid.*, 26 (1957), 126–53.

HONOR, the high respect, esteem, reverence, admiration, or approbation shown, felt toward, or received by a deity or person. Honor is accorded to those in a position of authority (Gen. 45:13) achieved by heroism (Judg. 8:22; I Sam. 18:5), wisdom (Gen. 41:39; Prov. 3:16), or divine favor (I Sam. 24:7, 11). Honor is due to parents (Ex. 20:12; Deut. 5:16; Mal. 1:6) and the aged (Lev. 19:32; Lam. 5:12) since they embody wisdom (Job 32:7, 9). Those who have wealth (Prov. 14:24) and children (I Sam. 2:1) are also subject to honor since these possessions are a sign of God's favor. Associated with stature (I Sam. 9:2) and comeliness (I Sam. 16:18; Ps. 45:3), honor is denoted in the Bible by terms whose primary meanings are "weight" (*kavod, yekar* (*yeqar*)), "height" (*gedullah, ga'on*), "strength" (*hod, ʿoz, ḥayil*), "beauty" (*hadar, tif'eret*), or "praise" (*tehillah*). Honor may be conceived as a crown or garment (Ps. 8:6; 104:1; Job 19:9). It is conferred by symbolic investment (I Sam. 18:4; Esth. 6:7–8) and rescinded by symbolic stripping (Hos. 2:5). Charity and justice earn honor (Job 29:11ff.) for two reasons. First, ethics is a branch of wisdom (Job 28:28) whose reward is honor (Prov. 4:9). Second, morality honors God (Micah 6:8), who, in turn, honors those who honor Him (I Sam. 2:30). Thus the faithful are honored and the faithless disgraced (Ps. 91:15; Lam. 5:16). Honor is demonstrated by standing (Lev. 19:32; Job 29:8), prostration (Gen. 18:2), silence (Hab. 2:20; Job 29:9–10), shouting (Ps. 98:4; 100:1), and presenting gifts (Gen. 32:14; Ps. 72:10). These forms are employed in divine worship as an extension of their use in displaying honor to temporal authorities.

[Mayer Irwin Gruber]

In the Talmud

The Hebrew word *kavod* is the most significant word in the Talmud to express the most desirable of relations of mutual respect for the dignity of one's fellow. It is employed in every aspect of that relationship, both for the respect which is due from the inferior to the superior, but also, and more significantly, for the concept of the respect and consideration which one should have for one's equal, for mankind as such. In the former category it is employed to express the respect one should have for parents, which is the subject of the fifth commandment, for one's teacher (Tanḥ. Be-Shallaḥ 26), for a monarch (Ket. 17a), for the *nasi* (Kid. 32b), and for the scholar. It is enjoined in the general rule to "give honor to one greater than oneself" (Pes. 113b). A rigid order of precedence was established. The last Mishnah of *Horayot* gives an order of precedence: priest, levite, Israelite, **mamzer, nethin*, proselyte, and freed slave. Where the Babylonian Talmud, however,

maintains that this precedence refers merely to ransoming from slavery and to providing material needs, the Jerusalem Talmud (Hor. end) maintains that it applies to the precedence of honor (*yeshivah*) and therefore extends the list to scholar, king, high priest, prophet, "priest anointed for war," the head of the **mishmar*, the head of a patriarchal house, the *amarkal*, and the treasurer. So important was this respect regarded that it was permitted, and even enjoined, to interrupt one's reading of the *Shema* "to greet out of respect" (Ber. 2:1). Some categories (the king (Ket. 17a) and one's teacher) were not permitted to renounce the dignity which was due to them; about the *nasi* there are conflicting opinions (cf. Ket. 17a with Kid. 32b). More significant however is the insistence of the honor due to one's equal. R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus enjoined "Let the honor of thy colleague be as dear to thee as thine own honor" (Avot 2:10), while R. Eleazar b. Shammua enjoined that the respect to one's colleague should be "as the reverence for thy teacher" (*ibid.* 4:12). The daily prayer of Rav included one for "a life of prosperity and honor" (Ber. 16b). So great was "the honor of God's creatures" regarded that "God has regard to the dignity of His creatures" (Sif. Deut. 192) and honor annuls even a negative commandment of the Bible (Ber. 19b), especially the honor of the community (TJ, Ber. 3:1, 6a). To such an extent was one's personal dignity regarded that Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai explained the lesser penalty for the theft of a sheep, for which he pays fourfold restitution, compared with an ox, for which he pays five, that he is, so to speak, partially compensated for the lack of personal dignity involved in having to carry the sheep on his shoulders (BK 79b). The maxim of R. Judah ha-Nasi was that man should always choose the way "which is an honor to him and gets him honor from men" (Avot 2:1) while Ben Zoma said "who is honored? He who honors others" (*ibid.* 4:1). One had to show honor to one's wife (BM 59a) and even to one's divorced wife (TJ, Ket. 11:3, 34b). Honor had always to be given, never demanded. The pursuit of personal honor "takes a man out of the world" (Avot 4:21) and one should always shun it (*ibid.* 6:6). The popular proverb, "He who pursues honor, honor flees from him, while he who flees from honor is overtaken by it" does not occur as such in the Talmud, the relevant passage employing the word *gedullah* ("greatness") and not *kavod*, but the implication is the same. The rabbis were especially censorious against the person who "achieved honor at the expense of the shame of his fellow man." He who does so "has no share in the world to come" (TJ, Ḥag. 2:1, 77c), and R. Neḥunya b. ha-Kanah attributed his old age to the fact that he had never been guilty of this fault (Meg. 28a). The statement "It is not the place that a man occupies that gives him honor, but the man gives honor to the place he occupies" (Ta'an. 21b) has become a popular proverb.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

HONOR, LEO L. (1894–1956), U.S. educator. Leo Honor was born in Russia and educated in New York. He was appointed an instructor in 1916 in the Teachers Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he also served as registrar from 1919 through 1929. During this period, Honor was closely associated with the New York Bureau of Jewish Education and with its director, Samson *Benderly. Honor became dean of the Chicago College of Jewish Studies in 1929 and in 1934 was also appointed director of that city's Board of Jewish Education. In 1945, he went to Philadelphia to organize the Council on Jewish Education, and in the following year he was appointed the first professor of Jewish education at Dropsie College. He organized and was the first president of the National Council for Jewish Education. Honor wrote *Jewish Elementary Education in the United States*, 1901–1950 (1952). His major writings are collected in *Selected Writings of Leo L. Honor* (1965).

In his educational philosophy Honor emphasized the principle of unity in diversity. He viewed Jewish education as a partnership among the home, the local congregation, and the larger Jewish community.

[Leon H. Spotts]

°**HONORIUS**, name of four popes.

HONORIUS I, pope 625–38. In a letter addressed to the episcopate of Spain which has not been preserved but the contents of which are known from the reply of Braulion, bishop of Saragossa, Honorius rebuked the bishops for excessive mildness in their treatment of the Jews. The anti-Jewish legislation adopted by the Sixth Council of Toledo may perhaps have resulted from this letter (see *Church Councils). Braulion's reply also reveals, however, that the pope had authorized some Jews who had been forcibly converted in Spain and had taken refuge in Rome to return to Judaism.

HONORIUS III (CENCIO SAVELLI), pope 1216–27, was particularly concerned with the application of the decisions of the Fourth Lateran Council on the Jews. Although he renewed the *Sicut Judaeis* *bull in 1217, he reminded certain Spanish bishops during the same year that they must enforce the wearing of the Jewish *badge and insist on payment of church tithes due on houses owned by Jews which had formerly belonged to Christians. He took up this matter again in 1218 and 1219. Even though he agreed to the suspension of the badge for the Jews of Castile in 1219 and those of Aragon in 1220 in order to halt their move to Muslim Spain, he nevertheless reinforced this obligation in Castile from 1221. He also intervened with the bishop of Bordeaux in this matter. Concerned about the employment of Jews as diplomatic envoys and public officials by Christian kings, he made representations to the kings of Aragon and Leon in 1220 and the king of Hungary in 1221. In that same year he reminded the archbishop of Bourges of the prohibition on the construction of new synagogues. Aside from the *Sicut Judaeis* bull, his interventions in favor of the Jews were few: in 1219, he counseled against the imposition of new financial burdens on the Jews of Champagne other than the cancellation of the interest on the debts of the crusaders (against the *Albigenses), and in 1220 he took Azzach, a Jewish notable of Barcelona, under his protection. Honorius drew up an *Ordo romanus* defining the

rules of the solemnities of the Roman Catholic Church; the participation of the Jews in the solemn welcome of the popes formed part of this.

HONORIUS IV (GIACOMO SAVELLI; b. 1210), pope 1285–87. Honorius renewed the *Sicut Judaeis* bull, and in 1286 wrote to the archbishops of Canterbury and York reaffirming the decisions of the Lateran Councils and called upon the English bishops to protect the people from "excesses" of the Jews and especially from their proselytizing activities. He pointed out the danger of the study of the Talmud and called for counteractivities including sermons.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: HONORIUS I: B. Blumenkranz, *Les auteurs chrétiens latins…* (1963), 103–4; E. Amann, in: *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, 7 pt. 1 (1930), 92–132. HONORIUS III: Vogelstein-Rieger, 1 (1895), 231f.; J. Clausen, *Papst Honorius III* (1895), 45f.; H.X. Arquilliere, in: *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, 7 pt. 1 (1930), 135–8; S. Grayzel, *Church and the Jews…* (1966²), 142–79, and index. HONORIUS IV: Vogelstein-Rieger, 1 (1895), 251; B. Pawlicki, *Papst Honorius IV* (1896), 114; Roth, England, 77, 83, 129.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°**HONORIUS FLAVIUS** (364–423 C.E.), Roman emperor. The second son of *Theodosius I, Honorius ruled the empire of the West (395–423), while his elder brother Arcadius inherited the East. During the first part of his reign he was subject to the influence of the Vandal Stilicho, whose daughter he married, and to that of the bishop of Milan, Ambrose, who urged him to continue with the legislation for the protection of the Catholic religion. The laws of Arcadius concerning the Jews were also valid in the western part of the empire. A few laws by Honorius were later incorporated in the Theodosian Code (C.Th.) and partly also in the Justinian Code (C.J.). In 399 Honorius forbade the gold and silver that had been collected by the synagogues for the patriarch to be sent to Jerusalem, and had it confiscated. Judaism was defined as an unworthy superstition (*superstitio indigna*) and the patriarch as a plunderer of the Jews (*depopulator Judaeorum*; C.Th. 16:8, 14). In 404, however, he withdrew the prohibition, basing his decision on ancient principles (C.Th. 16:8, 17); it was partly reestablished by his successors (C. Th. 16:8, 29). Conversion to Judaism was severely punished (C.Th. 16:8, 26; C.J. 1:9, 16). Honorius allowed the Jews to keep Christian slaves on the condition that they allow them to practice their religion and that no attempt be made at proselytism (C.Th. 16:9, 3 of 415 C.E.). Jews and Samaritans were no longer admitted to military service (C.Th. 16:8, 16). The repeated interventions by the emperor to uphold the prohibition against disturbing innocent Jews and their religious meetings and against damaging synagogues (C.Th. 16:8, 21 of 412–21 C.E.; C.Th. 16:8, 26 of 423 C.E.) show that the position of the Jews was insecure. On various occasions the observance of the Sabbath, deprived of its religious meaning, however, was recognized, and judicial proceedings involving Jews were prohibited on the Sabbath and on other Jewish festive days (C.Th. 2:8, 26 of 409; C.Th. 16:8, 20, of 412).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Juster, Juifs; G. Ferrari delle Spade, in: *Festschrift… Leopold Wenger*, 2 (1945), 102–17 (It.); B. Biondi, *Il diritto romano cristiano*, 1 (1952); J. Gaudemet, *L'église dans l'Empire Romain* (1958), 623ff.; A.M. Rabello, in: *Labeo*, 14 (1968), no. 3, n. 21; E. Demougeot, in: *Hommages à L'Hermann* (1960), 277ff.

[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

HOOFIEN, ELIEZER SIGFRIED (1881–1957), Israel banker. Born in Utrecht, Holland, Hoofien became an accountant. He was a Zionist from his youth and in 1909 accepted David *Wolffsohn's invitation to move to Cologne and join the central Zionist bureau there. In 1912 Wolffsohn sent him to Ereẓ Israel as the deputy director general of the *Anglo-Palestine Bank, of which he was appointed director general in 1924. He held this post until 1947, when he became chairman of the board of directors of the bank, which, from 1949, was the Bank Leumi le-Israel. For many years Hoofien directed the financial affairs of the *yishuv*. During World War I he succeeded in preventing the dissolution of the Anglo-Palestine Bank as ordered by the Ottoman authorities. He issued "registered checks" on the bank, which served as a means of payment when confidence in Turkish banknotes collapsed. At the end of the British Mandate, Hoofien, in close cooperation with Eliezer *Kaplan, prepared the monetary system of Israel and issued notes of the Anglo-Palestine Bank, which became the official currency until the foundation of the Bank of Israel (1954). In the early years of the state, Hoofien was economic and financial adviser to the government.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y.A. Levison, *A.S. Hoofien* (Heb., 1936).

[Yeshayahu Foerder]

°**HOOGSTRAATEN, JACOB** (1460–1527), papal inquisitor; a Dominican monk and professor of theology at Cologne University. Fanatically antagonistic toward humanism, he supported *Pfefferkorn in his controversy with *Reuchlin, charging the latter with heresy and conspiracy with the Jews. His attempt to bring a heresy suit against Reuchlin's tract *Augenspiegel* (Tuebingen, 1511) was quashed in 1514 and he was ordered by the tribunal appointed by the pope to pay the 111 gold ducats cost of the case. Though deposed from office by the Dominicans in 1516, he continued his activities in writing. When Reuchlin published *De Arte Cabalistica* (Hagenau, 1517) praising the Kabbalah, Hoogstraaten countered with *Destructio Cabalae* (Cologne, 1519) attacking the Kabbalah as anti-Christian and heretical. He was ridiculed by his enemies in *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* (1517).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Graetz, Hist, 4 (1949), 422ff.; Dubnow, Divrei, 6 (1958²), 95–99.

HOOK, SIDNEY (1902–1989), U.S. philosopher. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Hook received his B.A. from the City College of New York and his M.A. and Ph.D. from Columbia University, where he was a student of John Dewey. Hook began to teach at New York University in 1927. He served as the head of the Department of Philosophy of NYU from 1948 to 1969,

during which time he founded the New York University Institute of Philosophy. He was president of the American Philosophical Society, Eastern Division, 1959. From 1973 to 1989 he was a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University.

Hook's main concerns as a philosopher lay in the areas of social and political thought in which he defended, against opponents of the Right and Left, a socialist form of political democracy. His philosophy in this connection may be summarized by his comment that "Orthodoxy is not only fatal to honest thinking; it invited the abandonment of the revolutionary standpoint which was central to Marx's life and thought." Besides his theoretical interests, Hook was active on the political level, both in the formation of and participation in organizations directed against the spread of Communist influence in the United States. Best known for his staunch defense of academic and political freedom and his stand against any form of totalitarianism, Hook was one of the organizers of the Committee for Cultural Freedom. In 1985 he was awarded the presidential Medal of Freedom.

In 1991 the Phi Beta Kappa Society established the Sidney Hook Memorial Award, a monetary prize that recognizes national distinction by a single scholar in scholarship, undergraduate teaching, and leadership in the cause of liberal arts education.

A prolific writer, some of Hook's main books are *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx* (1933), *Reason, Social Myths, and Democracy* (1940), *The Hero in History* (1943), *Education for Modern Man* (1946), *The Quest for Being* (1961), *The Paradoxes of Freedom* (1962), *Religion in a Free Society* (1967), *Academic Freedom and Academic Anarchy* (1970), *Heresy, Yes – Conspiracy, No* (1973), *Philosophy and Public Policy* (1980), *Marxism and Beyond* (1983), *Out of Step: An Unquiet Life in the 20th Century* (his autobiography, 1987), and *Convictions* (1990). *The Metaphysics of Pragmatism* was published in 1996.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Phelps, *Young Sidney Hook: Marxist and Pragmatist* (1997); B. Levine, *Sidney Hook: A Checklist of Writings* (1989); P. Kurtz (ed.), *Sidney Hook: Philosopher of Democracy and Humanism* (1983).

[Avrum Stroll / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HOOPOE (Heb. דּוּכִיפַת; AV "lapwing"), bird included in the Pentateuch among the unclean birds (Lev. 11:19; Deut. 14:18). The hoopoe was confused by Karaites with the chicken, for which reason they prohibited the eating of the latter (see Ibn Ezra on Lev. 11:19), even though the two are in fact distinguished from each other by many characteristics. Because of its crest, which is no more than an erectile tuft of feathers, the hoopoe is called "the wild cock" in the Talmud (Git. 68b). Smaller than a dove, it feeds on insects, and is distinguished by its beautifully colored plumage. Its flesh exudes an offensive smell which is particularly strong near its nest and repels anyone trying to approach it. This perhaps was the reason for certain legends associated with it, such as that it guards treasures in its nest, and was entrusted with transporting the *shamir*, the miraculous worm that split the stones for the Temple, the use of an iron tool for the purpose having been prohibited (Deut. 27:5; Ḥul. 63a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F.S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (1960), 55–56; J. Feliks, *Animal World of the Bible* (1962), 90.

[Jehuda Feliks]

HOPHNI AND PHINEHAS (Heb. חָפְנִי, Egyptian *ḥfn*(*r*), "tadpole"; Heb. פִּנְחָס, Egyptian *pi-nḥsy*, "the dark-skinned one"), the two sons of *Eli who served with him as priests in Shiloh (I Sam. 1:3). The fact that both had Egyptian names may be explained by the family's Pharaonic connection (I Sam. 2:27). The Bible designates them "sons of *Belial," "thoroughly worthless individuals" (Sperling), and describes in detail the ways in which they abused their priestly privileges. They intimidated sacrificers into giving them meat for their own use (I Sam. 2:13–17), and took sexual advantage of the women who worked at the entrance to the tabernacle (I Sam. 2:22). Hophni and Phinehas disregarded their father's rebuke (2:22–25), and he did not admonish them further (3:13). Accordingly, Eli received prophetic messages of doom (2:27–36; 3:11–18), foretelling, among other things, the death of Hophni and Phinehas on the same day (2:34). At the time of the battle between the Philistines and Israel at Aphek (I Sam. 4), the Ark of the Covenant of God was taken from Shiloh by Hophni and Phinehas in the belief that its presence on the battlefield would ensure victory. Instead, the results were disastrous: Israel's army was defeated, Hophni and Phinehas were killed, and the Ark was captured by the Philistines. When the news reached Eli (4:14ff.), he, too, died. Phinehas' pregnant wife went into labor on hearing of the calamity and died while giving birth. She called her orphaned son Ichabod ("where is the glory?"; 4:19–22).

The narrative of Hophni and Phinehas, which is also the account of the decline of the priestly house of Eli, is accompanied by the parallel narrative of the ascent of Samuel. The text emphasizes the character differences between Hophni and Phinehas and Samuel (cf. e.g., I Sam. 2:11 with 12; 2:13–17 with 18–20; 2:22–25 with 26).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (1913^2), 29–50; H. Ranke, *Ägyptishe Personennamen*, 1 (1935), 239; T.J. Meek, in: AJSLL, 56 (1939), 113–20; L. Waterman, in: AJSLL, 58 (1941), 55–56; Koehler-Baumgartner, 321, 759; W.F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (1968), 143, esp. n. 34. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S.D. Sperling, in: DDD, 169–71.

HOPHRA (Heb. חָפְרַע; Egyptian Haʿaibre-Wahibe, "the heart of Ra appears"), king of Egypt of the 26th dynasty, 589–570 B.C.E. It is not clear precisely what role Hophra played as an ally of *Zedekiah of Judah during the latter's revolt against the Babylonians in 589 (cf. Jer. 37: 5–11 with Jer. 44:30). As the Egyptian records make no mention of these events, the sole sources are Greek and biblical. Hophra (Apriēs in the Greek sources) apparently seized the opportunity presented by Zedekiah's revolt to invade Cyprus and Phoenicia (Herodotus, 2:161), at first successfully, taking "Sidon by storm" and re-

turning to Egypt "with much booty" (Diodorus Siculus, 1:68). However, since Zedekiah's revolt was crushed two years later, it may be assumed that either the Egyptians were eventually repulsed by Nebuchadnezzar or else that the invasion of Phoenicia, undertaken on the pretext of aiding the Jews, was actually intended to aggrandize the Egyptians. According to Manetho (C. Mueller, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, 2 (1853), nos. 68–69) "the remnant of the Jews fled to him, when Jerusalem was captured by the Assyrians" (sic), a fact confirmed by Jeremiah 43:5–7. The reference to Hophra in Jeremiah 44:30 does not shed much light on these events; it foretells, rather, Hophra's death at the hands of his enemies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jer. 39–44; Herodotus, 2:161–3; 4:159; A. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (1961), 360–1. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Redford, in: ABD, 3:286–87.

[Alan Richard Schulman]

HOR (Heb. הֹר הָהָר). (1) A mountain in the Negev, on the border of the land of Edom (Num. 20:23; 33:37, "in the edge of the land of Edom"). During the Exodus, it was the first station of the Israelites after Kadesh-Barnea on the way to Zalmonah and Punon (*ibid.* 33:41–42). It is referred to as the burial place of Aaron (*ibid.* 20:22–29; 33:38–39; Deut. 32:50), but according to another account, Aaron died in Moserah, between Beeroth-Bene-Jaakan and Gudgod (before Jotbah) in the Arabah (Deut. 10:6–7). The Bible relates that when the Israelites arrived at Mount Hor, the king of Arad dwelt (i.e., ruled) in the Negev (Num. 33:40), and accordingly G.L. Robinson identified the mountain with Jebel Maḍra (Moserah), an isolated limestone peak south of the Great Makhtesh and the brook of Zin, on the road between Kadesh and the Arabah. F.M. Abel, on the other hand, identified Beeroth-Bene-Jaakan with Beerothaim (Bīr) Bīrayn) and located Mount Hor, on the basis of the name Wadi Hārūniyya (Aaron's Brook), closer to ʿAyn al-Qudayrāt (Kadesh-Barnea), at a spot 10½ mi. (17 km.) northwest of it. Alternatively, he suggested Avedat, called al-Maḍra (Moserah) – following an identification made by the Arab writer el-Maqrīzī. Another proposal, put forth by S. Loewenstamm, is the ridge above Kadesh-Barnea, and another suggestion is ʿImārat al-Khuraysha, a mountain near Kadesh. A popular tradition, dating from the time of Josephus (Ant. 4:82–83, and followed by Eusebius, Onom. 176:7–8), located Kadesh-Barnea in the valley of Petra and identified Mount Hor with Jebel Hārūn (Mt. Aaron), 4,692 ft. (1,400 m.) high, west of Petra. Remains of a Byzantine church and the tomb of a Muslim *wali* ("holy man") from the time of the Mamluk sultan Qalʿūn have been found there.

(2) A landmark designating the northern limit of Israelite territory (i.e., of the land of Canaan) near the coast of the Mediterranean (Num. 34:7). Its location is determined by means of another point mentioned on the northern frontier – Lebo-Hamath, which is Libwa in the plain of Lebanon, and Mount Hor is accordingly identified with either Jebel ʿAkkār or Jebel Makmal in northern Lebanon. Another proposal, based on the possibility of a connection between Hor and the Egyptian god Hor, identifies it with the frontier mark of Ra's al-Shaqqa, north of Byblos.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: (1): EM, S.V.; Aharoni, Land, index; Abel, Geog, 1 (1933), 386ff.; 2 (1938), 215; Glueck, in: AASOR, 15 (1935), 116–7. (2): Abel, Geog, 1 (1933), 302; Maisler, in: RHJE, 1 (1947), 46 n. 2; Aharoni, Land, index.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

°**HORACE, QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS** (65–8 B.C.E.), Roman lyric poet and satirist. At the beginning of one of his *Satires* (1:4, 10) he describes a poet as scribbling bad verse while "standing on one foot," which was the phrase used by the proselyte who approached *Hillel, Horace's contemporary (Shab. 31a). At the end of the *Satires* (1:4) he refers to the zeal of Jewish missionary activity: "We are much more numerous, and like the Jews we shall force you to join our throng," perhaps a satirical reference to Exodus 23:2. The "thirtieth Sabbath" (*Satires*, 1:9, 69), which has been variously identified as *Shabbat Parashat ha-Ḥodesh, Shabbat ha-Gadol*, Passover, the Day of Atonement, Tabernacles, *Shabbat Rosh Ḥodesh* ("the thirtieth, a Sabbath"), the thirtieth anniversary of the conquest of Palestine by Pompey, or the thirtieth Sabbath as numbered by the sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls, is most probably a deliberately meaningless reference to Jewish superstition, so sharply attacked by the other Roman satirists, notably *Juvenal. Elsewhere (*Satires*, 1:5, 100) Horace refers to the gullibility of the Jew Apella as a byword and contrasts the Epicurean view of the gods with the providential "sad" theology of the Jews (perhaps an allusion to the alleged fasting on the Sabbath mentioned by other Roman writers such as Trogus *Pompeius, *Augustus, Strabo, Persius, *Petronius, and *Martial). The name Apella is perhaps Horace's satirical reference to circumcision, since, as the fourth-century commentator Porphyrion suggests, the name may be Horace's deliberately ridiculous etymology alluding to the Jews as being without a foreskin (*pellis*). In considering Horace's statements about the Jews, one must always remember that he is a satirist, though relatively more gentle than Juvenal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Reinach, Textes, 244–7; M. Radin, *Jews among the Greeks and Romans* (1915), 245–9, 399–402; Alexander, in: *Classical Philology*, 37 (1942), 385–97; Baumgarten, in: VT, 16 (1966), 277–86.

[Louis Harry Feldman]

HORAH, the best-known folk dance of pioneer Ereẓ Israel. The dance is derived chiefly from the Romanian *hora* (a term going back ultimately to the Greek *choros*; cf. the Bulgarian *horo*, the Yugoslav *kolo*, and the Russian *khorovod*). To perform this dance the participants interlock arms behind their backs or on their shoulders, then take two running steps to the right, jump on the left foot, at first slowly and then accelerating (sometimes the dancers begin with a slow stationary swaying). In the course of time the energy-expending movements – strong stamps and kicks – diminished somewhat, and at present the arms are often held downward with simple hand-holding.

The earliest *horah*-like dances were apparently *El Yivneh ha-Galil*, of which three melodies became current during the Second Aliyah (1904–14), and *Havah Nerannenah*. The *horah* proper developed during the Third Aliyah (1919–23) and reached its apogee during the Fourth Aliyah (1924–31) with the dance-songs *Kumah Eḥa* (S. Postolsky, I. Shenhar), *Havah Neẓe ba-Maḥol* (Y. Admon), *Anu Banu Arẓah* (composer and author unknown), *Ein Zeh Pele* ("corrupted" to *Eizeh Pele*, S. Postolsky, N. Alterman), *Horah Medurah* (Y. Walbe, N. Alterman) and others (*Emek, Emek Avodah*, by E. Amiran and A. Wolf was written only in 1933). The typical rhythm of the *horah* melodies is based on the syncope: with the initial eighth note sometimes substituted by a rest in 2/4 or 4/4 measure, counterpointed by the six-beat sequence of the steps. Melodically, the ḥasidic *niggun* was the most important primary source, which soon became overlaid by other thematic elements.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.Z. Idelsohn, *Sefer ha-Shirim* (1922^2); idem, *Thesaurus of Hebrew Oriental Melodies*, 9 (1932), no. 510; S. Rosowsky (ed.), *Mi-Zimrat ha-Areẓ* (1929); J. Schoenberg (ed.), *Shirei Ereẓ Yisrael* (1935, repr. 1937), 185–205 and passim; G. Kadman (Kaufmann), *Horah Aggadati* (1946); idem, *Am Roked* (1969); idem and T. Hodes (eds.), *10 Israeli Folk Dances* (1959), 4–5 (with dance instructions); S. Shapira (ed.), *Mi-Shirei ha-Aliyyah ha-Rishonah* (1948); S. Kaplan (ed.), *30 Shirim ve-Niggunim le-Yovel ha-Aliyyah ha-Sheniyyah* (1954); idem, *Shirei ha-Aliyyah ha-Shelishit* (1960); Z. Friedhaber, in: *Yeda Am*, 6 (1960), 25–27.

[Yohanan Boehm]

HORAYOT (Heb. הוֹרָיוֹת; "Rulings"), short tractate in three chapters, attached to the order of *Nezikin* in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. Its scriptural basis is Leviticus 4 and Numbers 15:22–31. The biblical phrase "sinning through error" is understood here to refer to erroneous rulings by the high priest or the high court (the Sanhedrin), leading to the inadvertent violation of precepts, which, if willfully transgressed, would have been deserving of **karet*. The first chapter discusses the various aspects of erroneous decisions issuing from the *bet din*, especially if the error led to idolatry. The second chapter begins with the problem of erroneous decisions issuing from the high priest, but goes on to discuss the conditions (nature of error, particular types of precepts) which make the rules of erroneous decisions applicable. The particular position of the ruler (*nasi*) who unwittingly commits a sin is also entered into (cf. Lev. 4:22). At first, the third chapter deals with retiring high priests and rulers who committed a sin before or after retirement, but then digresses on questions of precedence: under what circumstances does a man have precedence over his wife and vice versa; all things being equal, the order of precedence is priest, levite, Israelite, **mamzer*, etc., but (and with this the tractate concludes) a learned *mamzer* takes precedence over an ignorant high priest.

The Babylonian *Gemara* to *Horayot* has a considerable amount of *aggadah*, especially in the third chapter. It includes the incident involving R. Meir and R. Nathan, against whom Rabban *Simeon b. Gamaliel took strict disciplinary measures to enforce patriarchal authority. The *Gemara* ends with the well-known dispute as to which of the two types of scholars is preferable: one who has a wide and solid knowledge but is of moderate intellect, or one who has a brilliant brain but is not so well read. The *Gemara* of the Jerusalem Talmud to *Horayot* was appended to the Babylonian tractate by the early Venetian printers because they found no *tosafot* to this tractate and the Jerusalem *Gemara* took its place. From the Frankfurt edition of 1720 the text was tampered with by every printer up to the Romm edition. The first edition (Venice, 1521) is the best as far as the text is concerned, but its text is still in a very corrupt form.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Liebermann, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel le-Rabbi Ḥ. Albeck* (1963), 283–305.

[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

HORE-BELISHA, LESLIE, LORD (1898–1957), British politician. Hore-Belisha was of Sephardi origin and educated at Clifton College and at Oxford, where he was president of the Union. He served with distinction in World War I. His father, Jacob Isaac Belisha (son of Isaac *Belisha), died when Hore-Belisha was an infant and his mother married a non-Jew, Sir Adair Hore, whose surname he added to his own. He was admitted to the bar in 1923 and in the same year entered Parliament as a Liberal. In 1931 he was appointed parliamentary secretary to the Board of Trade in the National Government coalition under Ramsay Macdonald. When the majority of the Liberal Party left the coalition, he remained in the government as a National Liberal. He was financial secretary to the Treasury from 1932 to 1934, when he was made minister of transport. In this capacity he introduced various measures against road accidents, including the illuminated beacons at pedestrian crossings known as "Belisha Beacons." In 1936 he was brought into the cabinet and in 1937 was made secretary of state for war.

One of the most popular and visible members of the government, he initiated numerous reforms involving the reorganization of the top ranks of the army. As a member of the War Cabinet on the outbreak of World War II, he was responsible for the efficient dispatch of the British Expeditionary Force to France. Nevertheless, his democratization of the army administration was bitterly resented and the ensuing attacks upon him probably contained an element of antisemitism. He accordingly resigned in January 1940 and sat as an independent member of Parliament from 1942 to the end of the war. In 1945 he was minister of national insurance in Winston *Churchill's caretaker government but lost his seat in the general election of 1945 and retired from politics. He was raised to the peerage in 1954. Hore-Belisha was an elder of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation for many years.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R.J. Minney (ed.), *Private Papers of Hore-Belisha* (1960). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online; A.J. Trythall, "The Downfall of Leslie Hore-Belisha," in: *Journal of Contemporary History,* 16 (1981); B. Bond, "Leslie Hore-Belisha at the War Office," in: I.F.W Beckett and John Gooch, (eds.), *Politicians and Defense* (1981); W.D. Rubinstein, *Great Britain,* 264–65.

[Vivian David Lipman]

HORENSTEIN, JASCHA (1898–1973), conductor. Born in Kiev, Horenstein moved to Germany with his family while still a child. He studied with Max Brode at Koenigsberg and, after moving to Vienna in 1911, with Franz *Schreker and Adolf Busch at the conservatory and the university. He then followed Schreker to the Berlin Hochschule fuer Musik, where he was a member of a composition class that included Haba and Krenek. He began conducting in 1919 and in 1922 was appointed conductor of the Berlin Schubert Choir, appearing with the Berlin Symphony Orchestra between 1925 and 1928. His first orchestral concert in Vienna included Gustav *Mahler's *First Symphony.* The following year he became *Kapellmeister* at the Duesseldorf Opera, a post he held until forced by the Nazis to relinquish it in 1933. Over the next few years he conducted in Russia and France, toured Australia and Scandinavia (with the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo), and gave 12 concerts in Ereẓ Israel in 1938. In 1941, he settled in the United States.

As an advocate and interpreter of Mahler and Bruckner, Horenstein was almost unrivaled in the strength, integrity, and sincerity of his approach, and his many early recordings of their works were instrumental in bringing about their present-day popularity. He was also a noted exponent of *Schoenberg, Berg, Walton, and Janacek. Horenstein conducted little opera after Duesseldorf, although he gave the first French performance of Berg's *Wozzeck* (Paris, 1950), and the first American performance of Busoni's *Doktor Faust* (New York, 1964). At Covent Garden in London, he conducted *Fidelio* (1961) and later *Parsifal* (1973), his last performance of which took place 11 days before he died.

[Max Loppert]

HOREV (Sochaczewer), AMOS (1924–), Israeli military scientist and former president of the Technion-Israel Institute of Technology. Horev was born in Jerusalem. His father, Eliyahu Sochaczewer, invented many devices which were of great value in the battle for Jerusalem during the War of Independence and was one of the founders of the Army Industry Division, of which he was appointed technical director in 1947. Horev himself served in the Palmaḥ commando units in the Galilee and Jerusalem and, during the War of Independence, in the Southern Command, of which he was appointed chief of operations in 1949.

After graduating in mechanical engineering from MIT, Horev was appointed director of the Israel General Staff's Department of Research and Development. From 1954 to 1962 he was chief of the Ordnance Corps, and after completing his postgraduate studies at MIT (1962–64) he resumed the same office. In 1966, he was appointed deputy chief scientist of the Defense Establishment and, after serving from 1967 to 1972 as Quartermaster General, was appointed chief scientist. On October 1, 1973, he assumed office as president of the Technion, to which he was elected in January, succeeding Alexander *Goldberg. He held that position until 2001, when Yitzhak *Apeloig replaced him. He remained a member of the Technion board of governors.

Horev was appointed chairman of the commission named after him, established for Studying Issues of Aliyah and Absorption and the relative functions of the Ministry of Immigration, Absorption and the Aliyah and Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency in this regard.

HOREV COMMISSION. In December 1975 the Jerusalem Conference on Solidarity for Israel, convened as a result of the UN Resolution equating Zionism with racism, decided to set up a commission to "inquire into the whole system involved in immigration and absorption, its institutions and procedures, the coordination between them, and make recommendations as to the steps to be taken to improve the tools and the methods used today on that said system."

The then Prime Minister Yiẓḥak Rabin and the chairman of the Jewish Agency, Mr. Yosef Almogi, appointed Amos Horev as head of the commission – consisting of 10 members – which therewith bore his name, and it began its work in March 1976. After hearing some 90 witnesses, the commission handed its 80-page report to Rabin and Almogi in November.

The main recommendation of the commission was the abolition of both bodies hitherto dealing with *aliyah* and absorption – the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption and the Aliyah and Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency – and that in their place there be set up a Supreme Council for Aliyah and Absorption headed by the prime minister.

The opposition of both bodies concerned, and the demand by each of them that the other be abolished and immigration and absorption become its sole prerogative, caused the continuous postponement of any action. Only in December 1978, partly as a result of the reshuffle of the cabinet, was it decided to abolish the ministry and hand over the responsibility for the functions concerned to the Jewish Agency. However, this decision has yet to be implemented.

HORKHEIMER, MAX (1895–1973), German sociologist. Born in Stuttgart, Horkheimer studied philosophy as well as sociology at German universities; he became professor of social philosophy at the University of Frankfurt in 1930 and director of the Institut fuer Sozialforschung in 1931. In 1933 Horkheimer emigrated to Paris and in 1934 to the U.S. where he continued the Institut fuer Sozialforschung in connection with Columbia University in New York. In 1941 Horkheimer settled in Los Angeles where he wrote *Dialektik der Aufklaerung* (together with Theodor Adorno); upon his return to New York he served as chief research consultant to the American Jewish Committee from 1945 to 1947, and in 1949–50 he edited, with Samuel Flowerman, a series of social-psychological treatises, *Studies in Prejudice*, which exerted considerable influence on the social sciences in the U.S. Horkheimer returned to Germany in 1948. He reestablished the Institut fuer Sozialforschung there and made it the center of the social sciences in Germany after the demise of the Nazi regime. He was a leading

member of the Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Soziologie, of the UNESCO Conference on Social Tensions, and of many German and American scientific associations. After 1954 Horkheimer also taught at the University of Chicago. Horkheimer's thinking combines a critical appraisal of the philosophy of the enlightenment with the positivistic methodology of the social sciences; his analysis of social-psychological trends has dialectic foundations. Under his influence a distinct school of sociological thought has emerged, centered around the Institut fuer Sozialforschung and the "Frankfurter Beitraege zur Soziologie" (see *Adorno, Theodor). Among Horkheimer's major works are *Kants Kritik der Urteilskraft als Bindeglied zwischen theoretischer und praktischer Philosophie* (1925), *Anfaenge der buergerlichen Geschichtsphilosophie* (1930), *Eclipse of Reason* (1947), *Survey of the Social Sciences in Western Germany* (1952), and *Akademisches Studium. Begriff der Bildung. Fragen des Hochschulunterrichts* (1953).

[Werner J. Cahnman]

HORMAH (Heb. חָרְמָה), Canaanite royal city on the border of the Negev of Judah near Arad (Josh. 12:14; Num. 21:1–3). When the Israelites disobeyed the Lord and tried to enter Canaan by the direct route from Kadesh-Barnea, they were fought back by the Canaanites and Amalekites guarding its southern approaches, who pursued them as far as Hormah (Num. 14:45; Deut. 1:44). During the Israelite settlement of Canaan, the tribes of Judah and Simeon attacked Hormah from the north; the Bible relates that it was originally called Zephath, but was "dedicated" to the Lord by a "vow" (*ḥerem*) and "utterly destroyed" (Judg. 1:17; Num. 21:2–3). This etiological explanation of the name, however, is contradicted by the appearance of Hormah in the Egyptian Execration Texts of the 19th century B.C.E. and in a contemporary inscription from Sinai. In any case, it is mentioned as a town of Simeon (Josh. 19:4; I Chron. 4:30) and later as part of the Negev district of Judah (Josh. 15:30). David included it among the recipients of the booty taken from the Amalekites (I Sam. 30:30).

The identification of Hormah is disputed, with scholars divided between Khirbat al-Mashāsh (Ḥorvat Masos) and Tell al-Milḥ (Tell Malḥata). Both of these sites are situated at ancient wells east of Beersheba, 3½ mi. (6 km.) apart, and contain remains of the Chalcolithic, Middle Bronze Age II, and Israelite periods.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Garstang, *Joshua-Judges* (1931), index; Albright, in: JPOS, 4 (1924), 155f.; Glueck, in: BASOR, 55 (1934), 18f.; Alt, in: JPOS, 15 (1935), 314ff.; EM, S.V.; Aharoni, Land, index.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

HORMUZ (**Ormuz**), an island in the Persian Gulf, commanding the trade route from Europe to India and the Far East, captured by the Portuguese in 1507. From the 16th century on, Hebrew and European sources attest the existence of a Jewish community. The 16th-century Yemenite Jewish traveler *Zechariah Al-Dahiri describes in his *Sefer ha-Musar* the six months he spent in Hormuz. In 1549, the Jesuit missionary Gaspar Barzaeus stayed two years in Hormuz; he found there a well-organized Jewish community of 200 families composed of immigrants from Portugal, Spain, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and other countries, who enjoyed great prosperity as silk merchants, horse traders, and moneylenders. The two rabbis, Solomon and Joseph, allowed Barzaeus to deliver a sermon in the synagogue in 1549, but his mission to convert the Jews was a failure. In 1572 the Portuguese authorities sent Samuel Jacar of Hormuz with dispatches to the Holy Roman Emperor. Hormuz attracted many refugees from Spain and Portugal in the 16th century, some en route for *Goa. The Inquisition in Goa, established in 1560, tried to stop the flow of Jews to Hormuz and thence to India and from 1567 on issued many unsuccessful decrees to this effect. The Jewish community came to an end with the joint Persian-English attack in 1622 which led to the decline of Hormuz; many Jews transferred to the Persian mainland, especially to Bandar Abbas and Band-e Kong.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W.J. Fischel, in: JQR, 40 (1949/50), 379–99; idem, in: *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume* (1950), 203–30; C. Roth, *Venice* (1930), 166.

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

HORNBOSTEL, ERICH MORITZ VON (1877–1935), musicologist. The son of a gentile father and the singer Helene Marcus, Hornbostel was born in Vienna, and worked with Carl Strumpf at the Psychological Institute in Berlin. In 1906 he went to the United States to study the music and psychology of the American Indians, and the same year became director of the Berlin Phonogram Archives. He was appointed professor in 1917 and from 1923 taught at Berlin University. Dismissed in 1933, he first became lecturer at the New School for Social Research in New York and in 1934 settled in England. Hornbostel was one of the founders of ethnomusicology (then called "comparative musicology") and, through his pioneering syntheses of what had until then been separate disciplines, a major influence on the formation of modern musicology.

Hornbostel's regional researches included studies of the music of China, Japan, India, and the Pacific and of American Indian cultures. Particularly important among the subjects of his many studies are those dealing with the cross-cultural implications of tuning systems, folk polyphonies, and the psychology of musical perception. In 1914 he published, together with Curt *Sachs, the "Systematik der Musikinstrumente" (reissued in English as "Classification of Musical Instruments" in the *Galpin Society Journal*, 14 (1961), 3–29), which has remained the basic classification system for the study of the musical instruments of the world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: MGG, S.V., *Ethnomusicology* (1959^3), index; B. Nettl, *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology* (1964), index.

HORNER, HENRY (1878–1940), governor of Illinois from 1932 to 1940. Horner was born in Chicago, grandson of Henry Horner, an immigrant from Bavaria (1840) who was instrumental in founding the Chicago Board of Trade. The younger

Horner began legal practice as a partner in the firm Whitney and Horner. In 1914 he became active in the Democratic Party, and was elected judge of the Probate Cook County, an office which he held for 18 years. During his career as probate judge, Horner gained national fame for promulgating the "Horner Plan," a method of protecting and probating the estates of servicemen without charge. In 1932 he was elected governor of Illinois by the largest popular vote ever received for that office to that time. He broke with the Chicago Democratic machine, yet was reelected in 1936. Horner fought corruption, supported President Roosevelt's New Deal Policy, and was unequivocally devoted to good government. Carl Sandburg, praising his integrity, said: "In an age flagrant with corruption, he was among those who came through clean and unspotted."

Horner participated actively in Jewish and general civic community life. He was a member of the board of directors of the Home for the Aged, Jewish Aid Society, Michael Reese Hospital, Central Council for Nursing Education, and Chicago Council of Boy Scouts. He was president of the Young Men's Associated Jewish Charities, and was involved in the U.S. Veteran's Bureau, the Masons, the Art Institute of Chicago, the Chicago Association of Commerce, and the Chicago and American Bar Associations. He had a great interest in Lincoln, and owned the world's most extensive collection of Lincolnia, which he contributed to the Illinois State Historical Society in 1933.

[Morris A. Gutstein]

HORNET (Heb. צִרְעָה), insect. Three times the Bible mentions that the hornet would be sent ahead of the Israelites to drive out the inhabitants of the land of Canaan before them (Ex. 23:28; Deut. 7:20; Josh. 24:12). Some contend that the reference here is not to actual hornets but to the pharaohs of Egypt, whose emblem was the hornet. However, it may also refer to the hornet *Vespa orientalis* which multiplies in time of war when fields are untilled, making its nest in burrows in uncultivated ground. When in mishnaic times hornets increased considerably, prayers were offered for their removal (Ta'an. 14a), and an instance is mentioned of death resulting from a hornet's sting. In Babylonia the danger of being stung by "a hornet in Nineveh" was stressed, it being permitted to kill one even on a Sabbath (Shab. 80b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Feliks, *Animal World of the Bible* (1962), 121. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Feliks, Ha-Ẓome'aḥ, 273.

[Jehuda Feliks]

HORODEZKY, SAMUEL ABBA (1871–1957), scholar and historian of Jewish mysticism and Ḥasidism. He was born in Malin (Kiev region) and studied in the courts of *ẓaddikim* in Malin and Chernobyl. He was attracted to the Haskalah and at the age of 20 settled in Berdichev where he changed from a rabbinic author to a Hebrew writer and began to correspond with contemporary authors. The pogroms of 1905–06 made him leave the Ukraine. He took advantage of his election as a delegate to the Eighth Zionist Congress (The Hague, 1907) and remained in the West. From 1908 to 1938 he lived for several periods in Switzerland and Germany. Horodezky was a contributor to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1927–34), and founder of the ḥasidic archives of the Schocken Press (1935). In 1938 he emigrated to Palestine and settled in Tel Aviv.

His major literary enterprises were the editing of *Ha-Goren*, an annual on Jewish scholarship (ten issues, 1–8 in Berdichev, 9–10 in Berlin); *Ha-Ḥasidut ve-ha-Ḥasidim* ("Ḥasidism and Ḥasidim"), monographs on the great ḥasidim and their doctrines (4 vols., several editions); *Ha-Mistorin be-Yisrael* ("Jewish Mysticism"), monographs on sources and teachers of mysticism, beginning with *Ha-Mistorin ha-Kadum* ("Ancient Mysticism") in the Bible, Apocrypha, and the Talmud, up to the early and later kabbalists (four pts., publ. 1931–58). Among his other writings are (1) a collection of articles on personalities and values outside the world of mysticism and confronting it: *Le-Korot ha-Rabbanut* (1911), *Yahadut ha-Sekhel ve-Yahadut ha-Regesh* (1947), and *Kivshono shel Olam* (1950); (2) compilations of the writings of kabbalists and Ḥasidim: *Moses *Cordovero* (1941), *Isaac *Luria and Ḥayyim *Vital* (1947), **Naḥman of Bratslav* (1923), and **Dov Baer the Maggid of Mezhirech* (1927); (3) the publication of sources: *Shivḥei ha-Besht, Sippurei R. Naḥman, etc.*; (4) *Memoirs*, his last book, an autobiography and the most literary of his works (1957).

Horodezky was one of the last scholars to write in the manner of *Wissenschaft der Judenthums before its development into modern Jewish scholarship. Like other contemporaries, he was a product of the intellectual climate of the East European Jewish town and educated himself to become a Hebrew writer. His quiet, informative, non-argumentative manner of speech helped break the boycott of the *maskilim* against Ḥasidism. He liked to cite representative sources but wrote little analysis and criticism. Ẓvi Voyeslavsky defined him well in the Ḥabad term "Ha-Ḥozer" (the returner). His library is preserved in Bet Faïtlovitch in Tel Aviv. A Festschrift was published in honor of his 75th birthday, *Eder ha-Yekar* (1947), and, when he reached his 80th year, a pamphlet, *Livyat Ḥen* (1951).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Z. Voyslavsky, *Yeḥidim bi-Reshut ha-Rabbim* (1956), 231–4; F. Lachower, *Rishonim ve-Aḥaronim* (1966^2), 290–3.

[Emanuel Bin-Gorion]

HORODISCH, ABRAHAM (1898–1987), antiquarian bookseller and bibliophile. Born in Lodz, Horodisch was raised in Koenigsberg, East Prussia. He studied economics in Berlin and earned a doctorate in that field in 1920 from the University of Frankfurt. Upon returning to Berlin he founded, together with Ernst Rathenau, the Euphorion Verlag (1920–25) and later the publishing firm of Horodisch & Marx (1925–55) and the Aldus Printing Press. He was a co-founder of the Soncino Society and a member of the general Berlin bibliophile Maximilian Society. Together with his wife, Alice Garman, herself a graphic designer, he moved to Amsterdam soon after Hitler's rise to power in 1933. There he established the Erasmus Antiquariate, which gained a wide reputation. In 1943 he and his wife escaped to Switzerland. Upon their return in 1945, they found

the entire stock of the Antiquariate gone. Horodisch managed to build it up again, beyond its original size and renown. He wrote over 200 articles and books on various aspects of booklore, some of them on Jewish themes, such as *Die Exlibris des Uriel Birnbaum* (1957) and *Die Graphik der Chalukah* (1973).

On his 60th birthday (in 1958) and on the 50th anniversary of the Erasmus Antiquariate, Jubilee Volumes appeared in his honor, the first titled *Amor Librorum*, the second *De Arte et Libris*. In 1978 he was awarded the Zilveren Anjer (Silver Carnation) by the Prins Bernard Fonds. Horodisch's art collection, which features German Weimar art, was donated to the Tel Aviv Museum. Horodisch further bequeathed a considerable part of his private library, including many works on Japanese art, to Tel Aviv University, where a Horodisch Chair for the history of books was established.

[Henriette Boas]

HORODISCHTSCH, LEON (1872–1940), merchant and banker, one of the first adherents of political Zionism in Russia. Horodischtsch was born in Bialystok into a Zionist family. His father was an associate of Samuel *Mohilever. At first he worked in his father's bank and then established a bank of his own in Brest-Litovsk. In 1906 he became the head of a savings and loan society in Brest-Litovsk. He attended the First Zionist Congress and all the subsequent Congresses until World War I. In 1920 he settled in Palestine, where he continued his banking activities as manager of Halva'ah ve-Ḥissakhon in Tel Aviv, and other positions. He published his reminiscences of the First Zionist Congress in *Sefer ha-Congress* ("Book of the Congress," 1950², 132–3).

[Getzel Kressel]

HORONAIM (Heb. חֹרֹנַיִם), Moabite city appearing in the prophetic "burdens of Moab" (Isa. 15:5; Jer. 48:3, 5, 34) and also mentioned on the Mesha Stone (lines 31, 32). Horonaim is a theophoric name (for the god Horon) like Beth-Horon in western Ereẓ Israel. The biblical descriptions "going down of Horonaim" and "the way of Horonaim" indicate that the town dominated an important road, probably the ascent from the southern end of the Dead Sea. It is also listed among the Moabite cities conquered by Alexander Yannai (103–76 B.C.E.) and returned by Hyrcanus II to Aretas III, king of the Nabateans (Jos., Ant., 13:397; 14:18; where it is called Oronaim). The text of the former passage is very corrupted and the name Horonaim has been established only by conjecture. The historicity of the text has been disputed because of its close similarity with the biblical "burdens" but the mention of this name in documents found in Judean Desert caves makes this view less plausible. Musil has proposed identifying Horonaim with al-ʿIrāq, about 6 mi. (10 km.) southwest of Kir of Moab above the descent to the Lisān and Zoar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, 1 (1907), 73; Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 149, 350; Schalit, in: *Eretz Israel*, 1 (1951), 104–21; Polotsky, in: IEJ, 12 (1962), 258ff.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

HORONTCHIK, SIMON (1889–1939), Yiddish novelist and short story writer. Born in Wielun (Poland), Horontchik moved to Kalisz in 1914, where he worked in a lace factory from the age of 17 until World War I. With the German occupation of Kalisz, Horontchik fled to Lodz, where he began his literary career, publishing poems in the local Yiddish press, as well as in Yiddish periodicals in Warsaw, New York, and Buenos Aires. For several years before the outbreak of World War II, Horontchik lived in Paris, where he continued his literary activities. In May 1939, he returned to Poland and settled in Warsaw. After the Nazi occupation of the city, he fled, committing suicide on the road to Vilna. His novels include *Farplonterte Vegn* ("Confused Ways," 1924), depicting the physical and moral disintegration of a small Polish Jewish village during the German occupation of World War I. It was followed by *Geroysh fun Mashinen* ("Whirr of Machines," 1928), based on his experiences in the Kalisz lace factory. *Zump* ("Swamp," 1931) attacked exploiters of labor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, Leksikon, s.v.; LNYL, s.v.; M. Ravitch, *Mayn Leksikon*, 1 (1945), 65–7. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Y. Papernikov, *Heymishe un noente* (1958), 222–24.

[Elias Schulman / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

HOROVITZ, ISRAEL (1939–), U.S. playwright and screenwriter. Born in Wakefield, Mass., Horovitz in 1965 became the first American playwright-in-residence for England's prestigious Royal Shakespeare Company. He burst on the New York scene in 1967 with four one-act plays and received acclaim the following year for *The Indian Wants the Bronx* which introduced Al Pacino to Broadway and won several awards. A prolific writer, Horovitz followed this success with a number of plays including *Rats* (1968); *Trees* (1969); *Acrobats* (1970); *Line* (1971); *Leader* (1972); *The Honest-to-God Schnozzola* (1971); *Shooting Gallery* (1973); *The Primary English Class* (1970); and *The Reason We Eat* (1977). In 1970 his screenplay for the film, *The Strawberry Statement*, won the Prix de Jury at the Cannes Film Festival. His film *3 Weeks after Paradise* (2002) and his play *Speaking Well of the Dead* (2002) are responses to the attack on the World Trade Center.

His later work was more experimental in form and style, with deep character introspection and incidents of mental disorientation. In general he wrote ensemble pieces rather than star vehicles, and his work exhibited a profound social commitment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Kane (ed.), *Israel Horovitz: A Collection of Critical Essays* (1994).

HOROVITZ, JACOB (1873–1939), rabbi and scholar. Horovitz, the son of Marcus *Horovitz, was born in Lauenburg. He served as rabbi in Frankfurt and was lecturer on Jewish subjects at the Pedagogical Academy there. In common with his father, he opposed the secession of the Orthodox from the local congregations and was one of the leaders of Communal Orthodoxy (Aḥdut). Horovitz was a vice president of the Union of German Rabbis and active in a number of other com-

munal organizations. He joined the Jewish Agency in 1929 as a non-Zionist. In 1938 Horovitz took refuge in Holland, where he died. His published works include *Untersuchungen ueber Philons und Platos Lehre von der Weltschoepfung* (1900); *Babel und Bibel* (1904), against Friedrich *Delitzsch; *Untersuchungen zur rabbinischen Lehre von den falschen Zeugen* (1914); *Ḥever Ir* (Ger., 1915); and *Josephserzaehlung* (1921).

HOROVITZ, JOSEF (1874–1931), German Orientalist. Horovitz, the son of Marcus *Horovitz, was born in Lauenburg, Germany. He studied at the University of Berlin with Edward Sachau and taught there from 1902. He worked in India from 1907 to 1914, teaching Arabic at the Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh and serving as the curator of Islamic inscriptions for the Indian government. In this capacity he edited the collection *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1909–12). Some years after he had left India, Horovitz published *Indien unter britischer Herrschaft* (1928). Returning to Germany, he taught Semitic languages at the University of Frankfurt from 1914 to his death. As a member of the board of trustees of Hebrew University from its inception, Horovitz created the department of Oriental studies, became its director, and initiated its collective project, the concordance of early Arabic poetry. At first Horovitz devoted himself to the study of Arabic historical literature and then to early Arabic poetry. His major work was a commentary on the Koran, which he did not complete. He translated the poetry miscellany *Kumit El ha-Asimiat* (1904). In his *Koran Studien* (1926) he applied his method of detailed analysis of the language used by Muhammad and his disciples and historical insights gained from the study of the early texts themselves. He examined relations between Islam and Judaism in his "Jewish Proper Names and Derivatives in the Koran" (in HUCA, 2 (1925), 145–227; repr. 1964) and his "Das koranische Paradies" (in *Scripta Universitatis atque Bibliothecae Hierosolymitanarum, Orientalia et Judaica*, 1 (1923); also in *Ha-Tekufah*, 23 (1925), 276ff.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.D. Goitein, in: *Islam*, 22 (1934), 122–7 (Ger.); G. Weil, in: MGWJ, 75 (1931), 321–8; W.J. Fischel and S.D. Goitein, *Joseph Horovitz, 1874–1931* (1932), incl. bibl. of his publications. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** H. Lazarus-Yafeh, "The Transplantation of Islamic Studies from Europe to the Yishuv and Israel," in: M. Kramer, *The Jewish Discovery of Islam* (1999), 249–60.

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica* / Bjorn Siegel (2nd ed.)]

HOROVITZ, LEOPOLD (1838–1917), Hungarian painter. Horovitz was born in Slovakia and studied in Vienna. After living in Berlin, Dresden, and Munich, he arrived in Paris, where his portraits and genre scenes met with success. His sitters included the emperor of Austria, Francis Joseph, and the Danish essayist, Georg *Brandes, as well as Hungarian and Polish magnates and the fashionably dressed ladies of high society. Meticulous in his technique, he used natural poses and simple backgrounds. He displayed great virtuosity, charm, and refinement. He showed no interest in the aims of more progressive artists such as the Impressionists, who belonged to his generation. Though he received many prizes and commanded high fees for his portrait commissions, he might have been completely forgotten, were it not for his scenes from East European Jewish life. Notable among these works is *The Ninth of Av*, a large picture upon which Horovitz worked for a year and a half. This picture reveals a solid construction and an astonishing power of differentiating between the subtle moods and the less subtle gestures of the figures.

[Alfred Werner]

HOROVITZ, MARCUS (1844–1910), Orthodox rabbi, historian, and halakhist in Germany. Horovitz was born in Ladany (near Tokaj), Hungary. He studied in Verbo, Hungary, under Ḥayyim Ẓevi Mannheimer and at the Eisenstadt yeshivah under Azriel *Hildesheimer, whose favorite pupil he became. His reminiscences of his youth in Hungary were published as *Von Liszka nach Berlin* (1914; previously in *Die Juedische Presse*, vol. 1, 1870). After serving as rabbi in Germany at Lauenburg and Gnesen, in 1878 he accepted a call to become the first Orthodox rabbi of the Frankfurt on the Main general community after Reform had eliminated all Orthodox institutions. Beginning in 1851, S.R. *Hirsch had developed a small but fast-growing independent Orthodox congregation and in 1876 had obtained the legal right for his and similar congregations to secede from the general Jewish congregation, until then the only body recognized by the state. Horovitz was one of the few Orthodox rabbis who refused to sign Hirsch's petition to the Prussian Diet. The growing strength of Hirsch's *kehillah* induced the general community to make concessions to the Orthodox. Horovitz had to face the intense hostility of Hirsch's followers in addition to the Reform opposition. By dint of his strong yet tolerant personality he succeeded beyond expectation in establishing Orthodox synagogues and institutions. He joined the Allgemeiner Rabbinerverband, whose vice chairman he became, the Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden, the B'nai B'rith movement, and similar non-Orthodox organizations. He also joined Hildesheimer in establishing the Traditionell-Gesetzestreuer Rabbinerverband, which did not discriminate between secessionist and communal rabbis. Horovitz's attitude to emerging Zionism was ambivalent. On the one hand he strongly supported various attempts in aid of the *yishuv* in Palestine but on the other hand he feared the secularization inherent in Zionism and signed the declaration of the *Protestrabbiner. Horovitz made a series of contributions to Jewish scholarship, particularly in history. He wrote *Frankfurter Rabbinen* (4 vols., 1881–85; 1969^2), a study of the work and personalities of the rabbis who served that community; *Die Inschriften des alten Friedhofs der israelitischen Gemeinde zu Frankfurt a. M.* (1901); and *Juedische Aerzte in Frankfurt a. M.* (1886). In the field of *halakhah*, his responsa *Matteh Levi* (vol. 1, 1891; vol. 2, ed. by his son Jacob, 1932) show his talmudic learning.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Unna, in: M. Horovitz, *Frankfurter Rabbinen* (1969^2), 339–76 (incl. bibl.), idem, in: L. Jung (ed.), *Jewish*

Leaders (1953), 249ff.; I. Heinemann, *ibid.*, 261ff.; M. Eliav (ed.), *E. Hildesheimer Briefe* (1965), 121f., 229f.; J. Rosenheim, *Oholei Ya'akov; Ausgewaehlte Aufsaetze und Ansprachen*, 2 (1930), 449–53; H. Schwab, *Chachme Ashkenaz* (Eng., 1964), no. 56.

HOROVITZ, SAUL (1858–1921), scholar of talmudic literature and medieval religious philosophy. Horovitz was born in Szanto, Hungary. He studied at the Warsaw yeshivah of J.B. *Soloveitchik; at the Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary, where he was deeply influenced by Israel Levy; and at Breslau and Munich universities. After a decade as rabbi in Bielitz, Silesia, he was appointed lecturer in 1896 on religious philosophy and homiletics and later was also rabbinical tutor at the Breslau seminary.

Horovitz, who had a comprehensive knowledge of Jewish lore and of Latin, Greek, and Arabic, made a significant contribution to Jewish and Islamic philosophical studies in his dissertation "Prophetologie in der juedischen Religionsphilosophie" (1883), and *Die Psychologie bei den juedischen Religionsphilosophen des Mittelalters* … (4 vols., 1898–1912), *Der Mikrokosmos des Joseph ibn Saddik* (1903), *Ueber den Einfluss der griechischen Philosophie auf die Entwicklung des Kalam* (1909), *Die Stellung des Aristoteles bei den Juden des Mittelalters* (1911), *Abraham ibn David* (1912), and *Der Einfluss der griechischen Skepsis auf die Entwicklung der Philosophie bei den Arabern* (1915).

Horovitz's most important undertaking was his plan, which never fully materialized, to publish critical editions of all the halakhic Midrashim. He edited *Sifrei de-Vei Rav* [Sif. Num.], with *Sifrei Zuta* [Sif. Zut.] (1917), which he reconstructed from *Yalkut Shimoni* (cf. his *Der Sifrei Sutta*, 1910; Heb. trans. in *Mesillot le-Torat ha-Tanna'im* (1928), 82ff.); and *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishma'el* (completed by I.A. Rabin, 1931). The material collected by Horovitz for the edition of **Sifrei* on Deuteronomy was later used by L. *Finkelstein In his editions of the midrashic texts he did not limit himself to citing parallel passages and variant readings, but with great erudition and a keen philological sense explained and illuminated difficult passages. These editions are standard scholarly texts, as is his *Beitraege zur Erklaerung und Textkritik der Mechilta des R. Simon* (1919). These writings were of great importance to the development of talmudic research. Horovitz's work, which included articles on various topics, is distinguished not by its quantity but by its maturity and solidity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.A. Poznański, in: *Ha-Tekufah*, 10 (1921), 507ff.; M. Brann, *Geschichte des Juedisch-theologischen Seminars in Breslau* (1904), 115, 133 (bibliography); I. Elbogen, in: AZDJ, 85 (1921), 91f.; E.E. Urbach, in: G. Kisch (ed.), *Das Breslauer Seminar* (1963), 182–5 (Heb.); A. Jospe, *ibid.*, 397 (Eng.).

[Moshe David Herr]

HOROWITZ, a family of rabbis and scholars that also included writers, communal workers, and personalities active in all spheres of Jewish life. The Horowitz's were levites. The family originated in the 15th century, taking its name from the small town of Horovice in Bohemia. The various branches and sub-branches of the family spread throughout the whole Diaspora and also settled in Ereẓ Israel. According to one tradition they originated in Spain. The name appears in a great variety of forms: Hurwitz, Horwicz, Horovitz, or "ha-Levi, Ish Horowitz"; and under the influence of Russian it is often written as Gurevicz, Gurwicz, etc. Some scholars are of the opinion that the name Munk or Munka appearing in official government certificates and documents applies to the members of this family. ISAIAH B. MOSES HA-LEVI (d. 1517), who lived in Prague, is regarded as the founder of the family. He supported the Prague publishers in 1514 in their publication of the Pentateuch. Of Isaiah's seven sons the following are noteworthy: AARON MESHULLAM ZALMAN (1470–1545), who in 1535 founded the synagogue in Prague known as the "Pinkas-Schul," and is identified by some with the Zalman Munka to whom King Ludwig granted the privilege, in 1525, of having the rabbi and elder of the Prague congregation appointed from his family; ISRAEL (d. 1568/9), who met a martyr's death in Prague together with his son-in-law, Moses b. Joel; and SHABBETAI SHEFTEL (d. 1555), a communal leader. As a result of the rise of the Horowitz family, disputes arose between it and its opponents in Prague. In order to settle these disputes, *Joseph (Joselmann) b. Gershom of Rosheim, among others, intervened.

The family of Aaron Meshullam Zalman included Phinehas b. Israel *Horowitz. ABRAHAM, son of Shabbetai Sheftel the communal leader and the father of ISAIAH the author of the *Shelah*, moved to Poland and dwelt in Cracow and Lemberg. In 1595 the town of Lemberg elected him *dayyan* of the province. At the beginning of the 17th century the family was scattered throughout Poland. Its members served as rabbis in Vienna, Prague, Hamburg, and Nikolsburg. The best known of them in the 16th and 17th centuries included Isaiah b. Abraham *Horowitz, author of the *Shelah*, and his son SHABBETAI SHEFTEL. In the 17th and 18th centuries and the beginning of the 19th century, members of the family filled the roles of rabbis and *dayyanim* in various towns of Poland, Lithuania, Russia, Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, and Germany, among them Isaac b. Jacob Jokel *Horowitz of Hamburg (d. 1767) and the well-known brothers Phinehas b. Ẓevi Hirsch *Horowitz of Frankfurt, author of the *Hafla'ah*, and his brother Samuel *Horowitz of Nikolsburg. Samuel Horowitz' descendants emigrated to the United States in the 1880s. The family married into the Margareten family, and established the well-known Horowitz-Margareten *mazzah* bakery. They founded the Horowitz-Margareten Family Association which numbers some 1,500 members. It engages in a number of social, charitable, and cultural activities, including a loan fund for those members of the European branch of the family who emigrated to Israel after the Holocaust. The association has published *Directory and Genealogy of the Horowitz-Margareten Family* (1955) in which each member is designated by a code.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Hock and D. Kaufmann, *Die Familien*

Prags (1892), 90–93; P. Pesis, *Ateret ha-Leviyyim* (1902; repr. 1968); S.Z. Cahana, *Anaf Eẓ Avot* (1903); L. Lewin, in: JJLG, 5 (1907), 86–88; Ḥ.D. Friedberg, *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz* (1928^2); B. Wachstein, in: ZGJD, 1 (1929), 141–151; H. Horowitz, *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz* (1936); idem, in: *Zeitschrift fuer die Geschichte der Juden in der Tschechoslowakei*, 2 (1931–32), 89–105, 127–31, 225–8; 3 (1932/33), 221–4; Halpern, Pinkas, index; N.M. Gelber (ed.), *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 6 (1955), 57.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, Canadian family. ISAIAH HOROWITZ (Yeshayah ben Asher Ezekiel ha-Levi, Ish Horovits; 1883–1978), rabbi and author. Isaiah Horowitz, who was born in Safed, traced his paternal lineage back 11 generations to a central figure in Polish Jewish rabbinic culture, the Shelaḥ, R. Isaiah *Horowitz; on his mother's side, he claimed to be descended from a number of prominent ḥasidic figures, including *Shneur Zalman of Liady. During his youth, Safed experienced something of an Ashkenazi revival, with two yeshivot. In 1909 he received his *semikhah* from the Ridbaz, Jacob David ben Ze'ev *Willowski, and served on the *bet din* there. He identified strongly with religious Zionism and had to argue his case to some of his traditionalist colleagues. According to his own testimony, the situation in Safed deteriorated with the outbreak of war in 1914, and his own material situation did not improve after the war either. In the early 1920s he moved to New York City, and then to Winnipeg. He was invited to the latter by a group of butchers, but when he arrived he discovered that they were trying to usurp the authority of the long-standing rabbinic authority, Israel Kahanovitch. For many years, he was forced to rely on the small sums of money he could earn from officiating at life cycle events, selling *lulavim* and *etrogim*, He also seemed to have some wealthy patrons. A firm traditionalist, Horowitz never achieved the widespread public support of the energetic and seemingly omnipresent Kahanovitch. After WWII, Horowitz received a modest salary from one of the local congregations.

During his time in Winnipeg, Horowitz published two books, *Sefer Yavo Shilo* (1925/6), much of which was composed before his arrival in Winnipeg, and *Sefer Pardes ha-Areẓ* (1933–5). Both books contain sermons and responsa, and are valuable sources of information for Safed in the 1910s and especially for western Canada in the 1920s and 1930s. Horowitz left Winnipeg in 1953 to return to the Land of Israel. In 1955/6 he published *Sefer Eden Ẓiyyon*, a compendium of shrines and other holy places in Israel. He died in Israel.

Isaiah Horowitz was married to Tziporah (Feyge) Lorberbaum and they had at least eight children. One son, ARON (1911–), became a prominent Jewish educator in Canada, especially interested in day schools and overnight summer camps. Another son, ISAAC (1920–), became a prominent scientist, renowned for his work on quantitative feedback theory. Aron's son, GAD (1936–), is a well-known political theorist in Canada, establishing his reputation early with his seminal *Canadian Labour in Politics* (1968).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Horowitz, *Striking Roots* (1979); H. Gutkin, *The Worst of Times, The Best of Times* (1987), 184–95.

[Richard Menkis (2^{nd} ed.)]

HOROWITZ, AARON JUDAH LOEB (**Leon**; pseud. **Ayalah**; 1847–1926), Hebrew writer born in Minsk. After leaving the yeshivah in Shklov in 1862, he studied in Western Europe and traveled widely before settling in New York in 1870. There he taught Hebrew and contributed prolifically to the European Hebrew press. An advocate of mass immigration to America for Jews suffering persecution in Romania, Horowitz went there to tour the country for this purpose in 1873, sponsored by steamship companies. The book he published subsequently, *Rumanyah va-Amerikah* (1874), provides many details about the communities Horowitz visited and is a valuable source of information for their situation in this period, and in particular their internal affairs. The second part of the book provides a description of the United States and Jewish settlement there to encourage prospective immigrants. A guide for immigrants is also included. Horowitz himself spent the rest of his life in business in Hamburg.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Sokolow (ed.), *Sefer Zikkaron le-Soferei Yisrael* (1889), 30–31; L.P. Gartner, in: AJHSP, 45 (1955/56), 67–92.

[Lloyd P. Gartner]

HOROWITZ, ABRAHAM BEN ISAIAH (1671–1744), Polish rabbi. Horowitz, born in Leipnik, Moravia, studied under his father, Isaiah b. Shabbetai Sheftel *Horowitz. He assisted his father in his activities and accompanied him at the sessions of the Council of the Four Lands. Horowitz served as *dayyan* in Posen and in 1699 pleaded before the council in Jaroslav, Poland, against "the leaders of the Posen community" in connection with the community's payment of a promissory note left him by his father. The hardship prevailing in Poland in 1697–1704 as a result of war compelled Horowitz to emigrate. He reached Amsterdam, where he published the prayer book with the commentary *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* (1717) of his great-grandfather with additions of his grandfather Shabbetai Sheftel and with his own additions. In the introduction Horowitz notes: "I was driven from one exile to another… the pursuers caught up with me, armies and troops with the sword of war… and I was left penniless." In 1728 he published the novellae of *Yom Tov b. Abraham Ishbili (the Ritba) to various tractates of the Talmud, with the novellae of his own father, and published a new edition (1729) of *Emek Berakhah* by Abraham b. Shabbetai Sheftel *Horowitz with his father's additions. Subsequently he wandered in Poland and Germany, and died in Frankfurt on the Oder. His son, ZE'EV WOLF HA-LEVI (d. 1777), was a member of the famous *Altona *Klaus*. Out of humility he refused to accept the office of *dayyan* there.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Perles, in: MGWJ, 14 (1865), 92 n. 23; E. Duckesz, Chachme AHW (1908), Germ. pt. 27, Heb. pt. 77; H.D. Friedberg, *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz* (1928^2), 30; Z. (H.) Horowitz, *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz* (1936), 30; Halpern, Pinkas, 244.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, ABRAHAM BEN SHABBETAI SHEFTEL (c. 1550–1615), one of the most eminent talmudists of his day in Poland, a pupil of Moses *Isserles. Horowitz resided in Cracow and Lvov, and in 1595 was elected a *dayyan* for the province of Lvov (see *Councils of the Lands). Horowitz, who was a keen student of *Maimonides in his youth, took issue in a forcible polemical tract with Aaron, *av bet din* of Poznan, who wished to restrict Jewish instruction to the Talmud alone. Horowitz also argued for the teaching of secular subjects because of their general importance. Indicative of Horowitz's aristocratic attitude, in both the spiritual and social sense, is his view that beliefs and ideas cannot be explained to "the simple folk living in ignorance… [who] have no need of knowledge, not apprehending what it is," and that it is unnecessary to instruct them other than to enjoin them against committing "common offenses such as fraud, false oaths, calumny and slander." His rationalistic approach is reflected in the first version of his commentary to Maimonides' *Shemoneh Perakim* (1577). When he grew older, however, Horowitz increasingly turned to mysticism and practical ethics. In this spirit he wrote a second version of the commentary (1602) in which the emphasis on rationalistic principles is reduced, and he states that this is "the principal [version], superseding the earlier one." To serve as an ethical guide he wrote *Berit Avraham* (Cracow, 1602?) which sets out practical examples of the transgressions enumerated in the *Viddui (see also *Atonement). His book *Emek Berakhah* (*ibid.*, 1597) is mainly a halakhic exposition of the benedictions for enjoyments, prayers and prayer ritual. In his ethical will, *Yesh Noḥalin* (Amsterdam, 1701), Horowitz formulates his conception of the spiritual and social attributes of the ideal Jewish leader in Poland: He should combine religious reverence and respect for the individual, honor for the family and its status, and responsibility in his economic and communal obligations with the duty to submit to the disciplinary requirements of the leadership. The book became highly popular as an ethical guide. His son was Isaiah *Horowitz (the Shelah).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Horodezky, in: *Ha-Tekufah*, 22 (1924), 290–302; H.H. Ben-Sasson, *Hagut ve-Hanhagah* (1959), index; Ph. Bloch, in: MGWJ, 47 (1903), 153–69.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

HOROWITZ, ARYEH LEIB BEN ELEAZAR HA-LEVI (1758–1844), Galician rabbi. Horowitz's father, who was *av bet din* of Zalozhtsy, was the son of Isaac ha-Levi b. Jacob Jokel *Horowitz of Hamburg. Aryeh Horowitz studied under his father and later in the yeshivah of Isaac Ḥarif in Sambor. He also studied in Tysmenitsa under his uncle, Moses Meshullam Egra, by whom he was ordained rabbi. In 1784, on the recommendation of Jacob *Lorberbaum, Horowitz was appointed rabbi of Stanislav, an office which he held until a year before his death. Subsequent members of the Horowitz family occupied that rabbinate until 1939. Horowitz energetically dealt with the widespread poverty following economic difficulties which faced the country in 1818 and affected the Jewish community and helped establish free loan funds and provide accommodation for those rendered homeless. In the dispute which broke out after the appearance in 1793 of the responsa, *Besamim Rosh*, with the commentary *Kasa de-Harsana* by Saul Lewin, Horowitz was asked by Hirsch *Lewin, Saul's father, to use his influence with Egra not to ban his son's book although various rabbis insisted that it be banned. Horowitz and Egra did in fact refrain from intervening. Horowitz was opposed to *Ḥasidism and endeavored to prevent its gaining control of his community. On the other hand, he did not vehemently oppose the *maskilim*. In the dispute between the publishers of Vilna and Slavuta in connection with the publication of the Talmud, he decided in favor of Slavuta and in 1836 gave them his commendation. Following a dispute in 1843, he left Stanislav and went to Tysmenitsa, where he died. He left behind responsa, homilies, and novellae, but only two of his works were published after his death – both entitled *Penei Aryeh*: a biblical commentary (1876), and responsa on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* published at the beginning of the responsa, *Bar Livai* (1909), by his son Meshullam Issachar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Berger, *Kunteres Ro'ei Yisrael*, in: Meshullam Issachar Horowitz, *She'elot u-Teshuvot Bar Livai, Mahadura Tinyana* (1909); H.D. Friedberg, *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz* (1928^2), 18, no. 26; Z.(H.) Horowitz, *Kitvei ha-Ge'onim* (1928), 81–90; idem, in: HḤY, 14 (1930), 7–9; N.M. Gelber, in: *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 5 (1952), 23, 25–28; Y. Horowitz, *ibid.*, 68–74.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, ARYEH LEIB BEN ISAAC (1847–1909), Galician rabbi. Horowitz studied under his grandfather, Meshullam Issachar *Horowitz, rabbi of Stanislav. When he was only 19 years of age his talmudic novellae were published in the *Toledot Yiẓḥak* of his father. He was ordained rabbi by Joseph Saul *Nathanson and Ḥayyim *Halberstamm, rabbi of Zanz. In 1871 he was appointed rabbi of Zalozce and later of Sereth, Bukovina. In 1879 he was appointed rabbi of Stryj where he found ample scope for his abilities and was henceforth known as "the Stryzer Rav." From 1904 until his death he was rabbi of Stanislav in eastern Galicia, where his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had preceded him. He published the halakhic discourse which he delivered on the occasion of his appointment under the title *Hegeh Aryeh* (1902). There he founded the yeshivah Or Torah which was headed for many years by Jekuthiel Aryeh *Kamelhar, and to it he devoted his main activities. In 1908, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the reign of the emperor Francis Joseph I, Horowitz was decorated by him. Despite the opposition of his forebears to Ḥasidism, Horowitz was on terms of familiarity with the circle of Ḥayyim Halberstamm, the head of the ḥasidic dynasty of Zanz, and in consequence he was highly respected in ḥasidic circles. His attitude to Zionism was very sympathetic and he was one of the few Galician rabbis to eulogize Theodor *Herzl.

Horowitz attained considerable renown through his responsa, *Harei Besamim*, the first volume (1882) containing

129 responsa, the second (1897) 253. Many of his responsa remained in manuscript, but eventually his pupils and relatives succeeded in arranging for their publication; in 1958 a third and fourth part of the *Harei Besamim* was published by Simon Federbush, containing 165 responsa as well as novellae on various tractates. The book had a wide circulation among scholars. The responsa are in answer to questions from Russia, Germany, Poland, Romania, and Hungary, and are regarded as exemplary among recent halakhic works. They are written in a clear and precise Hebrew style. In the introduction to the second volume Horowitz expresses emphatically his opposition to casuistry, stressing that only a person familiar with the whole Talmud can explain the *halakhah* and write novellae "without relying upon imaginary conjectures." In matters "for which no foundation in the Talmud can be found, we are unable to deduce a ruling and fabricate the *halakhah*" (2, no. 84 p. 74d). In general he was lenient in his rulings, adopting the principle that finding a permissive ruling is desirable. He vigorously denounced the local *shoḥatim* for disregarding the rabbis (1, no. 105). Horowitz stresses particularly his desire for the unity, equality, and brotherhood of the Jews, whether ignorant or learned (*Rosh ha-Har*, the introduction to the first volume).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Brower, in: K. Kamelhar, *Mi-Pi Aryeh* (1909), 13b–18a; Bloch, in: *Sinai*, 25 (1949), 186–93; N.M. Gelber, in: *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 5 (1952), 27; J. Horowitz, *ibid.*, 91–93; Aryeh Leib Horowitz, *Harei Besamim*, ed. by S. Federbush (1958), introd.; S. Federbush, *Ḥikrei Yahadut* (1965), 336–49.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, BER (1895–1942), Yiddish poet, short story writer, and essayist, associated with the Young Galicia school of Yiddish poetry. Born in Majdan in the Carpathian mountains and educated in nearby Stanislav, during World War I he served in the Austrian army and lived for a period in Vienna while earning a medical degree. He worked for several years as a doctor, first in an Austrian prisoner-of-war camp for Italian soldiers and later in a hospital in Vienna. His first Yiddish poems, which appeared in S.J. Imber's Viennese literary journal, *Nayland* (1918), attracted much attention, and he began contributing his works to numerous Yiddish periodicals in Europe. His lyrics about robust, rural Jews living close to the soil found their finest expression in a collection of lyrics, *Reyakh fun Erd* ("Smell of Earth," 1930). At the outbreak of World War II, Horowitz was living in Stanislav, where he continued his literary activities. He was killed either by the Nazis or by the Ukrainian villagers among whom he lived when the Germans invaded his district in October, 1942. J. Leftwich published English translations of his works in the anthology *The Golden Peacock* (1961).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, Leksikon, 1 (1926), 784–6; LNYL, 3 (1960), 65–7. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Y. Sandel, *Umgekumene Yidishe Kinstler* (1957), 122–6; Y. Papernikov, *Heymishe un noente* (1958), 225–26.

[Melech Ravitch / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

HOROWITZ, DAVID (1899–1979), Israel economist. Born in Drohobycz (then Austrian Galicia), Horowitz was active in *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir and settled in Palestine in 1920. He was a member of kibbutz *Bet Alfa until 1925, serving as a member of the executive committee of the *Histadrut between 1922 and 1925. From 1925 to 1927 he was a member and secretary-general of *Gedud ha-Avodah. He worked as a journalist until 1932, when he was appointed financial adviser to the American Economic Committee in Palestine. Between 1935 and 1948, Horowitz was director of the Economic Department of the *Jewish Agency, while also lecturing at the Tel Aviv School of Law and Economics. He was in charge of organizing the evidence for the *yishuv* representatives to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry and was a liaison officer to the 1947 United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), which recommended the partition of the country. He was also a member of the Jewish Agency delegation to the UN General Assembly, which accepted the Partition Plan (Nov. 29, 1947). Between 1948 and 1952, Horowitz was director general of the Ministry of Finance and dealt with the financing of the *War of Independence. From 1952 he worked to establish the Bank of Israel, becoming its first governor (*nagid*) in 1954. In public life Horowitz sometimes displayed a critical attitude toward the economic policies of the government. He was appointed the governor representing Israel at the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Finance Corporation, and the International Development Association. A program for the encouragement of capital investment in developing countries – "The Horowitz Proposal," which he presented to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in 1964 – considerably influenced the decisions taken by this body and by various other international institutions. In 1968 Horowitz was elected council member representing Asia in the Society for International Development. He was awarded the 1968 Israel Prize for social sciences.

Horowitz retired from his position as governor of the Bank of Israel on October 31, 1971, and was succeeded by Moshe Sanbar (Sandberg).

His main works include *The Abolition of Poverty* (1969), *Economics of Israel* (1967), *Hemisphere, North and South: Economic Disparity Among Nations* (1966), *State in the Making* (1953), *Halakhah Kalkalit u-Mediniyyut Kalkalit be-Yisrael* (1958), *Mivneh u-Megammah be-Khalkalat Yisrael* (1964), *Ẓel ha-Etmol ve-Etgar ha-Maḥar* (1962), *Ha-Kimmum u-Va'ayotav ba-Olam u-ve-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1945), and *Ha-Kalkalah ha-Ereẓ Yisre'elit be-Hitpatteḥutah* (1948^2). His autobiographical volume *Ha-Etmol Shelli* (1970) describes the ideological struggle in the Palestine Labor and colonization movement in the late 1920s.

[Yitzhak Julius Taub]

HOROWITZ, DAVID JOSHUA HOESCHEL BEN ZEVI HIRSCH HA-LEVI (1760–1825), rabbi and author. In his youth, David Joshua studied under his father, Ẓevi Hirsch

*Horowitz, author of *Maḥaneh Levi*, under his grandfather, Phinehas b. Ẓevi Hirsch *Horowitz, author of *Hafla'ah*, and then under his father-in-law, Eleazar Kaliz. In 1795 Horowitz was appointed rabbi of Floss, Bavaria, and from 1822 until his death served as rabbi of Frauenkirchen, Hungary. He wrote a commentary on the *Sifrei* entitled *Kunteres Aḥaron*, as an appendix to his edition of the *Sifrei* (Sulzbach, 1802). Horowitz' halakhic novellae are included in the works of his father-in-law, *Or Ḥadash* to *Kiddushin* (Stettin, ed. 1860) and responsa *Ḥeker Halakhah* (1898, 81b–87a). Moses *Sofer refers to Horowitz in a responsum (*Responsa Ḥatam Sofer*, EH pt. 2 (1829) no. 116, p. 54a) as "the great, exceptionally perspicacious, luminary."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.J. (L.) Greenwald (Grunwald), *Pe'erei Ḥakhmei Medinatenu* (1910), 63 no. 10; H.D. Friedberg, *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz* (1928^2), 18 no. 29/2; P.Z. Schwartz, *Shem ha-Gedolim me-Ereẓ Hagar*, 1 (1913), 26a no. 47.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, ḤAYYIM DOV (1865–1933), economist and Hebrew writer. Born in Gorki, Belorussia, Horowitz published articles and stories in the Hebrew and Yiddish press on economic and financial subjects. His book *Ha-Mamon* ("The Money," 1900) was the first work in Hebrew dealing with theoretical problems of economics and finances. In the period 1901–03 he edited the *Yidishes Folksblat* together with M. *Spector. He joined the Zionist movement in its initial stage and became one of the leaders of the *Democratic Fraction. It was Horowitz who put the economic problems of the Jewish people on the agenda of the Zionist Movement. In his articles he sought to demonstrate that the modern development of capitalism in the nations among which the Jewish people were living was causing the pauperization of the Jews, and he called upon the Zionist Movement to apply itself to the improvement of the economic condition of the Jews by furthering cooperative methods on a mass basis. He also saw this effort as a prerequisite for the realization of Zionism. His lecture on this subject at the *Minsk Conference of Russian Zionists (1902) made a profound impression. In the period 1903–11 he contributed articles on economic and financial subjects to *Fraynd*, using the pen name A. Soḥer. He also became the supervisor of the savings and loan societies established by the *Jewish Colonization Association in the cities and towns of the Russian Pale of Settlement. Horowitz published booklets on cooperation and was a member of the editorial board of *Di Yidishe Kooperatsiye*. At the beginning of the Russian Revolution (1917) he moved to Poland, and at the time of the Polish conquest of Minsk (1919–20) he was the editor of the Zionist newspaper *Farn Folk*. In 1922 he returned to his family in Moscow and spent the rest of his life dealing with problems of cooperation among Soviet Jews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Orhov, in: *He-Avar*, 5 (1957), 149–51; LNYL, 3 (1960), 104–6; Kressel, Leksikon, 1 (1965), 583–4.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

HOROWITZ, ISAAC HA-LEVI BEN JACOB JOKEL (1715–1767), German rabbi. In his youth he was known as a scholar and later married the daughter of R. Jacob Babad, the *av bet din* at Brody, who supported him in his home for several years. He was rabbi successively at Gorochov (1749), at Glogau, succeeding his father there on the latter's death, and at Brody (from 1754) where he was much beloved and where many stories circulated about his communal activities and his great wisdom. On the death of Jonathan *Eybeschuetz he was a candidate for the position of chief rabbi of the three communities of Hamburg, Altona, and Wandsbeck. Elected with the sanction of Jacob *Emden, he arrived at Hamburg in 1765, and served as chief rabbi for two stormy years. There he succeeded in calming the passions engendered by the Emden-Eybeschuetz dispute, but in confirming Eybeschuetz' decrees he aroused the hostility of Jacob Emden. In 1766 he was a central figure in the controversy concerning the *Cleves get, declaring it to be valid in opposition to the Frankfurt rabbis who had invalidated it. Emden sided with Horowitz, which finally led to their reconciliation, and subsequently Emden wrote to him in terms of great esteem.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

Horowitz' responsa on the laws in *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* were published in his *Matamei Yiẓḥak* (1904–05) Part 1, the second part of which contains his commentary on the *Kereti u-Feleti* of Jonathan Eybeschuetz. The *Matamei Yiẓḥak ve-Leḥem Maẓẓah* (1911) contains talmudic novellae by him and his son, Mordecai Ẓevi. His novellae are also included in the *Berakhah Meshulleshet* (1935) published by S. Ehrlich. Other of his responsa are scattered throughout the works of his contemporaries. Of his sons, Mordecai Ẓevi was *av bet din* of Horochow, Samuel *av bet din* of Amsterdam, and Eliezer *av bet din* of Zalozhtsy and the father of Aryeh Leib *Horowitz of Stanislav. Another grandson, Naphtali Ẓevi, was the founder of the ḥasidic dynasty of Ropczyce.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Duckesz, *Iwoh Le-Moschaw* (1903), 53–59 (Heb. pt.); I. Horowitz, *Matamei Yiẓḥak* (1904), 12–16 (introduction by E. Schoenfeld); Z.(H.) Horowitz, in: S. Ehrlich (ed.), *Berakhah Meshulleshet* (1935), 101–24; J.A. Kamelhar, *Dor De'ah* (1935^2), 44–47; N.M. Gelber, *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 6 (1955), 57f., 101, 108; M. Horovitz, *Frankfurter Rabbinen* (1969^2), 205f.

HOROWITZ, ISAIAH BEN ABRAHAM HA-LEVI (called **Ha-Shelah ha-Kadosh**, "the holy Shelah," from the initials of the title of his major work; 1565?–1630), rabbi, kabbalist, and communal leader. Horowitz was born in Prague, but as a youth he moved to Poland with his father, who was his first teacher. He studied there under Solomon b. Judah of Cracow, Meir of *Lublin (the Maharam), and Joshua *Falk and gained a reputation among Polish scholars while still young. In 1597 he published his father's *Emek Berakhah* with the addition of his own glosses in which the influence of kabbalistic teaching is already discernible. In 1600 he became *av bet din* of Dubno and in 1602 *av bet din* and head of the yeshivah of Ostraha. In

1606 he was appointed *av bet din* of Frankfurt on the Main. After the expulsion of the Jews from there in 1614, he returned to his native Prague, where he was rabbi until 1621. In that year, after the death of his wife, he moved to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Jerusalem, where he remarried and became the rabbi of the Ashkenazi community. He was active in the strengthening of the Ashkenazi community in the capital and in the expansion of the settlement of Ashkenazim in the country. In 1625 he was imprisoned together with other scholars by the pasha and ransomed for an exorbitant sum. He died in Tiberias where his grave (close to that of Maimonides) is still visited. Shabbetai Sheftel Horowitz (1590?–1660?) was his son.

Horowitz, who belonged to a wealthy family, lived in comfortable circumstances all his life and practiced philanthropy extensively, particularly in supporting Torah scholars. In Ereẓ Israel too, he and his wife had a servant, and though he refused to accept a salary, he stipulated that "they give me an imposing and elegant dwelling." He lent money to the Jerusalem community, which remained in debt to his daughter after his death. Horowitz settled in Ereẓ Israel with the aim of sanctifying himself and fulfilling the precepts that can only be fulfilled there. He regarded himself as fortunate to have been privileged "to disseminate Torah in Ereẓ Israel and in the holy city of Jerusalem." He hoped and planned that many would follow in his wake and that he "would achieve wonders in Torah study and the conduct of the community …" (extracts from letters to his children published in *Shomer Ẓiyyon ha-Ne'eman*, nos. 141–2 (1853), 281b, 283b). He looked forward to the revival of the Jerusalem community under his spiritual guidance, and as a result of his connections with the Ashkenazi communities in the Diaspora. He welcomed the opportunities of association with the Sephardi-Oriental congregations and, with the great respect he had for them, he allowed himself to be influenced by them. He delighted in the fact that he was able to preach to them "in the holy language, very clearly," and he accepted some of their liturgical customs.

In Ereẓ Israel he was greatly impressed by the manuscript notes of Isaac *Luria, Moses *Cordovero, and Joseph *Caro, "those three outstanding saints … truly angels of the Lord of Hosts," and they increased still more the kabbalistic elements in his teaching. For Horowitz, Kabbalah was the teaching of "the sages of truth who entered the secret of the Lord received in unbroken tradition by word of mouth from Moses at Sinai." He held that the time had come to reveal the "secret wisdom of the Zohar as a preparation for the imminent redemption": "this final generation" is permitted to engage publicly in esoteric study because "they are close to the redemption … and will not fall into error." Accordingly, he preferred the view of *Naḥmanides and other kabbalists in their approach to Torah, precepts, and faith, to that of Maimonides and the rationalists.

Horowitz' chief work is the *Shenei Luhot ha-Berit* ("Two Tablets of the Covenant"; known as *She-La-H*) first published in Amsterdam, 1649 (with many later editions by his son Shabbetai who offered as an introduction his own *Vavei ha-Ammudim*). In this extensive work, *halakhah*, homily, and Kabbalah are combined for the purpose of giving directions as to how to live an ethical life. He wrote it "for his children after him" but for general guidance also. The work contains excerpts of homilies and comments which he had written before going to Ereẓ Israel, but it was arranged and completed in Ereẓ Israel. The vastness of the material and its various strata impair its clarity. Among the works which influenced him or which he recommended for study, Horowitz mentions most ethical works – from Baḥya's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* to his father's *Berit Avraham*. The *Shelah* has a preface entitled *Toledot Adam* and a kabbalistic introduction called *Be-Asarah Ma'amarot*. The book consists of two parts, *Derekh Ḥayyim*, containing laws according to the order of the festivals in the calendar, and *Luḥot ha-Berit*, summarizing the 613 commandments in the order in which they appear in the Bible. There are three sections: *Ner Mitzvah*, dealing with the various precepts; *Torah Or*, elucidating the reasons for the precepts according to Kabbalah; and *Tokhaḥat Musar*, summarizing the ethical teachings stemming from the various precepts. The laws for every day of the year are arranged in the framework of tractates: those for ordinary days in tractate *Ḥullin*, for the Sabbath in tractate *Shabbat*, etc. The author deals with the 13 hermeneutical rules for interpreting the Torah (see *Hermeneutics) and also discusses talmudic methodology. He gave instructions that the last section of his work, called *Asarah Hillulim*, should not be published, since he wrote it as a testament to his children and pupils; nevertheless, his son Shabbetai Sheftel permitted its publication, commenting that the whole world was included among his pupils (introduction to the *Vavei ha-Ammudim*).

Horowitz was an outstanding halakhist and adduced many new laws, customs, and *takkanot*. He indicated his attitude to the methods and halakhic rulings of Moses Isserles and Solomon Luria in the words: "For each of them compiled and arranged *issur ve-hetter … but Isserles has already been accepted as the authority." Despite this, he stresses that "Solomon Luria came later with his arrangement of *issur ve-hetter*," so that "every man might be master in his own home, to purify himself, and to be strict with himself by following the stringencies of both" (*Shelah* (Amsterdam, 1968), 74b). Despite his advocating *pilpul* even in kabbalistic study, he strongly opposes it as a method, stating that there is "a sect of madmen who say that the *ḥilluk* ("the hairsplitting distinction") sharpens the wits – he who speaks thus is deserving of censure." He expresses pain in that "I spent most of my life in working out such ingenious and wondrous *ḥillukim*. I have sinned, I have committed iniquity, I have transgressed. I come therefore to warn future generations, and thereby my willful sins will be converted into merits" (*ibid.*, 181a). But in his opinion "true *pilpul*" can bring a man "to discover most wonderful things in every single *halakhah*." He regards the Torah as a continuous revelation bringing about precepts which serve to ward off uncleanness: "The Holy One gave the Torah and gives it at every moment; the flowing fountain never ceases." He ex-

plains even the concepts of law and "within the strict line of the law" by this theory of continuous creativity in the Torah. To act "within the strict line of the law" (forgoing one's rights) is, as it were, "the giving of the Torah" by a man to himself in accordance with his personality at any given time.

Man's free will derives from the nature of the Creator's omniscience, since His "knowledge is will and … will is composed of opposites and contains all ways. Man is given freedom to choose his way … there is the way of the righteous and the way of the wicked and the source of all of them is the Supreme Will." The sin of Adam aroused new possibilities for revealing what was hidden in the Divine Will. The rabbinic statement that God showed to Adam "each generation and its leaders" means that "after he sinned there was opened to him the source … of good and evil … and He showed him … how the world's development in all its ramifications ought to take place." All envisioned development, however, is merely a potentiality; the existence of good and evil is created by man, for "there is a difference between the potential and the actual … the development and its ramifications ought to be in accordance with the revealing of the Supreme Source, but it is not actually so until man has made his choice."

Nevertheless, man's power is greater than the mere ability to choose between the two possible ways, "For into man's hands are actually given … the inner … and outer keys. And not merely to open a way for himself does he go forth but for the needs of the Most High, to profess the unity of the Great Name." In mystic fashion Horowitz points to the difference between the inner holiness of the people of God and the essential "externality" of the other nations: "The Israelite nation is called 'the assembly of Israel,' because they are especially assembled in one unity on account of their soul and they are the ones inside the temple of the King … i.e., the city where God is. The locality of the others, however, is outside: this is indicated esoterically in the verse, 'Esau was a man of the field,' and … when Israel withdraws to the outside of the city, all paths are potentially dangerous because of 'the field of Esau.' This field of Esau is Israel's battlefield."

**Kiddush ha-Shem* ("sanctification of the Divine Name" = martyrdom) is a central doctrine with Horowitz and he composed the prayer: "Put into my mind and into my mouth to sanctify Thy Name in public … for the sake of Thy unity … and for the sake of Thy holy Torah … and for the sake of Thy people Israel – whatever may come, only be Thou with me, that pain should not prevent me from having my mind cleave to Thee, and I shall rejoice in my heart while suffering and increase the power of speech in my mouth – to speak and to sanctify with wisdom and understanding, with knowledge, in public, and openly and prominently to all." These words reveal a recognition of the ideal need to be on guard for the honor of the faith and of the nation, since the author recognizes that "a healthy and wealthy man whom God sets at peace … has no need of the redemption of Israel … hence much exercise of wisdom is necessary for him to be able to recite the blessings with devotion … on the redemption." This **kavvanah* (devotion) is the essential of prayer. Horowitz put forward a complete method of education: the regular study of the whole Bible; the learning of "a great part of grammar while still young … then the whole of the Mishnah … to be learnt by heart; then the Talmud in length and depth, and **posekim*; afterward he should engage in the wisdom of the Zohar." He was certain that "the abstention from the study of philosophy and its prohibition is clearly laid down by the early and later authorities."

The path of the individual is paved for the purpose of cleaving to the Creator and is illuminated by the light of rejoicing which must prevail in the heart of the worshiper. "Even when occupied with his necessary bodily needs, he should not abandon that devotion. When occupied with business let him think – 'I am occupied … but I look to the Lord to obtain profit … and with it I shall perform a good deed. I will support myself and my wife and children that they may live for the service of the Divine Name, and I will dispense money on charity and the study of Torah'… and similarly when he eats or goes to sleep, let him have in mind … that his body be strong to engage in Torah and perform precepts … hence if he follows this way all the days of his life a man continually cleaves to the Divine Name" (cf. Chapter 5 of Maimonides, *Eight Chapters*). Since with the proper intention man can cleave to his Creator while pursuing his normal physical and economic tasks, he advocates the sublimation of one's failings; to convert jealousy into the zeal of scholars, desire into desire for the concealed delight (i.e., Torah), and hatred to the hatred of the wicked …" In practice he advised "let the man who wishes for eternal life repent all his life … let him always belong to holy associations, visiting the sick and burying the dead; practicing charity and holding the child for circumcision … and let him perform … precepts … with animation of heart and with joy … and always be with the righteous … and associate with them … and always be occupied with books on repentance." Generations of Jews in Central and Eastern Europe until the end of the 18th century walked in the light of "the holy Shelah," and it is probable that he exercised a powerful influence on Ḥasidism; many of its principles – the conversion to good of evil propensities, joy in every action – had great influence upon this movement.

The most important of Horowitz' other works is the prayer book *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* (Amsterdam, 1717), published by the author's great-grandson. Besides the glosses to his father's works, *Emek Berakhah* (Cracow, 1597) and *Yesh Noḥalin* (*ibid.*, 1615) he also wrote a commentary on the *Mordekhai* (of which only *Bigdei Yesha* – *ibid.*, 1757 – the section on *Mo'ed* was published); novellae (published in the *Ḥiddushei ha-Ritba al Ḥamesh Shitot* – *ibid.*, 1729); and glosses on the calendar of Mordecai b. Hillel (1787). Letters he wrote from Ereẓ Israel have been preserved with contents of autobiographical importance (A. Yaari, *Iggerot Ereẓ Yisrael* (1943), 210–21), and remaining in manuscript are *Mitzvat Tefillin* and glosses on the Zohar. Biographical material about him is found in his son's *Vavei ha-Ammudim* (appended to the

Shelah). *Tokhaḥat Musar*, an anthology excerpted from his works, is found in the *Derekh Ḥayyim* (Zolkiew, 1802) arranged by Isaac Samuel b. Ephraim and in the 1871 edition of *Ir Miklat* (1871) of David Lida. *Sefer ha-Ma'amadot* (Vienna, 1816) consists of selections from the Bible and Talmud for the seven days of the week.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Horovitz, *Frankfurter Rabbinen*, ed. by J. Unna (1969), 44 ff.; G. Klemperer, in: HJ, 12 (1950), 48–50; P. Pesis, *Ateret ha-Leviyyim* (1902); S.M. Chones, *Toledot ha-Posekim* (1910), 580–83; Frumkin-Rivlin, 1 (1929), 146–58; S.A. Horodezky, in: *Ha-Tekufah*, 22 (1924), 290–323; 24 (1928), 389–415; idem, *Olei Ẓiyyon* (1947); idem, *Ha-Mistorim be-Yisrael*, 4 (*Talelei Orot*, 1961), 54–113; Z.(H.) Horowitz, *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz* (1936), 18–21; A. Drimer, in: *Amanah*, 1 (1939), 292–310; Zinberg, Sifrut, 3 (1958), 221–25; A. Shochat, in: *Zion*, 16 (1951), 36–38; H.H. Ben-Sasson, *Hagut ve-Hanhagah* (1959), index; J.L. Maimon, *Or ha-Mizraḥ*, 7 no. 2 (1960), 3–11; H.R. Rabinowitz, *Deyokena'ot shel Darshanim* (1967), 243 f.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

HOROWITZ, ISAIAH BEN JACOB HA-LEVI (1633–1695 or 1698), Polish rabbi and author, grandson of the author of the *Shelah*, Isaiah *Horowitz. Born in Cracow, Horowitz obtained his early education there and then proceeded to the yeshivah of Brest-Litovsk and subsequently to Vilna. In 1655, as a result of the *Chmielnicki massacres and persecutions, he went to Italy and lived in Ferrara, Mantua, and Verona. At the end of the introduction to his *Beit ha-Levi* (Venice, 1666) he praises these three communities who supported him and enabled him to publish it. *Beit ha-Levi* comprises 18 cases of the principles of *migo* (see *Pleas) and novellae on the *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, parts 69–149. The great talmudists of his era greatly prized the book. He returned to Poland where he died.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ḥ. D. Friedberg, *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz* (1928^2), 29; Z.(H.) Horowitz, *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz* (1936), 32.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, ISAIAH BEN SHABBETAI SHEFTEL (1632–1689), rabbi, grandson of Isaiah b. Abraham *Horowitz (Shelah). Isaiah Horowitz was born in Frankfurt. He studied there under his father and when his father was appointed rabbi of Posen in 1643, he continued to study at his yeshivah in that town. When in 1648/49 his father published the *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit* of Isaiah Horowitz together with his own *Vavei Ammudim*, Isaiah, then only 17 years of age, wrote the introduction and composed a poem in their honor. He was rabbi of Leipnik from 1658 to 1673, of Jungbunzlau, Bohemia, from 1674 to 1678, of Frankfurt from 1678 to 1687, and from 1687 until his death, of Posen. He was a member of the *Council of Four Lands and carried on a halakhic correspondence with his great contemporaries. Many of his responsa are included in the responsa *Avodat ha-Gershuni* of Gershon *Ashkenazi and in the *Even ha-Shoham* of Eliakim Gotz. He also wrote glosses to the *Emek Berakhah* (Amsterdam, 1729) of his great-grandfather, Abraham.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Perles, in: MGWJ, 14 (1865), 91 f.; M. Horovitz, *Frankfurter Rabbinen*, 2 (1883), 53–56; Lewin, in: JJLG, 2 (1904), 11 f.; Ḥ.D. Friedberg, *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz* (1928^2), 29; F. Hillel, *Die Rabbiner und die verdienstvollen Familien der Leipniker Gemeinde* (1928), 58–61; Z.(H.) Horowitz, *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz* (1936), 26–31; Halpern, Pinkas, 85, 199.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, ISRAEL ALBERT (1907–1973), U.S. and international professional chessmaster. Horowitz twice won the U.S. chess championship (1936, 1948). Though not in the same class as Samuel *Reshevsky, who defeated him decisively in a 1941 match, or Bobby *Fischer, Horowitz successfully represented the U.S. in four Olympiads and several international tournaments and matches. In 1948, he acted as Reshevsky's trainer. Horowitz published a large number of propaedeutic volumes on the game – several in collaboration with Fred Reinfeld. He was also editor, for many years, of the successful publication *Chess Review.*

[Gerald Abrahams (2nd ed.)]

HOROWITZ, ISRAEL ZE'EV (1880–1918), Palestinographer. Horowitz was born in Tiberias, the son of R. Phinehas Horowitz, and was educated at yeshivot in Jerusalem. In the late 1900s he began a large work, *Meḥkerei Ereẓ Avoteinu* ("Studies of the Land of our Fathers"), of which he published only the first part, about the borders (1910). During World War I Horowitz taught Talmud at a modern religious school to support his family and at the same time began compiling an encyclopedia on the historical geography of Ereẓ Israel, Syria, and Sinai called *Ereẓ Yisrael u-Shekhenoteha* ("Ereẓ Israel and her Neighbors"). He continued this work during the war, collecting material for 4,000 entries, while his family subsisted on the *ḥalukkah* distributed by the Hungarian community. The entries from *alef* to *yud* were published posthumously by his son Abraham (d. 1957) in 1923; the article on Jerusalem (edited by his son) as a separate volume in 1964; the others were never published. The importance of Horowitz' work lies in the comprehensiveness of the talmudic sources which he quoted or cited in extensive footnotes. The text however suffers from Horowitz' inadequate scientific training and lack of scientific literature. He nevertheless ranks as one of the foremost authorities on the talmudic sources of the topography of Ereẓ Israel.

[Abraham J. Brawer]

HOROWITZ, JACOB BEN ABRAHAM (d. 1622), talmudist and kabbalist. Jacob was a brother of Isaiah b. Abraham *Horowitz. He studied under Judah Loew b. Bezalel (the Maharal) of Prague. In c. 1590 he lived in Szczebrzeszyn but held no official post there and is sometimes referred to as "Jacob Shevreshiner." Together with his brother he published in Cracow in 1597 the *Emek Berakhah* of their father Abraham b. Shabbetai Sheftel *Horowitz. In 1615 he published his glosses to his father's *Yesh Noḥalin* together with the text (Prague). It has approbations by Solomon Ephraim *Luntschitz, Joshua

*Falk, Samuel *Edels, and Joel *Sirkes. The book is written in the style of a testament to his children. He encourages his children to study it during the High Holidays as a spiritual stimulation for the fulfillment of the Torah and its precepts, and for repentance (30a). Both these works achieved a wide circulation. Isaiah Horowitz made use of these glosses for his classic *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit* (*Shelah*). Jacob stresses that there is a spiritual content to all man's activities. "A man must be wholly devoted to God without reservations, with simplicity, and without any questioning of His attributes." He was opposed to casuistry in the study of the Talmud, criticizing those talmudists who neglect the study of Scripture, and "engaged in the study of extraneous *pilpul* and thus stand outside the palace of the King." In contrast to his father, who under the influence of his teacher Moses Isserles tended toward philosophical enquiry, Jacob, under the sway of Judah Loew b. Bezalel, drew closer to Kabbalah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ḥ.D. Friedberg, *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz* (1928[2]), 26; Z.(H.) Horowitz, *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz* (1930/36), 17; S.A. Horodezky, in: *Ha-Tekufah*, 22 (1934), 302–5.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, JACOB JOKEL BEN MEIR HA-LEVI (1680–1755), Galician rabbi. Horowitz' father, Meir, served as rabbi of various Galician communities from 1696 to 1718 and died c. 1743. In 1711 Jacob Jokel was elected to succeed him as rabbi of Bolechow. In 1735 he was appointed rabbi of Brody. In 1742, however, he was forced to resign, as a result of an appeal to the civil courts against a ruling which he had given. He removed to Glogau where he was rabbi from 1745 until his death. In the dispute between *Eybeschuetz and *Emden, he was selected as one of the three renowned rabbis before whom Eybeschuetz had to appear to defend himself, but because of Horowitz' refusal to undertake this task the arbitration was abandoned. He opposed with all his power anything which had in it a suspicion of reform or a connection with Shabbateanism or the movements which stemmed from it. Horowitz' talmudic glosses and novellae are found in the works of his contemporaries such as the *Laḥmei Todah* (253b) of Ẓevi Hirsch b. Phinehas ha-Levi *Horowitz (Offenbach, 1816). In the responsa *Divrei Rav Meshullam* (Korez, 1783) of Abraham Meshullam Zalman, son of Ẓevi Hirsch *Ashkenazi, there is an elegy on his death (32d–33a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Buber, *Anshei Shem* (1895), 143 no. 364; I.T. Eisenstadt and S. Wiener, *Da'at Kedoshim* (1897–98), 112; N.M. Gelber, in: *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 6 (1955), 54–56, 97.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, LAZAR (Eleazar) BEN DAVID JOSHUA HOESCHEL (1803–1868), rabbi of Vienna. A native of Floss, Bavaria, he was invited in 1828 by Isaac Loew *Hoffman von Hoffmannsthal to serve as rabbi of the Vienna community. Since the authorities did not at that time grant formal recognition to the community, he was forced to accept the lesser title of *Ritualienaufseher* (supervisor of rituals) for Viennese Jews. He was strict in matters of *kashrut* and many other areas of *halakhah*, as may be learned from his responsa *Yad Eleazar* (published by his sons in 1870). At the same time he endeavored to reconcile contending factions in the community and opposed secession by the Orthodox.

With the consent of his teacher, Moses *Sofer, Horowitz agreed in 1863 to the performance of the *meẓiẓah* (see *circumcision) by a sponge (*Yad Eleazar*, no. 55). He collaborated with I.N. *Mannheimer in the campaign for abolishing the oath *more judaico* and with him took an active part in the revolution of 1848. At that time he issued a call to the Jews of Austria asking for an improvement in the political and social conditions of the Jews, proposing as well that they be encouraged to take up agriculture.

Horowitz was favored by the archduchess Maria Dorothea, who was interested in Hebrew literature and believed in the return of the Jewish people to Ereẓ Israel. At his urging she averted the expulsion of several hundred Jewish families from Vienna in 1851. Horowitz was called as an expert at the trial of Leopold *Kompert, editor of the *Neuzeit*, over the article by Heinrich *Graetz on Messianism. His ambivalent stand on the issue brought down upon him in 1884 the ire of the Orthodox rabbinate led by Azriel *Hildesheimer. He lectured in Adolf *Jellinek's *bet ha-midrash* and contributed to Hebrew periodicals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Smolenskin, in *Ha-Shaḥar*, 1 (1869), 3–18; A. Frankl-Gruen, *Die Geschichte der Juden in Kremsier*, 2 (1898); *Dr. Bloch's Wochenschrift*, 25 (1908), 26–27; H.D. Friedberg, *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz* (1928[2]), 19–22; B. Wachstein, *Die hebraeische Publizistik in Wien* (1930), 84–86; A. Zahavi-Goldhamer, in: Y.L. Fishman (ed.), *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 1 (1946), 264, 270f.; S.W. Baron, in: PAAJR, 18 (1949), 1–66 passim; M. Grunwald, *Vienna* (1936), index.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, LOUIS J. (1875–1956), U.S. builder and philanthropist. Horowitz, who was born in Czestochowa, Poland, went to the U.S. in 1892. After holding a series of jobs in various fields, he became president of the Brooklyn Heights Improvement Company, a small construction firm. In 1903 he was hired by the Thompson-Starrett Construction Company to put the company's finances in order. He served as company vice president and general manager (1905–10) and president (1910–34). When he retired in 1934 the company was one of the largest in the U.S. In 1922 he and his wife established the Louis J. and Mary E. Horowitz Foundation, an educational and charitable organization. In his will he bequeathed $9,000,000 to New York University.

HOROWITZ, MESHULLAM ISSACHAR BEN ARYEH LEIB HA-LEVI (1808–1888), Galician rabbi. Horowitz was born in Stanislav. Reluctant to enter the rabbinate, he was finally persuaded to do so by his father, and served as rabbi of Zabrze from 1827 to 1842, of Tysmenitsa from 1843 to 1845, and of Stanislav from 1845 until his death. He was an opponent of Ḥasidism, particularly of the "courts of the rab-

bis" which at that time began to intervene unduly in political matters. He stressed this point of view at a large rabbinical assembly in Lemberg in 1885. He refused to cooperate with the government in matters affecting the internal affairs of the communities, and when at that assembly it was proposed to formulate communal enactments in German he demanded that they be drawn up in Hebrew. Of his works the following may be mentioned: reponsa *Bar Livai* (2 pts., 1861–71): the first part contains casuistic discussions, while the second gives practical halakhic rulings. A third volume of *Bar Livai* (1910) on Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah*, was published after his death. He also wrote *Kelei Ḥemdah* (1885), a commentary on the Pentateuch. Many of his works, including glosses on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, are still in manuscript. His rulings tended to be lenient. In his clarification of halakhic problems he relied only on the Talmud and on the early *posekim, eschewing the ingenious argumentation of later authorities.

Horowitz had five sons, Eleazar, Isaac, Saul, Jacob Yokel, and Joseph, all of whom were born in Zalozhtsy and became rabbis. ELEAZAR (1831–1912) was rabbi of Mariampol, Galicia, from 1851 to 1856, and of Rohatyn from 1866 until his death. He was inclined to Ḥasidism. He was the author of: *Devar Halakhah* (1863), comprising 82 halakhic rulings, and of *Ateret Zekenim* (glosses to the Torah) which was published as an appendix to the *Penei Aryeh* (1876) of his grandfather, Aryeh Leib b. Eleazar Horowitz. ISAAC (1828–1899) was appointed rabbi of Ottynia in 1852, then of Zurawno, and in 1888 succeeded his father at Stanislav where he died. He was the author of the responsa *Toledot Yiẓḥak* (1866) and of *Me'ah She'arim* (1887) on talmudic topics. He avoided the current casuistic method of study which he regarded as a deviation from true Torah. He protested against "the distorted cleverness" of those following this method, whose aim is merely to show their superiority over their fellows and who study in order to raise difficulties and to get the better of their fellows. SAUL (1831–1912) was appointed rabbi of Ujscie Zielone in 1853, and of Tysmenitsa in 1883. He was the author of *Besamim Rosh ha-Ḥadashot* (1875), containing 62 responsa. His son, ḤAYYIM ARYEH, was rabbi of Cracow and the author of the responsa *Ḥayyei Aryeh* (1890). JACOB YOKEL (1834–1915) served for a time as rabbi of Delatyn and later in Stanislav. At the outbreak of World War I he fled from the Russians to Stryj, where he died. He was the author of *Avnei ha-Shoham* (1880), studies in *halakhah* and of *Shirat Dodim* (1894), a commentary on the Song of Songs with a ḥasidic approach. His son JOSEPH was appointed *av bet din* in Ujscie in 1882, where he served several years. He wrote a book about his father *Alon Bakhut* (1888). DAVID BEN ELEAZAR, the son of Eleazar, was appointed rabbi of Koslov (1909) and later of Stanislavov, where he remained until his death. He was the author of *Imrei David* (1934), comprising 229 responsa on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh. In addition to his profound rabbinic scholarship he possessed an elegant Hebrew style which is reflected in the introduction to his work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Berger, *Ro'ei Yisrael*, in: Meshullam Issachar Horowitz, *Bar Livai, Mahadura Tinyana* (1910) introd. (Meshullam, Issachar); Ḥ.D. Friedberg, *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz* (1928^2), 18 no. 30; Z. (H.) Horowitz, *Kitvei ha-Ge'onim* (1928), 91–96; idem, *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz* (c. 1930), 4; idem, in: MGWJ, 74 (1930), 15 no. 1; Gelber, in: *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 5 (1952), 26 f., 74 ff.; idem, in: *Kehillat Rohatyn ve-ha-Sevivah* (1962), 55; J. Horowitz, *ibid*, 74–91; Rubinstein, in: *Hadorom*, 5–6 (1958), 7–10 (on Meshullam and Issachar); J.L. Maimon (ed.), *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 5 (1952), 93–97.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, MOSES BEN JUDAH (early 19th century), rabbi and preacher. Born in Kharkov, he was elected *av bet din* in Valachosk in 1813. He wrote a homiletic work, *Emek ha-Sidim* (Kriz, 1819), containing the sermons he preached on special Sabbaths between the years 1813–18, revealing a knowledge of the *siddur* of Isaac *Luria. His grandfather, Nathan, who was *av bet din* in Berdichev, wrote an important book which Moses published as an appendix to his own work. In his book Horowitz states that he also wrote *Emek ha-Melekh*, a commentary on Esther, *Emek Shaveh, Emek Ḥevron, Emek Refa'im*, and *Emek Yehoshafat*, all of which deal with halakhic problems.

HOROWITZ, PHINEHAS BEN ISRAEL HA-LEVI (1535–1618), talmudic scholar; leader of the Cracow community. Horowitz was apparently born in Prague and died in Cracow. He never held the post of rabbi. From 1581, for many years he was head of the Cracow community, and in the *takkanot* of that town his signature appears first. In 1609 he signed a trade agreement with the council of Kazimierz. From 1585 he headed the *Council of Four Lands and his signature appears on the *takkanot* of 1595 and 1597. His second wife was the sister of Moses *Isserles, in whose responsa he is mentioned (No. 49). In 1556 Horowitz visited *Shalom Shakhna of Lublin, to whom he gave details of the method of studying the Talmud in Germany, particularly in Frankfurt. When in 1602 the Jewish community of Rome was in distress, the special emissary of the community addressed himself in a personal letter to Horowitz to commend the Jews of Rome to the Council of Four Lands and to Saul Katzenellenbogen of Brest-Litovsk, appealing to them to collect monies for the benefit of the needy. Yom Tov Lipman *Heller describes him as "a prince in Israel, very wise in Torah and worldly matters, and head of all the leaders of the four lands of the kingdom of Poland" (*Megillat Eivah*). His novellae are found in the works of contemporary rabbis. His novellae to tractates *Yevamot* and *Makkot* were published in 1909 under the title *Beit Pinḥas*. He wrote an introduction to the *Derushim le-Khol Ḥefẓeihem* (Cracow, 1609) of Nathan Vidal b. Samuel Phoebus b. Moses Te'omim of Vienna.

His son ISAAC (d. 1631) is mentioned in 1624–26 among the heads of the Cracow community; his name appears on a *takkanah* of the Council of Four Lands. He died in Vienna. Another son SAMUEL (d. c. 1622), born in Cracow, edited in Cracow a new edition of the Shulḥan Arukh (1617–18), adding

to the glosses of his uncle Moses Isserles cross-references and sources from Isserles' *Darkhei Moshe*. These references have since been added to every edition of Isserles' glosses.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ḥ.D. Friedberg, *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz* (1928^2), 7; B. Wachstein, *Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Wien*, 1 (1912), 117f., 123–5; Halpern, Pinkas, 10, 12f., 37f.; A. Siev, *Ha-Rema* (1957), 16; *Sefer Cracow* (1959), 20.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, PHINEHAS (Pinhas) BEN ẒEVI HIRSCH HA-LEVI (1730–1805), German rabbi. Horowitz was born in Czortkow, Poland, where his father was rabbi. He studied first under his father and then under his two brothers, Nahum (introduction to the *Shevet Aḥim*) and Samuel Shmelke *Horowitz, later rabbi of Nikolsburg. During that period the two brothers were attracted to the circle of *Dov Baer of Mezhirech and Horowitz visited Dov Baer, first in Mezhirech and then in Rovno. As a result of these visits he made the acquaintance of *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, the founder of *Ḥabad Ḥasidism.

Horowitz was rabbi at first of Witkowo, Poland and then of Lachowicze (1764). In 1771 he accepted a call to the rabbinate of Frankfurt, a post he held until his death. During his later years he was frequently ill and eventually became totally blind. Horowitz was held in the highest respect by the rabbis and scholars of Frankfurt, and particularly noteworthy was the cordial relationship which existed between him and Nathan Maas, author of the *Binyan Shelomo* and *av bet din* of Frankfurt. Horowitz maintained a close and friendly relationship with Nathan *Adler, although he opposed him in certain matters and later was one of the signatories to the 1779 proclamation signed by the leaders and rabbis of the community against Adler because of his ḥasidic leanings. His congregants also admired Horowitz because of his saintliness and integrity, and on one occasion he gave assistance to a Catholic priest who was in distress. Horowitz had a private **minyan* where he followed the Sephardi rite, whereas the traditional Ashkenazi rite of Frankfurt was otherwise followed.

Horowitz vigorously opposed the *Haskalah movement. On the eve of the new moon of Tammuz 1782 he preached a powerful sermon (known as *Tokhaḥat Musar*, "ethical rebuke") against Mendelssohn's German translation of the Pentateuch and its commentary, the *Be'ur* (*Biur*). In this sermon, regarded as the first public statement reflecting fierce opposition to the Haskalah, Horowitz referred to the *Biur* as a work "which resuscitated heretical works in scoffing at the words of our sages." The opinion has been expressed that his opposition to the translation was directed chiefly against the special system of translation and the "dogmatic tone" of the commentary and not against the translation itself. It should be noted that despite his polemics against the aims of the Haskalah movement, he did not refuse to give his approbation to the German translation of the festival prayer book of Wolf *Heidenheim. In 1795 he issued a ban on the proposed establishment of a teaching institute in Frankfurt, fearing that it would result in a diminution of the study of religious subjects, but under pressure from the civic authorities he was compelled to rescind the ban. On the other hand he was alive to contemporary problems of the community and participated actively in the concern of the communal council to create a harmonious relationship with the government.

Conspicuous among his prominent pupils was Moses *Sofer, author of the *Ḥatam Sofer*, who revered him for his talmudic genius and his halakhic authority. He stated that despite Horowitz' attraction to Ḥasidism, he was averse to giving expression to ḥasidic or kabbalistic ideas. In the view of many scholars the whole tradition of Horowitz' Ḥasidism is open to doubt.

The most important of Horowitz' works, on which his fame chiefly rests, is the *Sefer Hafla'ah*, in three parts: pt. 1, *Sefer Ketubbah* (Offenbach, 1787), consists of halakhic and aggadic novellae on tractate *Ketubbot* with an appendix entitled *Shevet Aḥim* on the Shulḥan Arukh *Even ha-Ezer*, laws of *ketubbah* chapters 66–118; pt. 2, *Sefer ha-Makneh* (*ibid.*, 1801), to tractate *Kiddushin* and to *Even ha-Ezer*, 26–45. Horowitz wrote a homiletical introduction to these parts entitled *Pitḥa Ze'ira*. The *Hafla'ah* to tractate *Berakhot* and on the laws of meat and milk (1895) and on various tractates (3 vols., 1900) were published posthumously. Among his other works the best known is part 3 of *Sefer Hafla'ah*, his commentary to the Pentateuch, *Panim Yafot* (Ostrog, 1824), published by Ephraim Zalman *Margulies. That the 1876 Warsaw edition is still in print is evidence of the continued popularity of this work. In this commentary pilpulistic halakhic expositions are combined with kabbalistic and ḥasidic elements. He also wrote *Shevet Aḥim* in two parts; pt. 1 *Netivot le-Shabbat*, a commentary to *Even ha-Ezer* 1–23 (1838), pt. 2 *Givat Pinḥas*, 83 responsa (1838). A commentary to Psalms entitled *Panim Yafot* collected from his various works was published by Pinḥas Finkelstein (1924). Various explanations by him of scriptural verses are found scattered in the works of his contemporaries and pupils. A commentary on the Passover *Haggadah* appeared in 1860 (reprinted in Jerusalem, 1994). On the occasion of the coronation ceremonies of the emperors Leopold II and Francis II in the years 1790/92 he compiled special prayers which were issued with German translations.

In his introductions to the *Hafla'ah* and the *Makneh*, Horowitz stresses the great value of Torah study and attaches special importance to the spirit of communion with God that man can attain by devoting himself to the study of the Torah. The *Sefer Hafla'ah* is regarded as one of the classical works of halakhic *pilpul*, and because of it the author became known as the "Ba'al ha-Hafla'ah." He applied himself to three branches of talmudic study – *pilpul*, halakhic exposition, and *aggadah*. In the *Sefer Ketubbah* he stressed that, although in a few places his intention was to sharpen the minds of the students, "nevertheless the arguments are based on foundations of truth." In the *Shevet Aḥim* he distinguished between those who engaged in talmudic commentary without paying attention to *halakhah*, and those who confined themselves to the **posekim*, but

did not understand the principles of Jewish law. As a result the Torah had become "as though it had two separate faces." In his opinion "it is desirable for brothers to dwell together" (*shevet aḥim*, hence the name of the work), "that there be both clear study and clear *halakhah* in one and the same place, since, in truth, only through a profound study of the *halakhot* and a concentration on their results it is possible to understand the early *posekim* and the profundity of their systems." He testified of himself that when pondering the *halakhah* and the commentaries, it was his custom "to study closely at the same time the words of the *posekim* and not to set up a barrier between them." Horowitz participated in the controversy over a ruling given by R. Ezekiel Landau (Resp. *Noda bi-Yhudah, Mahadura Kamma*, EH no. 75) who had invalidated a bill of divorce given to a woman by a messenger against her will (*Givat Pinḥas* no. 29). The strong stand which Horowitz took, siding with the opinion of the rabbis who upheld the divorce, caused him to be widely known. In his responsum Horowitz stresses that Landau "had greatly overreached himself." In a case of *ḥaliẓah* (no. 40) he stresses in opposition to the view of rabbis who desired to take a lenient view, "because they had compassion on the dignity of the daughters of Israel," that though he too indeed "loves mercy, yet mercy is no argument in the law of the sacred Torah," and as a result he decided that the woman had to undergo the ceremony. In that same responsum he emphasizes that "we have no authority to act leniently in opposition to the plain language of the Shulḥan Arukh."

Horowitz had two sons: MEIR JACOB (1759–1785) whose Torah novellae are mentioned in the *Hafla'ah* and in the *Maḥaneh Levi*, and Ẓevi Hirsch *Horowitz, author of the *Maḥaneh Levi* and the *Laḥmei Todah*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Horowitz, *Panim Yafot* (1824), introd.; Ḥ.D. Friedberg, *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz* (1911), 9f.; I. Kracauer, *Geschichte der Juden in Frankfurt a. Main*, 2 (1927), 324, 327, 336; Dubnow, Ḥasidut, 3 (1931), 434–40; P. Sandler, *Ha-Be'ur la-Torah shel Mendelssohn ve-Si'ato* (1941), 202f.; M. Eliav, *Ha-Ḥinnukh ha-Yehudi be-Germanyah bi-Ymei ha-Haskalah ve-ha-Emanzipazyah* (1961), 35f.; Y. Katz, in: *Studies in Mysticism and Religion presented to G. Scholem* (1967), Heb. pt. 118f.; M. Horowitz, *Frankfurter Rabbinen* ed. by I. Unna (1969), 202–53; M.S. Samet, in: *Meḥkarim… le-Zekher Ẓevi Avneri* (1970), 246–8.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, PINCHAS DAVID HA-LEVI (1876–1941), U.S. rabbi and founder of Bostoner Ḥasidism. Born in Jerusalem, he was the son of R. Samuel Shmelke Horowitz (c. 1862–1898), a founder of Ḥasidism in Jerusalem and fifth-generation descendant of R. Samuel Shmelke of Nikolsburg. After his father's death, he was educated by his uncle, R. David Biderman, the Levoler rebbe of Jerusalem. He supported his early rabbinic activities as an architect, and together with his brother R. Yehoshua designed an expansion of Me'ah She'arim in Jerusalem. His interest in architectural aspects of Jewish life continued later in America, with special emphasis on the *sukkah* and the *mikveh*. In 1914, he was sent to Europe as a community representative, but the outbreak of World War I prevented his return and caused him to travel to the U.S., where he settled in Boston in 1915. He founded the United Rabbinical Schools of Boston, and worked to strengthen traditional Judaism, particularly observance of Sabbath and *kashrut*. He was known for visiting communities throughout New England to give spiritual guidance. He visited Jerusalem three times, in 1925, 1929, and again in 1934, when he attempted unsuccessfully to establish the first Ḥasidic community outside the walls of the Old City. In 1940, he moved to New York City, where he founded the Bostoner Bais Medrash of Williamsburg in Brooklyn, created the Committee on Family Purity to oversee *mikveh* construction and operation, and assisted in efforts to rescue Jews during the Holocaust.

R. MOSHE HOROWITZ (1913–1985), born in Jerusalem, was the elder son of R. Pinchas and the first Ḥasidic rebbe to succeed his father in America, establishing the Bostoner dynasty. He founded a Bostoner Beis Medrash in Crown Heights and later in Boro Park, was active in the formation of Agudat Israel of America and a member of its Council of Torah Sages, and was a founder of Yeshiva Torah Vo-Da'ath. He worked with the Va'ad ha-Haẓẓalah to help settle Jewish refugees in America during and after World War II. His son, R. Chaim Avraham, born in Zhidachov (Ukraine), was the Bostoner Rebbe of New York and founder of the Bostoner community in Ramat Bet Shemesh, Israel. R. Chaim's son, R. Yaacov Yitzchok, the Bostoner Rebbe of Lawrence, New York, founded the Chassidic Center of Nassau County, represents the Orthodox Union as rabbi in charge of kosher food production for B. Manischewitz Food Company, and created American Jewish Legacy, an organization devoted to documenting the history of traditional American Jewry.

R. Levi Yitzchok (b. 1921), the younger son of R. Pinchas David, is the Bostoner Rebbe of Boston. Upon his ordination at Yeshiva Torah Vo-Da'ath in 1944, he moved to Boston to reestablish Bostoner Ḥasidism in that city and founded the New England Chassidic Center. He became a leader in the *ba'al teshuvah* movement, giving special attention to Boston's large Jewish university population. He founded Rofeh International, which continues to provide referral, counseling, and hospitality services for medical patients and their families. He is a member of the Council of Torah Sages of Agudat Israel of America, and established a Bostoner community in the Har Nof section of Jerusalem.

Additional Bostoner communities are located in Flatbush, New York (R. Pinchas David); Har Nof, Israel (R. Meir Alter); Boston (R. Naftali Yehuda); and Beitar, Israel (R. Moshe Shimon).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *A Chassidic Journey: The Polish Chassidic Dynasties of Lublin, Lelov, Nikolsburg and Boston* (2002); H. Teller, *The Bostoner: Stories and Recollections from the Colorful Chassidic Court of the Bostoner Rebbe, Rabbi Levi Y. Horowitz* (1990).

[Mark L. Smith (2nd ed.)]

HOROWITZ, SAMUEL (Edler von) BEN ISAIAH ARYEH LEIB HA-LEVI (1836–1925), Galician financier and commu-

nal worker. Although in his youth he was observant to the point of fanaticism, he subsequently abandoned this way of life and joined the *maskilim*. An outstandingly talented financier, from 1875 he managed his father's bank, established industries, and was considered one of the wealthiest men of Galicia, playing an important role in its economy. In 1896 he was ennobled as "Edler von Horowitz" by the Austrian government. From 1906 he was president of the chamber of commerce and industry in Lemberg (Lvov). He founded a loan fund for Jewish merchants, and supported the philanthropic enterprise of the Baron *Hirsch foundation in Galicia. He served as vice president of the community council of Lemberg from 1883 to 1888, and from 1888 to 1903 was president of the Lemberg community, and was active in developing its charitable and welfare institutions. After associating with the Shomer Israel society (founded in 1867), the main aim of which was to strive for the rights of Jews and to obtain Jewish representation in the Polish Sejm and in the Austrian Parliament, Horowitz was a candidate of the assimilationists in Lemberg in the elections to the Austrian parliament (Reichsrat) of 1907. Although he gained the support of the Orthodox community he was defeated by his socialist opponent. Horowitz was the political representative of Jewish-Polish rapprochement which stressed loyalty to Polish culture, and as such was one of the leading opponents of Zionism. When, during World War I, the approach of the Russian army brought a stream of refugees to Lemberg, Horowitz, as head of the community, was appointed to head a "rescue committee" on which all the parties and social groups of the Jews of the town were represented. After the war he made substantial contributions toward the establishment of a rabbinical seminary in Lemberg.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.Z. Broda, in: *Keneset*, 8 (1943/44), 107; Z. Karl, in: J.L. Fishman (ed.), *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 1 (1946), 337; EG, 4 (1956), 306, 321, 324–5, 327, 334, 530–1; Z. Zohar, *Be-Sod Yesharim ve-Edah* (1969), 162.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, SAMUEL SHMELKE OF NIKOLSBURG (1726–1778), rabbi and kabbalist in Poland and Galicia. Samuel was the elder brother of Phinehas b. Ẓevi Hirsch *Horowitz and in their youth both were among the disciples of *Dov Baer the Maggid of Mezhirech. Samuel, who did much to spread Ḥasidism in Poland and Galicia, served as a rabbi in several towns there: Rychwal, 1754, and Sieniawa, 1766; from 1773 he officiated in Nikolsburg (Mikulov), Moravia, first as *av bet din* and later as rabbi of the province. This last appointment gave rise to bitter opposition, but Empress *Maria Theresa confirmed him in office by virtue of his Ḥasidism and Orthodoxy, "even though he does not know German and is not versed in the laws of the land." Samuel is considered one of the pioneers of Ḥasidism, of whom miraculous stories are related in ḥasidic legend. In fact, however, he did not wholly accept the Ḥasidism taught by *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov. Though he surrounded himself with young scholars and educated them in Ḥasidism, Samuel was an ascetic who remained in his home and kept people at a distance. An undertone of protest against the prevailing atmosphere of folly and levity among the Ḥasidim can be discerned in his teachings. Among his works are *Divrei Shemu'el* (1862), which contains homiletic and kabbalistic commentaries and novellae on *Bava Batra* and on the laws on festivals in *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*; and *Nezir ha-Shem* (1869), which includes novellae on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Even ha-Ezer*. Samuel took part in the literary controversy over Ḥasidism requesting that the rabbis of Brody refrain from imposing the Vilna ban on Ḥasidism and discount the accusations that Ḥasidim opposed tradition.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Israel of Slutsk, *Sefer Vikku'aḥ* (1798), 18; A. Walden, in: *Shem ha-Gedolim he-Ḥadash* (1864), 70–71; M. Bieber, *Yalkut Menaḥem* (1903), 14–18; A.H.S.B. Michaelsohn, *Shemen ha-Tov* (1905); Dubnow, Ḥasidut, 81, 125; I.Z. Kahana, in: *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 4 (1950), 279–80; D. Feuchtwang, in: *Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an D. Kaufmann* (1900), 380; W. Mueller, *Urkundliche Beitraege zur Geschichte der maehrischen Judenschaft* (1903), 160; M. Buber, *Tales of the Ḥasidim* (1964), 182–94; Horodezky, Ḥasidut, index.

[Avraham Rubinstein]

HOROWITZ, SARAH REBECCA RACHEL LEAH (18th century), author of *Tkhine Imohes* ("Supplication of the Matriarchs"). Leah Horowitz (as she was known) was the daughter of Jacob Jokel ben Meir ha-Levi *Horowitz (1680–1755) and Reyzel bat Heshl and spent most of her life in Bolechow, Polish Galicia. Three of Leah's brothers were rabbis, of whom the most eminent was Isaac *Horowitz. As the sister of eminent brothers, Leah disproved the claim that the only educated women were the daughters of learned rabbis who had no sons.

Leah Horowitz was renowned for her exceptional knowledge of Talmud and Kabbalah. The memoirist Ber of Bolechow reports that Leah helped him prepare for his Talmud lesson with her brother, Rabbi Mordecai. The anonymous work *Sefer Oẓar Siḥot Ḥakhamim* also describes her as "a great scholar, well versed in the Talmud" and recounts her talmudic discussion with another learned woman, Dinah, the wife of Saul Halevi (chief rabbi of The Hague from 1748 to 1785).

Horowitz was the author of the *Tkhine Imohes*, an eight-page, trilingual prayer for the Sabbath before the New Moon, a traditional focus of women's piety. (Another work, *Tkhine Moyde Ani*, was attributed to her erroneously.) The *Tkhine Imohes* contains a Hebrew introduction, a *piyyut* (liturgical poem) in Aramaic, and a Yiddish prose paraphrase of the poem. This text has historical importance as one of the few extant works written by an 18th-century East European Jewish woman. In the Hebrew introduction to her *tkhine*, Horowitz defended the legitimacy of female involvement in talmudic and halakhic discourse and discussed the significance of women's prayer. She argued that since women's prayer can bring the redemption, women should pray in synagogue twice each day; she also explained that true prayer is not for human needs, but for the reunification of the sundered *sefirot* (divine attributes) of *Tiferet* and *Shekhinah*. However, Horowitz's ar-

guments were largely ignored by contemporaries. After the first few editions, the Hebrew introduction and the Aramaic *piyyut* were no longer printed, leaving the Yiddish paraphrase, the only portion accessible to most female readers.

The Yiddish text laments the bitterness of the exile, naming the New Moon as a time of favor and invoking the protection of each of the four biblical matriarchs. Horowitz's central theme is the midrashic trope of the children of Israel weeping at Rachel's grave as they go into exile. Rachel, a symbol of the *Shekhinah*, then entreats the Holy Blessed One (*Tiferet*), with tears, to redeem the Israelites. Leah suggests that women in her day should follow the example of the children of Israel and of "our faithful Mother Rachel" to hasten redemption through prayers and tears. Together with Horowitz's images of the other matriarchs, *Tkhine Imohes* combines an appreciation of women's traditional roles with the assertion that women have far more spiritual power than is usually recognized.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Weissler, *Voices of the Matriarchs*, ch. 7 (1998); H. Liberman, "*Tehinnah imahot u-Tehinnat Sheloshah She'arim*," in: *Kiryat Sefer*, 36 (1961),112–22; Ber of Bolechow, *Zikhronot R. Dov mi-Bolehov*, ed. M. Vishnitzer (1922), 44.

[Chava Weissler (2nd ed.)]

HOROWITZ, SAUL ḤAYYIM BEN ABRAHAM HA-LEVI (1828–1915), Jerusalem rabbi. Horowitz was born in Vilna where his father was rabbi. He married the daughter of David Tevele b. Nathan of Minsk. From 1865 he was rabbi of Dubrovno, whence the name "the Dubrovno rabbi," by which he was known. He made himself responsible for many of his pupils' material needs, a burden which caused him great anxiety. In 1883 he moved to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Jerusalem, where he served as rabbi of the Me'ah She'arim quarter. In 1885 he founded there a *talmud torah* called Peri Eẓ Ḥayyim and the large yeshivah Me'ah She'arim. The *bet midrash* was also designed "for the purpose of giving instruction to business men and laymen of Me'ah She'arim and its vicinity." In his introduction to the book of regulations of the Peri Eẓ Ḥayyim *talmud torah* society (1885), he states that on coming to Jerusalem he felt the lack of a general fund for facilitating instruction to the children of the poor and founded the society to meet that need from the funds of which the salaries of teachers would be paid (p. 5). He was closely associated with the Orthodox group founded by Joshua Leib *Diskin and served as head of the *sheḥitah* committee established by him. During World War I he was imprisoned for a time by the Turkish authorities, together with his nephew Joseph Gershon Horowitz, on the charge of distributing lottery tickets for a plot of land in Ḥaderah. Among his publications were *Kelilat Sha'ul* (1879), a methodology of 310 talmudic topics with a commentary entitled *Mekor Ḥayyim: Mizpeh Sha'ul;* a pamphlet appended to part two of the *Naḥalat David* (1882) of David Tevele of Minsk, containing six of his sermons; *Yad Sha'ul* (published together with part one of *Naḥalot David* (1864) by David Tevele); and *Peri Eẓ Ḥayyim*, an appendix to Tevele's *Beit David* (1904), containing his novellae.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.G. Horowitz, in: P. Grajewsky, *Bi-She'arayikh Yerushalayim*, no. 3 (1937); J.J. Rivlin, *Me'ah She'arim* (1947), 89 f., 190 f.; J.A. Weiss, Bi-She'arayikh Yerushalayim (1949), 261 no. 1; Tidhar, 8 (1957), 3099.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, SHABBETAI SHEFTEL BEN AKIVA (c. 1561–1619), author of kabbalistic works. Horowitz was a son of Akiva, called "the holy," and a cousin of Isaiah *Horowitz, author of *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit*. He was born in Prague where he practiced as a physician. Considering Kabbalah the only source of human happiness, he sought to make this esoteric teaching accessible to many, and had many disciples. He rejected the philosophy of religion, attaching importance only to *Maimonides. Although he did not know him personally, he declared Moses *Cordovero, the kabbalist, to be his chief teacher, comparing him to Maimonides. Horowitz' writing is based on the ideas of Cordovero and he apologized if he sometimes added something. The main addition concerns his detailed exposition of the doctrine of *ẓimẓum* ("withdrawal") which he took over from Isaac Luria's teaching basing himself (without acknowledgment) on the version of this doctrine preserved by *Joseph ibn Tabul.

Horowitz' works are (1) *Shefa Tal* (whose title recalls his name Sheftel; Hanau, 1612), his major kabbalistic work, with commendations by, among others, Isaiah Horowitz and Ephraim *Luntschits. The central feature of the book is the *Iggeret ha-Te'amim* of the kabbalist Aaron Abraham b. Baruch Simeon ha-Levi. This is accompanied by a short commentary, *Shefa*, and a detailed one, *Tal*, which together are called *Petaḥ Einayim*; (2) *Nishmat Shabbetai ha-Levi* (Prague, 1616), a continuation and, according to Horowitz, an inseparable part of the former work, also carrying the approbations of the same two scholars. It deals essentially with the kabbalistic teaching about the soul. In the preface, Horowitz says that this work is based on "four pillars" of the Kabbalah; namely, Moses, *Simeon b. Yoḥai, and the later kabbalists *Naḥmanides and Elijah b. Moses de *Vidas. The commentary to Samuel Gallico's *Asis Rimmonim*, which Fuerst and Benjacob (Oẓar 485 no. 889) attribute to Horowitz and which they say was published in Korets in 1793 with the title *Pelaḥ ha-Rimmon*, was actually written by Mordecai b. Jacob of Prague. It is titled *Pa'amon ve-Rimmon* and was published in 1786 in Korets (see Benjacob, Oẓar, 492 no. 1043; and Friedberg, Eked, 3 (1954), 806 no. 989). In the preface to *Shefa Tal*, Horowitz refers to his unpublished commentary to Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*. He died in Prague.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Gesch, 292, no. 173; Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 2241–42 nos. 6865–66; Ḥ.D. Friedberg, *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz* (1928²), 27.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

HOROWITZ, SHRAGA FEIVEL HA-LEVI (1796–1845), Hungarian rabbi. Horowitz served from 1836 as *av bet din* of Paks and from 1841 to 1845 as rabbi of Papa. As a result of the spread of the Reform movement in Germany in 1834 and its

influence upon the Jews of Hungary, internal quarrels between the Orthodox and the Reformers intensified in the communities of Hungary. The Orthodox circles realized the necessity of appointing devout rabbis for the benefit of Orthodox Jewry. Horowitz took the initiative in organizing an assembly of rabbis to discuss the situation and was appointed its chairman when it assembled in Paks in 1844. It was attended by 25 rabbis, among them Judah Asad and Eliakim Goetz Schwerin of Baja. At this assembly Loeb Schwab put forward proposals for moderate reform in education and in the liturgy, but he was opposed by the other rabbis, and after he and Schwerin left the meeting various resolutions proposed by Horowitz were adopted. They included the division of the Orthodox Jewish communities of Hungary into four regions, the organizing of a national assembly of the rabbis, and the setting up of a national conference which would meet every three years. The assembly also discussed the problems of the relations between Jews and Christians in the sphere of commerce. On receiving authority to prepare the second convention of rabbis at Ofen, Horowitz attempted to get in touch with the Liberal Jews, for which he was rebuked by Judah Asad. As a result of the death of Horowitz in 1845, the second assembly did not take place. Horowitz was in halakhic correspondence with Moses *Sofer, Judah Asad, Meir *Eisenstadt, and Isaac Moses *Perles, and is mentioned in their responsa. A eulogy on him appears in the *Derashot ha-Rosh* (1904) of A. Shag-Zwebner (no. 70).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Der Orient*, 5 (1844), 301; AZDJ, 8 (1844), nos. 37, 38, 40, 45; 9 (1845), no. 21; L. Loew, *Zur neueren Geschichte der Juden in Ungarn* (1874), 200–4; idem, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 2 (1890), 369–71; P.Z. Schwartz, *Shem ha-Gedolim me-Ereẓ Hagar*, 2 (1913), 27b no. 7; J.J. (L.) Greenwald (Grunwald), *Li-Felagot Yisrael be-Ungaryah* (1929), 34–39.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, VLADIMIR (1904–1989), pianist. He studied the piano in Kiev, his birthplace, and first attracted public attention in Russia in 1921. His subsequent success was sensational and was repeated when he started touring European capitals in 1925. He went to the United States on contract in 1928 and decided to remain there. He gave numerous recitals, which stopped temporarily in 1936. It was thought that, highly self-critical, he had become dissatisfied with the frequency of his appearances. He resumed his concerts in 1939 but on a greatly reduced schedule. In 1953 he retired from the platform again and reappeared only in 1965. He however continued to make occasional recordings. Horowitz's relationship with the conductor Toscanini, whose daughter Wanda he married in 1933, probably changed his musical outlook. After 1939 his musical understanding appeared to have grown, adding depth to his technical brilliance, and he was considered not only a great virtuoso performer but also a profound musician.

[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz]

In 1978 Horowitz celebrated the 50th anniversary of his American debut on Jan. 12, 1928. On Jan. 8 he played the Rachmaninoff Third Piano Concerto under the baton of Eugene Ormandy at Carnegie Hall in New York City and a message was read from President Carter congratulating him on "50 years of remarkable service to the performing arts in the United States." On Feb. 26 he played for President Carter and an invited audience at the White House.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baker's Biog Dict; Riemann-Gurlitt; Grove's Dict.

HOROWITZ, YA'AKOV (1901–1975), Hebrew writer and critic. Born in Kalush, Galicia, he migrated to Palestine in 1919. After working as a laborer, he went back to Vienna where he completed his university studies in 1924 and returned to Palestine. For many years he was secretary of the Israel Insurance Association, and from 1943 to 1966 editor of the literary supplement of the daily *Haaretz*. In 1958, on a leave of absence from the paper, he served as Israeli cultural attaché to the Scandinavian countries. Horowitz was a regular contributor to Hebrew journals from the 1920s and later became a leading figure in Israeli literary circles. In addition to his stories and novels, he wrote regularly on drama and literature and translated several plays into Hebrew. His books include *Or Zaru'a* (historical novel, 1929); *Sha'arei Tumah* (1930); *Olam she-Lo Neḥerav Adayin* (1950); and *Ki ha-Adam Eino Kozev* (stories and plays, 1956). His complete works (stories and plays) were published in four volumes in 1965.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Zmora, *Shenei Mesapperim: Ḥayyim Hazaz ve-Ya'akov Horowitz* (1940); idem, *Sifrut Al Parashat Dorot*, 3 (1950), 144–62.

[Getzel Kressel]

HOROWITZ, ẒEVI HIRSCH BEN ḤAYYIM ARYEH LEIBUSH HA-LEVI (1872–1945), rabbi and scholar. Horowitz was born in Cracow, where his father was a rabbi. His father's responsa *Ḥayyei Aryeh* (1890) also includes the son's novellae (no. 36). At the outbreak of World War I Horowitz and his family fled to Moravia. He settled in Bruenn where he served as rabbi and *av bet din* of the Maḥazikei ha-Dat community, founded by Galician refugees. In 1916 he moved to Scheveningen, Holland, where he took part in communal activities and established a yeshivah. When in 1919 the Orthodox community Shomerei ha-Dat was founded in Dresden, Horowitz was appointed its rabbi, and in 1920 was also appointed chief rabbi of Dresden. In consequence of the Nazi persecution he moved to Antwerp in 1939. After the German invasion of Belgium in the spring of 1940 he went to Nice, where he lived until his death. His two sons and two of his brothers perished in the Holocaust.

His later works and publications included *Kitvei ha-Ge'onim* (1928), containing many letters of Jewish scholars with details on their genealogies. These letters were discovered by him after prolonged search in Scheveningen. He also wrote *Le-Korot ha-Kehillot be-Polanyah* (1969). This book, comprising material left by him in manuscript, was arranged and prepared for publication after the Holocaust and contains studies of 11 well-known Polish towns, including Apta, Belz, Bolichov,

Glogau, Goroditz, Duklah, and Vishnitza. These two works are a mine of information on the history of the rabbinate and its literature in Europe during the last centuries as well as on the biographies of many rabbis and their families. Among his other works is a pamphlet, *Kitvei Yeshanim,* containing nine letters written by Saul b. Ẓevi Hirsch *Berlin to his brother-in-law Jacob Moses Lowenstamm of Amsterdam during the period that Berlin was compelled to leave Germany on account of the storm raised by his *Besamim Rosh*. This pamphlet together with his notes was published in *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael*, 14 (Budapest, 1930, p. 3–24). Horowitz's research into the arrangement of the editing of the Jerusalem Talmud, together with his work on *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz*, was added for the first time to the *Tov Ayin* (1935), on the tractate *Yevamot* of the Jerusalem Talmud, by his brother Eleazar Moses Horowitz. Among the manuscripts he left is *Zikhron Ẓevi ha-Levi*, containing his responsa and sermons.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Sefer Cracow* (1959), 108n. 82–85; Preschel, in: I. Lewin (ed.), *Elleh Ezkerah*, 5 (1963), 148–56; idem, *Le-Korot ha-Kehillot be-Polanyah* (1969), introduction.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, ẒEVI HIRSCH BEN JOSHUA MOSES AARON HA-LEVI (17th century), Lithuanian rabbi and kabbalist. Horowitz served as rabbi in three communities of the Zamut region of Lithuania: Keidan, Wizuny, and Birg, and was apparently the first head of a yeshivah in Zamut. Because of the burden of the rabbinate he moved to Zabludow. In the last months before the outbreak of the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648 he took part in the meeting of the *Council of Four Lands in Lublin and his name appears fourth on the *takkanah of that year. Horowitz was the author of *Ga'on Ẓevi* (Prague, 1737), halakhic novellae on the tractates *Yevamot, Ketubbot, Kiddushin, Bava Kamma, Bava Meẓia, Ḥullin*, and also responsa. His grandson, Dov Baer Horowitz, who prepared the book for publication, gives various biographical details of his grandfather in his introduction. At the beginning of the book there is also a "laudatory poem" in rhymed verse by the author; *Aspaklarya ha-Me'irah* (1776), a commentary to the Zohar with additions by his grandson and an appendix, *Minḥat Ani*, consisting of additions by his son-in-law, Mordecai ha-Levi Model of Schwabach.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Horowitz, in: HHY, 15 (1931), 89f.; G. Scholem, *Bibliographia Kabbalistica* (1927), 195 no. 42; D.M. Lipman, *Le-Toldot ha-Yehudim be-Lita-Zamot* (1934), 42f.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, ẒEVI HIRSCH BEN PHINEHAS HALEVI (d. 1817), German rabbi and author. Horowitz was born in Poland and was called to Frankfurt by his father Phinehas ha-Levi *Horowitz to help him in the conduct of his yeshivah. On the death of his father in 1805 he succeeded him as rabbi of Frankfurt, serving there until his own death. Among his works are *Maḥaneh Levi* (Offenbach, 1801), consisting of halakhic novellae on various tractates, published together with the *Sefer ha-Makneh* of his father – at the end of the book there are novellae by his brother, Meir Jacob; *Laḥmei Todah* (part 2 of *Maḥaneh Levi*, 1816), containing halakhic and aggadic novellae to the Talmud as well as the sermons he preached between 1806 and 1815 on *Shabbat Shuvah* and *Shabbat ha-Gadol* (the Sabbaths before the Day of Atonement and before Passover). In these sermons contemporary problems are reflected. His censure and criticism touch upon the life of the Jews of Frankfurt which, though once a "paragon of beauty, a Jewish metropolis, full of scholars and scribes," has faded and declined. The young people have grown accustomed to desecrating the Sabbath publicly (19c–d), the community makes light of the prohibition against drinking wine and milk of gentiles (35d), fixed times for study are neglected (11d), and theaters and concerts are frequented (*ibid.*) Two sermons (149aff. and 159b) deal with the peace treaty of 1815. In the introduction to this book, Horowitz mentions his other works which have remained in manuscript. His *Ḥomer ba-Kodesh*, written between 1810 and 1815, was published in 1876. Horowitz prepared for publication his father's *Panim Yafot* (Ostrog, 1824). Some novellae by him are found at the end of his father's *Hafla'ah* (Offenbach, 1787) and in the *Likkutei Ẓevi* (Zolkiew, 1862) of Ẓevi Hirsch ha-Levi Horowitz.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Phinehas Horowitz, *Panim Yafot*, 1 (1824), introd. by E.Z. Margaliot; M. Horovitz, *Avnei Zikkaron* (1901), 582 no. 4847; I.T. Eisenstadt and S. Wiener, *Da'at Kedoshim* (1897–98), 71–72 (first pagination); Ḥ.D. Friedberg, *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz* (1928), 16–18; M. Eliav, *Ha-Ḥinnukh ha-Yehudi be-Germanyah* (1960), 149–50.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, ẒEVI JOSHUA BEN SAMUEL SHMELKE (1735?–1816), East European rabbi. Horowitz appears to have been born in Nikolsburg. He married the daughter of Phinehas ha-Levi *Horowitz, author of the *Hafla'ah*. From 1781 to 1786 he was rabbi of Jamnitz, Moravia, from 1786–1800 in Trebitsch (Trebic), and from 1811 until his death in Prossnitz. His *Semikhat Moshe*, talmudic studies, was published as an appendix to his father's *Nezir ha-Shem* (1869). His novellae, *Ḥiddushei ha-Ribash* (Hebrew acronym of Rabbi Joshua b. Samuel), appeared posthumously (1878). Ezekiel b. Judah *Landau addressed a responsum to him (Responsa *Noda bi-Yhudah, Mahadura Tinyana*, OḤ no. 15) in which he expressed his pleasure at hearing of his appointment as rabbi of Trebitsch. A responsum of Ẓevi Hirsch b. Phinehas ha-Levi *Horowitz was addressed to him in 1815 (Responsa *Ḥomer ba-Kodesh* (1876), no. 7). His *Ḥiddushei ha-Ribash* also mentions the novellae of his son, Shmelke.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Freimann, in: JJLG, 15 (1923), 39; Wachstein, *ibid.*, 16 (1924), 171; Ḥ.D. Friedberg, *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz*, (1928²), 15f.; Hruschka, in: *Juden und Judengemeinden Maehrens* (1929), 257, 265 n. 81; M. Horovitz, *Frankfurter Rabbinen* (1969²), 332.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HORSE (Heb. סוס). The present-day horse is descended from the wild species which formerly roamed the steppes of Asia

and Africa in herds and of which only one species survives today in Central Asia. The horse was introduced into the Near East from Iran, whence its Sumerian name "donkey of the mountain," i.e., from the other side of the Zagros. Manuals for the care of horses survive in Ugaritic, Hittite, and Akkadian. Characteristic of the Middle East region is the swift Arab horse, the *Equus caballus orientalis*, drawings of which are common on Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian steles. Being largely mountainous, Ereẓ Israel was not noted for breeding horses, which are by nature animals of the steppes and plains. They were consequently regarded as a luxury and something strange in Ereẓ Israel. In the Pentateuch the king is admonished that "he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses" (Deut. 17:16). The prophets similarly warned against promoting horse breeding (Isa. 2:7; 31:1; Hos. 14:4; et al.). In the plain the horse and iron chariots were formidable implements of war (Judg. 4:13). A powerful description of the war horse is given in Job (39:19–25). Having imported horses, Solomon bred and traded in them (I Kings 10:28–29). "A chariot of the sun" harnessed to horses, which was used in idolatrous worship, was removed by King Josiah (II Kings 23:11). Although Isaiah (28:28) describes how corn was threshed by driving horses over the threshing floor (*parash* here means "horse," *fars* in Arabic), the horse was apparently not much used as a draft animal in biblical times, being in this respect not particularly efficient in Ereẓ Israel. Hence the ox, mule, and ass were preferred for the purpose; the horse was used for war. The earliest military use of the horse was to pull the chariot. Mounted cavalry do not appear until the first pre-Christian millennium. In mishnaic and talmudic times, too, the horse was not highly regarded as a draft animal, one *baraita* enumerating its six drawbacks in this respect (Pes. 113b). Nonetheless, Rav in Babylonia cautioned his pupil Rav Assi not to "live in a town in which no horse neighs and no dog barks," since the horse senses an enemy and warns its owners (Pes. 113a; and see Rashi *ibid.*). The horse sleeps for a very brief period, according to a Midrash for only 60 respirations at night (Suk. 26b), and hence in the Talmud one who takes a nap is said to "sleep like a horse" (Ber. 3b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F.S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (1960), 49. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** C. Cohen and D. Sivan, *The Ugaritic Hippiatric Texts: A Critical Edition* (1983); D. Pardee, *Les texts hippiatriques* (1985); M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (1988), 288; E. Firmage, in: ABD, 6, 1136–37.

[Jehuda Feliks / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

HORT, ABRAHAM (1790–1869), founder of the New Zealand Jewish community. In 1843 Hort – generally known as Abraham Hort, Senior – a prominent member of the London Jewish community, landed at Wellington with his wife and family, bringing with him young David Isaacs to act as *shoḥet, mohel*, and reader. He had been preceded by his two sons, Abraham Hort, Jr. (1840) and Alfred Hort (1842), who engaged in partnership in New Zealand commercial enterprises and the South Pacific islands. Abraham Hort, Sr. came to explore the suitability of New Zealand as a field for Jewish immigration, to relieve pressure on Jewish charities in England. He carried with him the written authority of Chief Rabbi Solomon *Hirschell to establish a Jewish congregation and to promote Judaism in whatever way he thought fit. His dreams of extensive, planned Jewish emigration to New Zealand were not to be realized, while the gentile, colonial environment proved too strong for most members of his own family. However, from 1843 until his return to England in 1859, he put the Wellington Jewish community on a firm foundation, acting as religious leader, assisted by David Isaacs. He applied for crown grants of land for a cemetery and a synagogue, but was successful (1843) in the former application only. Hospitable and philanthropic, a supporter of worthy causes, Jewish and otherwise, Hort was elected an alderman in 1843 and became one of Wellington's leading citizens. He was among the founders of many organizations including the Wellington Chamber of Commerce. His daughter Margaret was the mother of Sir Francis Henry Dillon *Bell (1851–1936), who briefly served as New Zealand's prime minister in 1925.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Journal and Proceedings of the Australian Jewish Historical Society*, 1 (1939–40), 53–55; 3 (1949–53), 334–50; L, M. Goldman, *History of the Jews in New Zealand* (1958), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S Levine, *The New Zealand Jewish Community* (1999), 22–23; idem., "Abraham Hort and His Family," in: idem. (ed.), *A Standard for the People: The 150th Anniversary of the Wellington Hebrew Congregation, 1843–1993* (1993), 31–49.

[Maurice S. Pitt]

HORWITZ, H. ROBERT (1947–), U.S. biologist and Nobel laureate. Horwitz was born in Chicago and graduated in mathematics and economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) (1967), before attaining his M.A. (1972) and Ph.D. (1974) in biology at Harvard University under the direction of W. Gilbert and J.D. Watson. After a post-doctoral research fellowship with Sydney Brenner at the Laboratory of Molecular Biology in Cambridge, England (1974–78) he joined the staff of MIT where he became professor of biology (1986) and investigator in the Howard Hughes Medical Institute (1988). Horwitz's broad research interests concern the genetic control of development, cell lineage, programmed cell death, and behavior. After graduate studies with bacterial viruses, he used the nematode *Caenorhabditis elegans* as an experimental model to map the development of muscles, the central nervous system, and other organs. His studies of induced mutations in this nematode have also given insight into human diseases, notably cancer and neurodegenerative diseases, in whose investigation he has maintained an active interest. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in physiology or medicine (2002), jointly with Sydney Brenner and John Sulston. His many honors include election to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1991), the Gairdner Award (1999), and the Genetics Society of America Medal (2001). He has a great interest in scientific education and science policy.

HORWITZ, PHINEAS JONATHAN (1822–1904), U.S. physician. Horwitz was born in Baltimore, son of a physician, Jonas Horwitz (d. 1852). He graduated from Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia and became a naval medical officer, serving as an assistant surgeon at the Naval Hospital in Tobasco during the Mexican War. With the outbreak of the Civil War, Horwitz was promoted to the rank of surgeon general (equivalent to lieutenant commander), and was commended by Congress. In 1865 he was appointed chief to the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, and while serving in this position made a complete tabulation of medical and surgical statistics during the war. He was appointed medical director of the Bureau in 1873.

[Abram Kanof]

HOS, DOV (1894–1940), labor leader in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Orsha, Belorussia, of a Zionist family, Hos married the daughter of the *Bilu settler Jacob Shertok. He went to Ereẓ Israel with his parents in 1906 and was among the first graduates of the Herzlia High School in Jaffa (1913). Under the influence of Berl *Katznelson, he joined the labor movement. Upon the outbreak of World War I, he – together with Eliyahu *Golomb and others – founded the "Jaffa Group," which began military training in preparation for future events. Upon the advice of the *yishuv* leaders, he volunteered for the Turkish army, where he became an officer, but his activities in defending Jewish settlements led to his being accused of a breach of military discipline. He was condemned to death in absentia, but escaped. In 1918 he volunteered for the *Jewish Legion of the British army. In 1919 he joined the founders of the *Aḥdut ha-Avodah Party, became a member of its executive committee, and was active in the *Histadrut and the *Haganah. He was a founder of the Public Works Office of the Histadrut (later renamed Solel Boneh). Hos represented the *yishuv* vis-à-vis the mandatory authorities and was on several occasions sent to Great Britain as a contact with the British labor movement. He was a pilot and a pioneer of aviation in Palestine. A member of the Tel Aviv municipal council, he was a deputy mayor of the city between 1935 and 1940. At the outbreak of World War II he worked for the formation of Jewish units in the British army. Together with his wife and daughter, he was fatally injured in a road accident. Kibbutz *Dorot is named for Hos and his family, and he is also commemorated in the name of Tel Aviv's airfield, Sedeh Dov.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 3 (1949), 1336–38.

[*Encycylopaedia Hebraica*]

HOSCHANDER, JACOB (1874–1933), scholar. Hoschander was born in Teschen, Silesia (now Poland). He went to the U.S. in 1909 and in 1910 began teaching at Dropsie College in Philadelphia. He also lectured at the Jewish Theological Seminary on biblical archaeology and exegesis. From 1923 he taught biblical literature and exegesis at the Seminary. He influenced a generation of rabbis by his kindly and pious character and personality as well as by his scholarship. He was the pure cloistered scholar, completely absorbed in his studies.

For a number of years Hoschander wrote "Survey of Recent Biblical Literature" for the *Jewish Quarterly Review*. Some of the articles were reprinted separately. He wrote *Die Personennamen auf dem Obelisk des Manistusu* (1907); *The Book of Esther in the Light of History* (1923); and *Priests and Prophets* (1938). While he subscribed to the critical approach to the Bible, he was very conservative in his outlook and most critical of the Wellhausen School.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Finkelstein, in: *Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly of America*, 5 (1933–38), 69–72.

[Isaac Klein]

HOSEA, BOOK OF, the first of the 12 books that make up the *Minor Prophets. Everything points to this book's having been produced in the kingdom of *Israel and redacted, after the fall of that state, in Judah; and this makes it a valuable source for the spiritual history of the Northern Kingdom and for the influence of its literature on the late kingdom of Judah and on Judaism. The book's northern origin may also account, at least in part, for its many textual problems. A better understanding of Hosea leads to the discovery that it is of an importance out of proportion to its size. A translation of the superscription of the book (Hos. 1:1), with the dates of the reigns – necessarily approximate but close enough – added in parentheses, reads as follows: "The word of YHWH that came to Hosea son of Beeri in the reigns of Kings Uzziah [769–734 B.C.E.], Jotham [apparently only co-regent with Uzziah], Ahaz [733–727], and Hezekiah [727–698] of Judah and of King Jeroboam son of Joash [784–746] of Israel." It is however uncertain whether the biographical material is realistic. This basic uncertainty has led to a wide variation of interpretation and thus to different conceptions of the prophet (see below).

Most of Hosea's prophecies are oracles of doom, and the ideals embodied in them are associated with historical recollections of the nation. The people of Israel have forsaken the Covenant (Hos. 8:1) by worshiping foreign deities. By being disloyal to God, the true God of morality, Israel has also removed herself from the source of morality and has become corrupt. Lack of faith in God has led Israel to seek help and relief from neighboring nations. This, in turn, has further increased Israel's immorality by exposing her to the influence of foreign religion and the kind of morality that Hebrew writers attribute to the gentiles (see, e.g., Lev. 18, 20). In the future God will punish Israel for her infidelity in the same manner as one would punish an unfaithful wife, namely, by casting her (Israel) out of her home (the Land of Israel). The nation will then be destroyed and the people will go into Exile.

In spite of all this, God's love for His people will never cease. Through punishment, God will purify Israel and lead His people to repentance. The surviving remnant of Israel will no longer worship foreign gods or seek foreign help, but will rely solely on God, Who will preserve the remainder of Israel and restore Israel to its former glory. The ideal of love is the

central theme of Hosea's prophecy. The relationship between God and Israel is essentially a relationship of love. Although Israel may momentarily form a love bond with a foreign party, God's love bond with Israel is everlasting. Modern sensibilities may find God's love as depicted in the Book of Hosea offensive and reflective of a purely masculine perspective (Weems), but this is, after all, an ancient book.

The book falls into two parts: A. Hosea A, chapters 1 (minus the superscription)–3; B. Hosea B, chapters 4–14.

HOSEA A (CHAPTERS 1–3)

Brief Summary of Contents

Hosea A (chapters 1–3) comprises two narrations of prophecy: (i) a heterobiographical (or third-person) one, chapters 1–2; (ii) an autobiographical (or first-person) one, chapter 3.

(i) In the heterobiographical account, Hosea is ordered by YHWH (1:2) as follows: "Go, get yourself a wife of whoredom and children of whoredom, for the land shall surely stray from following YHWH." He marries Gomer daughter of Diblaim. She bears him a son, whom YHWH tells him to name Jezreel as a sign that YHWH will shortly "break the bow of Israel in the Valley of Jezreel" (1:5); next she bears him a daughter, whom YHWH tells him to name Lo-Ruhamah ("not-accepted," "of unacknowledged paternity") as a sign that YHWH "will no longer acknowledge the House of Israel as my own." At this point it must be stated that the names say nothing at all about the character of either the children or their mother, or about Hosea's attitude toward them or her. For that matter, they do not, in themselves, say anything about the character of Israel either, but only about YHWH's attitude toward and intentions regarding Israel. Similarly, on the birth of a third child, a second boy, YHWH says (1:9): "Name [imperative masculine singular] him Lo-Ammi ['not-my-people'], for you [plural] are not my people, and I will not be [a God] to you [plural]." The last clause has been emended to read "and I am not your [plural] God" (reading *ʾEloheikhem* for *ʾehyeh lakhem*). Now, in the first clause, the command *kera (qera') shemo* ("name him") in the singular, can only be addressed, as in verses 4 and 6, to Hosea. Consequently, the plural 'you's in the second and third clauses must include Hosea; i.e., they must mean: "you, Hosea, and your fellow [North] Israelites." Consequently, that is how the second person plurals in 2:3 [1] (if correct), and 4 [2] must likewise be understood. For everything that follows 1:9 down to the end of chapter 2 (including 2:1–3 [1:10–2:1] if original, but see further on) continues the speech of YHWH to Hosea begun in 1:9. In 2:4 [2]ff., then, YHWH calls upon Hosea and his fellow countrymen, "the children of Israel" (2:1–2 [1:10–11]; 3:4–5), to see if they cannot shame their mother Israel, whom YHWH has already divorced, into ceasing her harlotries; for otherwise YHWH will reduce her to destitution (with 2:5 [3]; cf. Deut. 28:48a) and will also disown her children, "for they are [now] a harlot's brood, in that [so render *ki* here] their mother has played the harlot" (2:6–7 [4–5]). It is explained that the "lovers" with whom she has played the harlot are Baal (or the Baalim) and that playing the harlot with him (them) means worshiping him (them). YHWH, however, will go through with his plan of rendering her destitute. He will turn her land into desert, producing neither grain, nor wine, nor oil, nor flax, nor wool, nor figs. Thus she will be prevented from celebrating any religious season, either of YHWH (2:13 [11]) or of Baal (verse 15 [13]). Then she will turn back to YHWH (verse 9[7]), who will comfort her and will not only restore and enhance the fertility of her stricken farmland but will render productive even the parts of her land that were always barren (like the Valley of Achor; 2:16 [14]ff.). At no point is there any talk of taking her out of her own land into the desert, either before or after her conversion. If *we-holakhtiha ha-midbar* is retained unchanged, it must be translated, "I will make her walk through the desert [which her land will have become]." YHWH will, moreover, espouse her a second time, and in such a way as to insure the permanence of the new marriage for he will pay as her bride-price (the preposition *be* – in verses 21–22 [19–20] is "the *bet* of price," exactly as in the identical phrase in II Sam. 3:14) – and he will pay them to her, since she has no father – the qualities of righteousness, justice, goodness, graciousness, and loyalty, so that she will be devoted to YHWH (or rather, reading at the end – since the second person [for the third] appears wrong anyway both in verse 18 [16] and in verses 21–22 [19–20] – *u-ve-daʿat (ʾet) YHWH* [for the *ʾet.* cf. Isa. 11:9]: he will bestow upon her as bride-price the three pairs of qualities, righteousness – justice, goodness – graciousness, and loyalty – devotion to YHWH. In non-allegorical language, of course, that means that YHWH will make a new God- and-people covenant with Israel and will obviate any occasion for dissolving it like the first by making Israel constitutionally incapable of breaking it. This idea was taken over from Hosea by Jeremiah (Jer. 31:30–33 [31–34]) and from Jeremiah by Ezekiel (Ezek. 11:19–20; 36:26–28).

(ii) The autobiographical account (chapter 3) conveys the same message as the foregoing, and it relates that the first two features of that message – the present situation (YHWH's bounty and Israel's infidelity, 3:1), and the imminent future (Israel's inability [because of its utter destitution] to support either a government or a cult, Yahwistic or otherwise, 3:2–4) – were dramatized by the prophet and an anonymous woman, representing YHWH and Israel respectively. In contrast, the remaining two stages – Israel's repentance, 3:5a, and YHWH's renewed bounty, 3:5b – were not dramatized. (For the significance of this omission see below.)

Traditional Views of Chapters 1–3

Neither the rabbis of the talmudic period nor the medieval commentaries questioned the datings in the superscription. The former also accepted literally the divine command to Hosea to marry a prostitute. They conjectured that God had complained to Hosea, "My children have sinned," in the expectation that, as befits a prophet, Hosea would make intercession on their behalf; instead, he had suggested that God disown them and choose another people in their stead. So God

ordered Hosea to marry a whore, waited until she had borne him three children, and then asked him if it had not occurred to him to follow the example of Moses, who gave up his wife because of his holy calling. When Hosea pleaded that he could not put away the mother of his children (perhaps because, as infants, they needed her; cf. the case of Moses, Ex. 18:2–5), God said to him, "If you feel like that though your wife is a whore and you cannot even be sure that the children are yours, how could I exchange for others the Israelites, who are the descendants of My proved servants Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob?" (Pes. 87a–b). In the Middle Ages, Rashi could still be satisfied as well as edified by this interpretation; the sophisticated philologians Abraham ibn Ezra and David Kimḥi, however, might be edified, but they were not convinced. Neither, naturally, was Maimonides. These men maintained that both the story about wife, children, and namings of children with their explanations in chapter 1 and the story about action, transaction, and inaction in chapter 3 were but accounts of prophetic visions. The ancients, the conservative medievals, and the three "liberal" medievals probably all believed that the women in the two chapters were identical (implicit in Ibn Ezra, Hos. 3:1); but at least none of them spun a romance about Hosea discovering that he had been cuckolded and driving Gomer out in a rage, about her sinking to the dregs of society, and about Hosea being overcome with love and pity and redeeming her from slavery and rehabilitating her. That was left for modern myth makers to do.

A Neo-Critical Approach

MORE INTENSE ANAYLSIS OF CHAPTERS 1–3. Y. Kaufmann rightly denies that the woman of chapter 3 is the same as that of chapter 1 or that the text says anything about Hosea's marrying her. H.L. Ginsberg's detailed treatment (Ginsberg, 1960, in bibl.) of chapter 3, which has been substantially adopted by W. Rudolph, did leave one problem without a completely satisfactory solution: namely, the problem of (3:1) YHWH ordering Hosea to "love" a not very admirable woman, and of Hosea being able to "love" her to order, just as YHWH "loves" the Israelites but they turn to other gods. Ginsberg's failure in this regard was due to his failure to take seriously enough his own observation that chapter 3 repeats the thought of chapters 1–2. For chapter 2 does not say that YHWH has been loving Israel and that latterly she has taken it into her silly head that she owes this love to the Baalim, but that YHWH has been supplying her needs – her grain, wine, oil, etc. – and that she has latterly taken it into her head that she owes these commodities to the Baalim (2:7 [5], 10 [8]). In light of all this, the verb *ʾahav* in 3:1 is to be taken not in the sense of "to love" but in that of "to befriend." For the correctness of this inference, the fact that *ʾahav* also has this sense (twice) in Deuteronomy 10:18–19 and nowhere else is striking confirmation. For it was noted above that only Deuteronomy 28:48a agrees with Hosea 2:5 [3] – in juxtaposing nakedness and thirst, to which it should be added that the phrase "and I lavished silver and gold on her (*hirbeti lah*)" occurs again (*mutatis mutandis*) in Deut. 8:13 and in Deut. 17:17, but not anywhere else; and it will be noted further on that Hosea B likewise exhibits "deuteronomisms," and even more significant ones, to be found nowhere else outside Deuteronomy. Here, then, is how 3:1 would now be translated: "YHWH said to me further, 'Go, befriend a woman who, while befriended by a companion, sleeps with others [lit. 'commits adultery'], even as I befriend [*ke-ʾahavati* for *ke-ʾahavat YHWH*] the children of Israel but they turn to other gods.' So I befriended a woman of lust [*wa-ʾohav ʾeshet ʿagavim* – N.H. Torczyner]." Since Hosea here attaches no conditions to his gifts, the woman continues to engage in her profession – just as the children of Israel "turn to other gods." Next, however, in verses 2–3, he makes a formal business deal with her, in which the quid pro quo is clearly defined: for a specified consideration, consisting partly of money and partly of commodities, "you are to stay for me for a long period of time [in the actual occurrence he may have specified a maximum] without either fornicating or marrying (cf. Ginsberg, 1960, in bibl.): not even I will cohabit [*loʾ ʾavoʾ* probably to be restored, and at least understood] with you." That a prostitute would not agree to abstain from engaging in her gainful occupation "for a long period of time" without compensation (3:2) surely does not need to be labored. But naturally, it is only to the acting out of the negative instructions (3:3) that the prophet attaches symbolic significance; for obviously only such an abstention can signify that (3:4) "for a long period of time the children of Israel shall remain without king or official, and without altar [read *mizbeʾaḥ* for *zevaḥ*] or cult pillar or ephod and teraphim." Thus the message of the second symbol is, like that of the first, something which has already been said in chapters 1–2: for the extinction of the monarchy, cf. 1:4; for the cessation of all cult, both Yahwistic and Baalistic (for of the features named, at least altars are legitimate), cf. 2:13–15 [11–13]. The prophet does not, however, explain the symbolic meaning of the payment of 3:2; because he agrees with those modern writers, even though they are still a minority, who deny that it has any.

Like the heterobiographical account, chapter 3 predicts two further stages in the history of Israel: (stage 3) Israel's repentance, 3:5a (cf. 2:9b [7b]), and (stage 4) YHWH's renewed bounty to her, 3:5b (cf. 2:16 [14]ff.). Unlike the first two stages, however, the last two are not symbolized. This is very significant. If words mean anything, 3:1 and 3:3–4 mean that in the symbolic actions of stages 1 and 2 Hosea represents YHWH and the unnamed woman represents Israel. Evidently this is only tolerable because what is symbolized in stages 1 and 2 is not the covenant relationship between YHWH and Israel. It has been shown above that what is symbolized in stage 1 is, on the one hand, YHWH's generosity (which can even be impersonal, like that which is shown to the needy) and, on the other, Israel's liaisons with other gods, and that what is symbolized in stage 2 is the absence of any relations between Israel and YHWH (and between Israel and any other god, for that matter). Reverence, however, forbade the symbolizing, by means of scenes in which the woman and Hosea executed appropriate gestures,

of either (stage 3) Israel's advances to YHWH for a renewal of the covenant or (stage 4) the success with which they will be crowned. To speak in such metaphors, or allegories, as 2:16 [14], 18 [16], 21–22 [19–20] was one thing; to represent them dramatically, another. As will appear further on, only a unique situation prompted the prophet to invent them at all.

For this reason alone, 1:2b – according to which Hosea is actually to take a wife and beget children (the begetting is real, 1:3ff.) of a certain description (no matter what its exact sense may be; the writer was probably not clear about it himself) in order to dramatize the fact that YHWH's "wife" and "children" answer (or are going to answer, the more natural meaning of the Hebrew) to the same description (2:4–7 [2–5]) – would have to be pronounced an unhistorical element analogous to those that are present in other third person narratives about prophets (see *Immanuel). The unclarity of the passage (in what sense was Gomer "a woman of harlotry" and in what sense were her children "children of harlotry"? Did she possess this character before her marriage or acquire it only afterward? etc.) is a feature of its legendary character. It is due to a confusion, in popular memory, of three distinct female figures: the two real but distinct women of chapters 1 and 3 and the abstraction "Israel" of chapter 2. Those scholars who construct a romance about Gomer's lapse from virtue, her expulsion from Hosea's house, her sinking into prostitution and/or slavery, and her lovingly forgiving rehabilitation are at once victims and propagators of the same confusion. There are, however, no reasons for relegating the rest of the heterobiographical account to the realm of legend; on the contrary, it has every appearance of being basically historical.

THE BACKGROUND OF HOSEA. As Y. Kaufmann rightly stresses, the Baal worship, of which Hosea A speaks, is first one that includes festivals celebrated with festive garb and ornaments (2:15 [13]) and secondly something new. If Israel had been living in affluent apostasy for centuries (so the prevailing view), the prophet would hardly expect her, with such obvious confidence, to attribute the coming destitution to her having forsaken YHWH (2:9 [7]); she would be far more likely to conclude that she must have done something to provoke the Baalim. A third significant feature of this Baal worship (and one which escaped even Kaufmann's eye) is that (though the rank and file are going to suffer for it) it is national, or official, but not popular; for although YHWH says in 1:9 to Hosea (see above), "you [plural, i.e., the Israelites including Hosea] are not my people etc.," nobody will suppose that Hosea was personally to blame. By the same token, if YHWH calls upon the Israelites including Hosea to try to reform their mother so as not to be disowned on account of her (2:4–7 [2–5], see above), the implication is that the mass of Hosea's fellow countrymen have personally had as little to do with the Baal cult as he. When did such an extraordinary situation obtain, with a Baal cult which was brand new, which was celebrated with much festivity, but which had hardly spread beyond a narrow official, or court circle? Were it not for the chronological data in the superscription (1:1) and the threat against the House of Jehu in the text (1:4), it would be arbitrary in the extreme to think of the reign of Jeroboam son of Joash. For the Books of Kings say clearly that a temple of Baal (whose cult is sharply distinguished from the golden calves) was built by Ahab (I Kings 16:31–32), and that the temple, cult, and worshipers of Baal were destroyed by Jehu (II Kings 10:18–29); and the total silence on this head of both Kings and Amos speaks eloquently against any conjecture that Jeroboam II restored the *status quo ante* Jehu. However, since the chronological data in Hosea 1:1 and the reading "[House of] Jehu" in 1:4 do exist, H. Graetz, who realized – in 1875 – that chapters 1–3 speak not of a Yahwism allegedly "baalized" ever since the settlement in Canaan (so the regnant view) but of a Baalism comparable to the Baal cult of Ahab, surmised that the latter was revived by Jeroboam II. (It may be observed here that H. Graetz nevertheless realized that the author of Hosea A cannot be identical with that of Hosea B, which he dated to the reign of Pekah.) Kaufmann, however, insisted that the background can only be "the age of Jezebel" despite the aforementioned indications in 1:1 and 1:4. As regards the dating in 1:1, he regarded it as not an authentic tradition but an inaccurate surmise (its origin will be taken up below). Less satisfactory is his treatment of the phrase *beit Yehuʾ* ("the House of Jehu") in 1:4. He corrects it to *beit Yehoram* ("the House of Jehoram") and makes it refer to Jehoram son of Ahab, and he alleges support for this reading in the Septuagint. "The House of Jehoram" is, firstly, intrinsically improbable and, secondly, not supported by the Septuagint. It is intrinsically improbable because, for one thing, Jehoram seems to have given Baal worship less encouragement than Ahab (cf. II Kings 3:1–3) and, for another, whereas as has been seen, Hosea presupposes a Baal worship which is both brand-new and essentially restricted to a narrow official or court circle, by Jehoram's reign Baal worship was not brand-new (Ahab and Ahaziah between them had certainly reigned over 20 years, perhaps over 30) and – however much may be legitimately deducted from the face value of passages like I Kings 18:22, 30; 19:10, 14, 18 – it had certainly spread beyond the narrow inner circle and even beyond Samaria. The support for his conjecture of an original *Yhwrm* (*Yehoram*) for *Yhwʾ* (*Yehuʾ*) which Kaufmann thought he had found in the Septuagint is illusory because while the principal witnesses do read *Iouda*, this does not reflect a Hebrew reading *Yhwdh* (*Yehudah*), which could conceivably go back to an original *Yhwrm* (*Yehoram*; so Kaufmann), but is an inner Greek corruption of *Iou* (the regular rendering of יֵהוּא), which could easily be mistaken for an abbreviation of *Iouda* because the latter is frequently abbreviated to *Iōū* in manuscripts. Accordingly Ginsberg, who in 1960 (in bibl., 50, n. 1) declared in passing that he subscribed "in all essentials" to Kaufmann's views "concerning the special character and historical background" of Hosea A, published in 1967 (VTS, in bibl., 76, n. 2) an observation which solves both the problem of the origin of the impossible *Yhw* (*Yehuʾ*) of 1:4 and a number of other puzzles. This passage is only one

of eight in this book where the context requires *Yisra'el* (יִשְׂרָאֵל, "Israel"), but contains instead some other proper name beginning with *y* (י), or with *I, J*, or *Y* in English: namely in 5:12, 13, 14; 6:4; 10:11; 12:1, *Yehudah* (יְהוּדָה, "Judah"); in 8:1 *yhwh* (יהוה) "*YHWH*" and in 1:4, *Yehu'* (יֵהוּא) "Jehu." All these errors could be due to misunderstandings by Judahite scribes and/or editors of the abbreviation *y* (י) which, in the archetype brought down to Judah from north of the border in the last years of the kingdom of Israel or after its fall, frequently served as an abbreviation for the name *Yisrael*. That such *yods*, intended to be understood as abbreviations of proper names with initial *yod*, were in fact a feature of the archetype is confirmed by the fact that, in one case, a *yod* which was not so intended as an abbreviation but as the last letter of the word to which the preceding group of letters belonged was read separately from that group and interpreted as an abbreviation of YHWH. This is what occurred at 3:1 where the six letters *k'hbty*, which the logic of the verse as a whole shows to have been intended to be read as the single word *ke-'ahavati* ("as love"), were divided into the two words *ke-'ahavat, y* being taken as an abbreviation of YHWH, so that the received text reads *ke-'ahavat* YHWH ("as YHWH loves"). (For similar misunderstandings of just the letter *yod*, see G.R. Driver in bibl.) The advantage of "the House of Israel" over "the House of Jehu" is not only that it leaves us free to assign Hosea A to the period to which its contents otherwise point so clearly (for of course in addition to fostering Baal worship Ahab was guilty of very real crimes at Jezreel, I Kings 21), but also that it eliminates the perplexing implication that this prophet harbored a view of Jehu's liquidation of the House of Ahab, that is the diametrical opposite of the one implied, or, for the most part, even expressed in I Kings 18:40; 19:16–18; 21:17–26; II Kings 9:6–10, 24–26, 36–37; 10:10–30. It is not only that it is debatable whether the requirement that Jehu's great-grandchildren and great-great-grandchildren (supposedly, on the basis of the very questionable notice in 1:1, the generation of Jeroboam son of Joash and their children) should be annihilated for the sins of Jehu, manifests "a finer moral sense" than the requirement that Ahab's children and grandchildren (the generation of Jehoram and their children) be annihilated for the sins of Ahab; the point is rather that it is hard to believe that any biblical prophet ever thought of the liquidation of the House of Ahab as a sin (cf. Micah 6:16). One cannot, however, help judging this particular misunderstanding of the abbreviation *Y* more leniently than the others. After all, the interpreter of the initial found before him not "I will punish the House of *Yehu* [Jehu] for the crimes of Jezreel," but "I will punish the House of *Y* for the crimes of Jezreel" and it was only natural that this should suggest to him the descendants of the perpetrator of the crime rather than the entire nation; and it was no fault of his that it was Jehu's name and not Ahab's that began with the letter *Y* (J). Moreover, the phrase that served him as a guide was corrupt. The phrase דְּמֵי יִזְרְעֶאל (*demei Yizr'e'el*, "the crime of Jezreel"), would be suspicious even if the verse named the House of Ahab as the object of punishment, firstly, because it makes of verse 4b an explanation of the choice of the name Jezreel for the newborn babe though such an explanation is also contained in verse 5, and secondly, only the explanation in verse 5 agrees with the explanations of the names of the other children in that the name derives from the nature of the punishment, not from the reason for it; thirdly, the ethical sin named in 4b is entirely isolated in Hosea A, which is otherwise concerned exclusively with the cultic offense of Baal worship. Evidently, the יזרעאל in 4b is due to contamination by the יזרעאל in 4a and in 5, and in the light of 2:15 [13] דמי יזרעאל, "the crime of Jezreel" is to be emended to ימי הבעל(ים). Thus, with יהוא already corrected to ישראל [read *kullam*, the sense of 1:4 will be: "And YHWH said to him, 'Name him Jezreel. For I will soon punish the House of Israel for the days [i.e., festivals] of Baal and put an end to the kingdom of the House of Israel. On that day I will break the bow of Israel in the Plain of Jezreel.'" It was, then, in the reign of Ahab (871–851), and not long after its beginning, shortly after he introduced the worship of the Tyrian Baal, that Hosea son of Beeri, the man whose message is preserved in Hosea 1–3, delivered it. Thus, the first of the "literary" prophets antedates by over a century the first of the "classical" prophets, Amos. His message is, in effect, pre-classical. There is nothing here of the great innovation of the eighth-century prophets: the primacy of the ethical law and the doctrine that ethical sins no less than ritual and cultic ones may bring about the very destruction of the nation. Hosea son of Beeri has only one theme: Israel has broken faith with YHWH and embraced idolatry; consequently YHWH denounces his covenant with Israel; but YHWH will reduce Israel to destitution, and it will come to its senses; then YHWH will restore Israel to grace. Y. Kaufmann has stressed the relative calm – the matter-of-factness, the optimism, the lack of strong emotionality – with which all this is said. YHWH will forgive Israel because it will repent, not because He cannot help loving her in spite of all. As mentioned, chapters 1–3 nowhere stress YHWH's love but only His generosity. That love, passion, and compassion are characteristic of chapters 4–14 is not an argument for, but one of the many arguments against, the identity of their author with that of chapters 1–3.

It was pointed out above that Hosea is the author of the idea of a new covenant with a built-in guarantee against Israel's giving YHWH cause to renounce it like the first one, namely, a change in Israel's nature. The other important innovation of this man is, of course, the husband-and-wife allegory. It is therefore very notable that, as noted, the first man to employ this allegory employs it only for the purpose of contrasting the wife with the children. It was the unique situation near the beginning of Ahab's reign, when a limited circle at the top actually worshiped the Tyrian Baal – in other words, the need for inventing a wife allegory in order to contrast the wife with the children – that gave birth to the wife allegory. To be sure, there was all along a factor favorable to the birth of such an allegory, namely the doctrine of YHWH's jealousy and His insistence that His covenant partner Israel worship no other gods beside Him. This, however, was heavily outweighed by

the prophetic horror of associating sexuality with YHWH (see *Asherah), and only the need of the Jezebelian hour overcame this inhibition (why should the devil have the best tunes?) to the extent of giving rise to the wife metaphor, or allegory – but not to dramatizations of the metaphor. The same inhibition explains why even the metaphor was not imitated for two and a half centuries (it does not occur in Hosea B, see below), being revived only – and this cannot very well be accidental – in the second period of state-sponsored polytheism, the long one that endured from some time (probably quite early) in the reign of *Manasseh (698–642 B.C.E.) to the 18th year of *Josiah (622). *Jeremiah, who began to prophesy in the 13th year of Josiah (627), reveals his familiarity with the Book of Hosea in more ways than one, and he seems to have been struck by the appositeness of the metaphor of the unfaithful wife for the people of YHWH in his own day (Jer. 2–3). At the same time, he evidently found inapplicable, in the situation that he observed, his predecessor's distinction between an erring mother and children who are guilty only by "association." What was true in Israel when the worship of the Tyrian Baal was first introduced in Samaria was not true in Judah after decades (possibly seven) of Manassism and its pre-reformation aftermath. Jeremiah 2:8, 26–29; 3:21; 5:1–9, 23, 26–31; 6:27–30; 8:6–7; 9:1–8; 25:1ff.; 35:15, speaks of the nation generally as idolatrous and corrupt. That is why when Jeremiah revived Hosea's wife allegory he also simplified it, omitting the children (Jer. 3:14–17 is not a continuation of verses 11–13 but a separate utterance). Finally, Jeremiah's emulators, *Ezekiel and in particular *Deutero-Isaiah, reintroduce the children alongside the Hosean antithesis.

JUDAHITE INTERPOLATIONS IN HOSEA A. Thus the importance of Hosea A alone amply justifies the labors of the Judahite literati who preserved the remarkable monument of Israelite prophecy called the Book of Hosea. Whereas the beginning of 1:1, "The word of YHWH that came to Hosea son of Beeri," is doubtless old and reliable (cf. "Hosea" – twice – in verse 2), the rest of it is a late combination of the datings in Isaiah 1:1 and Amos 1:1. The former was probably suggested by the fact that the Book of Hosea contains (from Hos. 5:13 on), like the Book of Isaiah (from 7:17 on), numerous references to Assyria; the latter, by the fact that the Book of Hosea, like the Book of Amos, is addressed primarily in Israel to Israel. The resulting synchronism is very imperfect: a prophetic activity which extended beyond the reign of Uzziah through those of Jotham and Ahaz into that of Hezekiah, would also have extended beyond the reign of Jeroboam son of Joash through those of Zechariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, and Pekah into that of Hoshea. In some scholars' chronologies, Hezekiah's accession even postdates the fall of Samaria. Likewise obviously secondary are 1:7, 2:2a [1:11a], and 3:5ac. Hosea, c. 870–865, had no occasion to add 1:7 after 1:6, since he shows by 2:16 [14] that by 1:6 he does not preclude YHWH's later taking the House of Israel itself back into favor. The disintegration of the House of Israel, which took place in the second half of the eighth century, lay beyond his horizon. To the author of verse 7, in contrast, it was a historical fact; to his contemporaries, an assurance that the same fate would not befall the House of Judah was a vital necessity. It is fascinating to speculate whether 1:7b reflects the glossator's adherence to the view of Isaiah that Judah must not attempt to regain her independence by means of military alliances but must wait for YHWH to do the job Himself. At any rate, a dating in the age of Hezekiah for the other two interpolations as well is favored by Isaiah's expectation of a revitalized Davidic Empire that would include Israel and by possible practical attempts in that direction on the part of Hezekiah (cf. II Chron. 30). Short Judahite glosses, recognizable as such by their isolation (no reference to Judah for long stretches before and after) and mostly by their hypermetrism as well, are also scattered over B, and some of them will be pointed out. It was desired to make the message of the revered prophet of the north relevant in the late kingdom of Judah (and its post-Exilic successor) by including Judah in the rebukes directed against Ephraim (which are not the same thing as an outright repudiation like 1:6). In the entire Book of Hosea, the only passage in which the name Judah is not either part of a gloss or a misinterpretation of an abbreviation which was intended to represent Israel is the one in 5:10, where Judah is condemned for aggression against Israel (see below).

HOSEA B, OR DEUTERO-HOSEA, OR SECOND HOSEA, CHAPTERS 4–14

Background

There is a characteristic word that keeps recurring in these chapters: the name Ephraim as an alternative to Israel, or the House of Israel, or the Israelites (*Bene Yisra'el*), as in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Deutero-Zechariah. This usage is of course unknown to Hosea A, in the reign of Ahab, but it is unknown even to Amos, in the reign of Jeroboam II (784–748). No wonder, then, that Hosea already knows of the assassinations of the two ephemeral kings Zechariah and Shallum in the year 747. Now, Shallum's assassin and successor was Menahem (747/6–737/6), whose coming under Assyrian suzerainty (which took place in 738) is related to II Kings 15:19 in a formulation which is at least compatible with the view that the protection of the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III had actually been solicited by the former. This fact is stressed by H. Tadmor, who compares with it not only Hosea 5:13 (and 14:4) but also 7:11; 12:2; for he surmises, quite plausibly, that since Assyria – Menahem's first choice – was unable to respond immediately, Menahem tried Egypt and oscillated between the two until one of them – Assyria – did respond in 738. One might also call attention to the title *melekh yarev* which is bestowed upon the king of Assyria on the first occasion on which Ephraim's solicitation of him is mentioned, 5:13, and repeated in 10:6: in light of the foregoing, perhaps it is to be translated, after Isaiah 51:22 ("Thus said your Lord YHWH, your God who champions [*yariv*] his people"), something

like "a patron king." (At the same time, one cannot exclude the possibility that the phrase was corrupted from *melekh rav*, a calque on Akkadian *šarru rabû*, "great king," the common self-designation of the King of Assyria.) H. Tadmor regards 738 as the terminus ante quem of the Book of Hosea, on the ground that Menahem would neither want nor dare to solicit Egypt's protection once Assyria's had been established. The argument is reasonable but not conclusive, for even at a later date the prophet might conceivably recall and again denounce the silly wooing. Unassailable, though, seems Tadmor's further observation that it is in the highest degree improbable that the prophet would contemplate exile only as a result of migration due to famine (9:2–6), and never hint at the prospect of a forcible uprooting, after the horrors of 732. And of course Tadmor did not fail to make the telling point that Hosea regards Assyria as a useless luxury but not as a potential enemy, which is simply inconceivable after 734. There is even more. The prophet anticipates not only exile without forcible uprooting but also cruel warfare throughout the land without invasion by foreigners, either Assyrian or other. In other words, the prophet has not witnessed the events of 734–32 but he vividly recalls the ghastly civil wars of 747, and he expects more of the same, only worse. For the natural interpretation of 10:14, which speaks not of anybody coming but of tumult arising "in your people" and of all the fortresses being ravaged "as Beth-Arbel was ravaged by Shalman on a day of battle, when mothers and babes were dashed to death together" is that civil war like that of the year 747 will break out, and that this time all the walled cities will fare as Tappuah is known from II Kings 15:16 (where those who follow the Lucianic recension and read Tappuah for MT's Tiphsah seem to be right) to have fared at the hands of Menahem, and as this verse recalls that (as the prophet's hearers are well aware) Beth-Arbel (modern Irbid in Transjordan) fared at the hands of Shalman. If this Shalman is not identical with Shallum, a known principal in the civil strife of 747 (II Kings 15:10–14), then he is an otherwise unknown general who, whether as a third principal or in the service of one of the other two, duplicated the atrocity of Menahem. (Alternatively, this may be a reference to the ninth century invasion by Shalmaneser III, see Astour in Bibliography, in which case the prophet is evoking history rather than personal memory, but a past event nonetheless.) The prophet's memories of the atrocities of 747 are no doubt at work again in 14:1 (which again whispers not a syllable about foreign armies): Samaria's people shall fall by the sword, her babes shall be dashed to death and her women with child split open. Isaiah 9:18a–20 [19a–21] is a poetical summary, dating from shortly after the additional slaughter of the Pekahiah-Pekah struggle (ended 735/4), of Israel's savage civil wars as viewed from Jerusalem; see *Isaiah. (In Hos. 8:3, the word *ʾwyb* (*oyev*) is to be emended to *ʾwn* (i.e., *ʾawen*) and the pointing of the last word is to be changed from *yirdefo* (which is just as non-existent a form as the masoretic *yitkefo* (*yitqefo*) of Eccles. 4:12) to *yirdofu*. Then, in addition to being grammatically in order, the verse yields the sense, "Israel rejects what is good; they pursue illusion," which – the exact opposite of MT – both accords with the tenor of Hosea B as a whole and articulates admirably with what follows.)

Differences from Hosea A in Form and Content

Hosea B falls into three sections marked by three distinctive openings: Hosea B–a, 4:1–7; 13, 15–16; Hosea B–b, 8:1–2; 7:14; 8:3–13; 13:15–14:1; and Hosea B–c, 14:2–4; 13:14; 14:6–10. The opening of B–a (4:1–3) reads as follows: (1) "Listen to the word of YHWH, O House of Israel; for YHWH has a lawsuit against all the inhabitants of the land. For there is no honesty, no goodness, no mindfulness of God. (2) Swearing and breaking faith, and murder, and stealing, and adultery are rampant, and crime overtakes crime. (3) For this the earth shall wither; and all that dwell on it, of beasts of the field and of birds of the air, shall shrivel, and the fish of the sea shall perish as well." (Verse 3 is a conventional cosmic touch which is not meant seriously; cf. Zeph. 1:2–3.) In 4:4–8, the prophet singles out for reproof the priests, and in 5:1–2 the priests, the prophets (read *neviʾe yisraʾel* for *bet yisraʾel* in 5:1), and the royal household, not as being worse than the masses but for failing to check the corruption of the masses. Obviously, such a blanket denunciation of the entire population negates the original raison d'être of the wife allegory, the need to distinguish the upper crust as the true culprit by means of the figure of the mother, from the masses who are, naturally, represented as children. The author is consistent; he employs only pure children metaphors: (1) 5:7, "They have been faithless to YHWH, have become to him like strange children [read *ke-vanim zarim hayu lo*]; therefore a destroyer shall consume [read *yokhal mashḥit*] their portions [i.e., in their father's bounty or at their father's table]." (2) 9:15, 17 (9:16 belongs between verses 11 and 12); (verse 15, YHWH speaking) "For [read *ʿal*] their wickedness at Gilgal-it was there that, for their evil doings, I disowned [as in Mal. 1:3] them-I will drive them out of my house [like an embittered father]. No more will I accept them [as in *wa-ʾohav*, Mal. 1:2b; in Mal. 1:2a, the verb means "to favor"] they are all, MT is an inept recollection of Isa. 1:23] rebels." (verse 17, the prophet speaking) "My God rejects them, and they shall wander homeless among the nations." A Hebrew pun which Hosea indulges in twice (4:12b; 9:1 [read *zenunim* or *zenut* for *ʾetnan*]), that between *zenut/zenunim*, "fornication" and *zanah min*, "to stray away from [one's God]," has misled some investigators into treating those examples of the wife metaphor; but that is very superficial. 4:12b does not say "she [personified Israel] has strayed from her husband" or "has played the harlot with lovers," because the text says not a syllable about idolatry (see below). What it does say is, "For a lecherous impulse [literally, a spirit of fornication (*zenunim*)] has made them stray, so that they have strayed from submission to [*wa-yiznu mi-taḥat*] their God" – a statement which is very much in place in a pericope whose one theme is (drink and) fornication – literal, not figurative (see below) – and which opens with (4:10) "… for they have forsaken YHWH to practice (11) fornication" and concludes with (5:4) "Their habits do not let them turn

back to their God; for in them is a lecherous impulse [literally, a spirit of fornication – as above], so that they are unmindful of YHWH." Similarly, 9:1 does not address Israel in the feminine singular but in the masculine singular; and what it says is "you have strayed away from your God [because] you love to fornicate [read *zenunim* for *ʾetnan*, which in any case means 'harlot's fee,' not 'other gods']…," and what it means is exactly the same thing as the parallel statement in 4:12 which has just been explained.

Contents of the Individual Sections

B–a, 4:1–7:13, 15–16. The formal opening of this section (4:1–3) has already been quoted. It is no accident that for all its length it contains no allusion whatsoever to idolatry; for neither is there a word about it in all of chapters 4–7 except in the received text of 4:17, and that is corrupt. (The initial phrase is to be emended to *ḥever ʿogevim*, "a band of lechers"; on the whole of 4:17–18, see Ginsberg, in; VTS, 1967, in bibl.) As against its reticence about what is not named in the formal opening, B–a is outspoken about ethical evils of the sort that are enumerated in the formal opening: murder (6:8–9), theft and robbery (7:1b), treachery (6:7), including the special variety of treachery toward kings (7:3–4, 6–7), and – at some length and repeatedly – lasciviousness, sometimes coupled with drunkenness (4:10b–19; 5:4; 6:10). Against attempts to interpret this libertinism in whole or in part as a figure of speech for idolatry, see Ginsberg, in: VTS (1967), 74–77, where only a couple of details need to be corrected, mainly the following: Hosea 4:10b–12 (the first word) is to be rendered, "(10b) For they have forsaken YHWH to practice (11) fornication. New grain [for *yyn*, read *dgn*] and new wine (12) deprive my people (11) of its reason." For the starkly anatomic-erotic import of what follows in the text, see Ginsberg, *ibid.* As the parallels 7:14 (which is to be read after 8:2, and in which *yitgoraru* means "they fornicate") and 9:1–3 (read *zenut* or *zenunim* for *ʾetnan*) show, the proverbially merry seasons of the new grain and the new wine (Ps. 4:8) were for many of Deutero-Hosea's contemporaries seasons of sexual license; and this debauchery also went on in the neighborhood of the sanctuaries, where inviting prostitutes to the sacrificial banquets (Ps. 4:8 middle) was a feature of the festivity rather than of the ritual. At any rate, the prophet's fulminations are aimed at the depravity of this dalliance, not at its alleged rituality; and he begs the rakes to have at least the decency to keep away from YHWH's sanctuaries and to stop professing YHWH (4:10b–15, with the last clause of 15 to be interpreted in light of Isa. 45:23b*b*; 48:1b*a*; Jer. 4:2a; 12:16). The only thing these four chapters score besides Ephraim's moral corruption is his religio-political imbecility. The moral rot in Ephraim has not gone unpunished; Ephraim is weak, his pride has been humbled before his very eyes. How does he try to appease YHWH? Not by turning over a new leaf, but by trying to soothe YHWH with the smell of burning cattle fat, 5:5–6 (minus 5:b *b*, which is a Judahite gloss). This is spelled out in 5:8–7:8. The "Judah" in 5:10 is the only one in the entire 14 chapters of the traditional "Book of Hosea" that is not either part of a gloss or a scribal misinterpretation as *Yehudah* of an original *Y* that should have been read *Yisraʾel.* The gist of 5:8–7:8, then, is this: Ephraim is weak and helpless. Judah has encroached upon its territory. Judah's action was inexcusable, and it will yet feel YHWH's wrath; but for Ephraim's helplessness Ephraim itself is to blame. For a justification of the following translation, see Ginsberg, in: VTS, 1967. "(5:11) Ephraim is wronged, defrauded in judgment,/because he was a fool and followed delusion// (5:12). For it is I who am like corrosion to Ephraim,/like rot to the House of Israel(!)// (5:13) Yet when Ephraim saw his sickness, Israel (!) his sore,/ Ephraim went to Assyria, and sent missions to a patron king" (*yarev* = *yariv* [Isa. 51:22], as explained above). The text then goes on to predict that when Ephraim has learned the hard way that Assyria cannot heal it, it will turn to YHWH with very commendable resolutions (6:3b) to embrace mindfulness of YHWH; but it is a foregone conclusion that although Ephraim-Israel (this correction must be made in 6:4) can be trusted to continue to bring his sacrifices, which leave YHWH cold, his mindfulness of (or devotion to) God, which is the same thing as goodness (*ḥesed*), will not last. Goodness, or mindfulness of God, is the one thing that would move YHWH without fail to heal Ephraim but covenant breaking is rife in Adam, evildoing and lawlessness in Gilead, murder at Shechem, and shame in "Bet Israel" (corrupt for Beth-El, which was contaminated by "Israel" at the end of the verse), where Ephraim has whored and Israel been defiled. 6:11a is of course one of those interpolated Judahite clauses, hypermetric and with no organic connection with its environment. Then comes this: (6:11b) "Whenever I would make my people whole again,/ (7:1) whenever I would heal Israel, Ephraim's guilt appears/and Samaria's wickedness. For they act faithlessly/(clause missing); a thief sneaks into the house, and bandits raid outside." Since, therefore, on the one hand, this concluding passage about the things that inhibit YHWH from healing as limited to Israel, Ephraim, and Samaria, with never a word about Judah and Jerusalem, and since the immediately preceding list of illustrations of cure-repelling *ḥesed*-lessness is likewise limited to places like Adam and Gilead with nary a Beth-Lehem or a Hebron; and since, on the other hand, Judah is represented in 5:8–11 as, in contrast to Ephraim, disgustingly healthy and since, so far from soliciting Assyrian protection, it was probably at this time heading an anti-Assyrian coalition under its King Azariah-Uzziah (see H. Tadmor), to reject, under such circumstances, the above view of the "Judahs" in 5:12, 13, 14; 6:4 (misinterpretations of abbreviated "Israel") and of Judah clause 6:11a (an interpolation) is not a philological judgment but an act of faith (or deception). It is worth considering whether the famous crux ליהודה בישראל in II Kings 14:28 may not represent a completion of an original לי meaning לישראל and בי a corrupt dittogram of לי. Within Hosea B–a, Ephraim's stupid disloyalty in seeking from others than YHWH a cure for its YHWH-inflicted woes is stressed again in 7:8ff., and the prophet returns to this theme in B–b.

B–b, 8:1–2; 7:14; 8:3–13:13. As a preliminary, it may be noted in passing that 8:1–2; 7–14 obviously served as a model for Isaiah 58:1–4. The above themes of B–a are not dropped but added to in B–b. 8:4b has the first mention of idolatry, the making of images of silver and gold; primarily, "the calf of Samaria" (verses 5 and 6) is meant. This designation is puzzling: Does it mean that the image had been transferred (during the Judahite threat to Bethel, 5:8–10?) to Samaria, though it was still occasionally called "the calf of Bethel" (10:5, where Beth-Aven is the cacophony which is usually substituted for Bethel in this book) on account of its origin? An elaborate Baal cult like that of Hosea A evidently no longer exists. The sin of Baal-Peor in the days of Moses is mentioned in 9:10; and 13:1, which employs the simple "Baal," is unclear but definitely refers to the past (Baal-Peor or Ahab's Baal), since the following verse says "And now they sin again" and specifies abuses other than Baal. In 11:2, where a lone offering to *beʿalim* is stated to be a current practice, the parallelism to *pesilim* ("carved images") shows that the word, if correctly transmitted, can only signify false gods in general as suggested by Y. Kaufmann; but in view of 8:5, 6; 10:5; 13:2, there can be little doubt that *beʿalim* is miswritten for *ʿagalim* ("calves"). A special kind of unacceptable worship is the cult of Beth-El or El-Beth-El, the numen of Bethel (12:5–6), who was regarded by the (north) Israelites as their national tutelary angel (cf. Jer. 48:13). Whether or not the rearrangements of Ginsberg (in bibl., 1961) are acceptable, he shows the meaning of the individual clauses in 12:1–14. (Attributing these meanings to the clauses but leaving their order unchanged results in a picture of a prophet who talks sense but is afflicted with a sort of St. Vitus' dance in his speech. Even that is preferable to one of the conventional insipid jumbles.) 12:1–14 adds up to the following argument (whose author evidently knew the very traditions about Jacob that are preserved in Genesis, but just as evidently takes liberties with them for his own purposes): Ephraim is full on the one hand of false dealing (1a, 8–9) and on the other of incredible self-deception (2, 12). His progenitor Israel-Jacob was just like him (the *Yehudah* in verse 3 is another of those wrong completions of the initial *Y* of *Yisraʾel. Yaʿakov* (*Yaʿaqov*) in verse 3 and *ʿakav* (*ʿaqav*) … *sarah* in verse 4 constitute a chiasmus). On the one hand he defrauded his brother; on the other he adopted as his guardian and quasi-god an angel, Beth-El, who was no match even for Jacob himself. One ought not in any case to invoke any being among YHWH's hosts but only the God of Hosts Himself (verse 6). Jacob paid for his stupidity. His guardian was not able to save him from the necessity of fleeing into exile, where he endured such poverty that he had to indenture himself to watch flocks in order to earn a wife (13–14). Angels have never done Israel any good even as YHWH's messengers. The messenger through whom YHWH brought Israel up from Egypt was a prophet; through a prophet, Israel was effectively guarded (14). So also now, only YHWH will restore Israel's security, and again through prophets (10–11; "Let you dwell in your tents [read *beʾohalekha*]" is to be interpreted in light of II Kings 13:5); but he must learn to cultivate goodness and justice, and to put his trust in his God (not in Egypt, Assyria, or the cults of Bethel, Gilead, and Gilgal); in other words, he must give up his twin vices of rascality and impracticality! This dwelling on patriarchal and Mosaic history (also early pre-monarchic, 10:9, 10ba) is characteristic of Hosea B–b. The pertinent passages are concentrated between 9:10 and 13:5, and the first of them reads as follows: (9:10) "I found Israel/like grapes in a desert; I regarded your fathers/as early ripe figs in a parched land. But they/when they came to Baal-Peor/turned aside to shame. Then they became as detested/as they had been loved." (Of the 12 letters following *kbkwrh*, the first 6 are to be emended to *btlʾbh* – cf. the parallelism in 13:5 – and the other 6 are to be omitted as a misunderstood correction of a dittogram of *rʾyty*. "Parched land" is the meaning of sundry derivatives of the Arabic *laʾaba* "to be thirsty" – Ibn Janaḥ, Ibn Ezra, Kimḥi on 13:5.) As can be seen from the Jahwistic-Elohistic (JE) account in Numbers 25:1–5, the Baal-Peor episode began with fornication with the Moabite women, and this led to an acceptance of their invitation to the feast of meat from animals sacrificed to their god Baal-Peor (a reversal of the usual respective roles of the sexes at such affairs, Hos. 4:14). After what has already been noted of this man's strong view on illicit sex, it is obvious that it is not by chance that he cites just the first phase of the Baal-Peor episode as the cause of YHWH's revulsion of feeling. It is no doubt because tradition knew of no incident of sexual immorality on the desert wanderings that he came to believe that Israel was free from serious blame until it came to Baal-Peor in Transjordan. The basic idea that Israel's innocence lasted through the desert period is of course borrowed by Jeremiah 2:2ff., but because Jeremiah is speaking in the aftermath of the Manasseh apostasy he stresses just the cultic aspect: Israel worshiped YHWH single-heartedly in the harsh desert, but although YHWH rewarded it (*zakharti lakh*, "I remembered in your favor," Jer. 2:2) for this loyalty by making it inviolable (Jer. 2:3), it exchanged Him for other gods just amid the plenty of "the country of farm land" (*ereẓ ha-karmel*, Jer. 2:7). This interest in pre-conquest history is itself an Ephraimite though not an exclusively Deutero-Hosean, contribution to the culture of post-eighth-century Judah. It would seem that in Judah the centrality of the David-and-Zion ideology had, by the middle of the eighth century, pushed the traditions about the Patriarchs and the age of Moses to the periphery of theological interest. Amos mentions the bare facts of the exodus and the 40 years' sojourn in the wilderness, but does not allude to persons or incidents of that age; and about the Patriarchs he is completely silent. Isaiah actually alludes to the crossing of the Reed Sea (Isa. 11:15 [from *we-henif* on]-16), but that is all. The apparent allusion to Abraham in Isaiah 29:22a is a corruption, because the only accurate translation of the half verse as it stands would be, "Assuredly thus said YHWH to the House of Jacob which redeemed Abraham" (other renderings take liberties with syntax). *ʾAvraham* would seem to be miswritten for *ʾavotam*, which yields the sense "to the House of Jacob whose forefathers He [i.e., YHWH] redeemed." Of course there are as references to Abraham, Isaac,

Jacob, Levi, Sarah, Rachel, and Moses in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah, and Malachi; but both directly and indirectly, Hosea B and other north Israelite writings that found their way to Judah had something to do with the change. The "other north Israelite writings" obviously include the stories about Elijah, Elisha, other northern "men of God," and "disciples of prophets" embedded in the Books of Kings; and here it says that Elijah built an altar of 12 stones, "equal in number to the tribes of the sons of Jacob, to whom the word of YHWH came, saying, 'Your name shall be Israel'" (I Kings 18:31), and that he fled from the persecution of Jezebel "to the mountain of God at Horeb" (I Kings 19:8; cf. the phrase in Ex. 3:1), where (like Moses) he experienced a theophany. Also to be included among "the other north Israelite writings" is Micah 6–7, a block of text marked off from the Book of Micah proper by the elaborate opening 6:1–2. In Micah 6:3–5 there is a vindication of YHWH by the enumeration of His acts of grace (*ẓedaqot*) remarkably reminiscent of I Samuel 12:6 ff. Instead of carrying the story, however, like the latter, down to the speaker's own time, it only traces it to the crossing (under Joshua, who is not named) from Shittim in Transjordan to Gilgal by Jericho. At the outset, it enlarges on the age of Moses, in which it names not only Samuel, Moses, and Aaron, but also Miriam, Balak king of Moab, and Balaam son of Beor.

The booklet Micah 6–7 ends with the self assuring meditation, "You (O YHWH) maintain the enduring kindness/that You promised on oath//to our fathers Abraham and Jacob/in the days of old" (7:20). That this is not an atypical early Judahite writing but a typical Ephraimite one is (1) suggested by the accusation (6:16), "Yet you have observed (*wa-tishmor*, so also others) the laws of Omri and all the practices of the House of Ahab and have walked in their counsels…," which would most naturally be addressed to one of the Omrids' successors the Jehuids, and is (2) practically demonstrated by the prayer (7:14): "Oh, shepherd with your staff Your people, Your very own flock. May they who dwell isolated [or, reading *midbar*, in a wilderness], in a scrub by farm land, graze Bashan and Gilead as in days of yore." The speaker's people are evidently still occupying Cisjordan but he complains that it is but "a scrub" compared with the neighboring "farm land" Bashan and Gilead which he prays may be restored to Israel. The whole suggests the earlier years of Jeroboam II, before he reconquered Transjordan. It is a pity the name of this countryman and contemporary of Jonah son of Amittai of Gath-Hepher (II Kings 14:25) has not been preserved. The reason why his little book was combined with the prophecies of Micah (meaning "who is like [YHWH]?" may have been the concluding paragraph. 7:18 ff., which begins with the words *mi'el kamokha* ("who is a God like you?").

"Second Hosea" (Hosea B) is a man of pathos. He tells us how an irate YHWH banishes his unworthy children from His table (5:7) and His house (9:15) declaring, "I will drive them out of My house! I no longer accept them! They are all rebels!" The prophet's denunciations are unsparing (all sorts of wickedness are universal; priests, prophets, and court are complaisant; only this one prophet rebukes, 4:1–5:2). Ephraim is at once a swindler and a fool – just like his sainted forebear Jacob 12:1–14, as interpreted above, and his threats are blood-curdling (sterility, miscarriage, infant mortality, early death, 9:11, 16, 12–13; crop failure and mass emigration, 9:2–6; brutal, all-destructive civil war, 10:14; massacre of the population of Samaria, 14:1; the sword shall devour Israel's flesh and bones, 11:6; his very sources shall dry up, 13:15). Yet in 12:1–14 (interpreted above) he pleads with Israel (not without hope as in chapter 6) to give up his odd combination of faults and be saved. In his tender moments he is sentimental. YHWH adopted Israel as His son when it was an infant (11:1); He fondled and pampered it (11:3–4). It is shockingly unfilial (11:2), Let the sword devour it! (verse 6). How can YHWH go through with his fell design (11:8): "How can I give you up, O Ephraim?/How surrender you, O Israel?/How can I make you like Admah,/Render you like Zeboiim [On Admah… Zeboiim for the usual Sodom… Gomorrah, see below]. I have had a change of heart,/All My tenderness is stirred. (9) I will not act on my wrath,/not proceed with Ephraim's destruction. For I am God, not man,/Holy Being, not flesh" (reading *kadosh (qadosh) we-lo' vasar* instead of the received last five words). There is therefore nothing surprising about the beautifully tender conclusion B–C.

B–C, 14:2–4; 13:14; 14:6–10. The prophet instructs Israel how to turn back to its God YHWH: Bespeak His forgiveness and promise that you will cease to delude yourself with hopes in Egypt, Assyria, and fetishes. YHWH's reply is that of a father who has disowned but still loves his children. The characteristic phrase is, "I will love them of My own impulse" (14:5), i.e., with unmerited love. The verses that follow are elusive as regards the individual phrases, but the gist of them is unquestionably that they promise Ephraim a blessed future. (For an attempt to restore verse 9, see Paul in: *Lives*, 28 (1969), 53, n. 44.) It is from this "Hosea" that Jeremiah learned that Ephraim-Israel is YHWH's son (Jer. 31:8 [9]), and that though He has disowned him He cannot help loving him and will surely rehabilitate him (Jer. 31:19 [20]). It must be repeated that Hosea A – quite apart from never using the term "Ephraim" – is rather unemotional. He does not say that YHWH cannot bring himself to execute the threatened punishment, never pleads with Israel to convert (he merely predicts that she will), and does not speak at all of YHWH's love either with reference to the past, present, or to the future (it has been explained that *'ahav* in 3:1 means "to befriend"); he merely says that YHWH will again accept (*we-riḥamti* 2:25 [23]) Israel, because she will quite certainly repent. In Hosea B, *'ahav* means merely "to accept or recognize" in 9:15, 11:1, but *'ahavah* does mean "love" in 11:4 referring to the past, and the verb *'ahav* apparently does mean "to love" in 14:5.

THE BOOK OF HOSEA AND DEUTERONOMY

In the body of this article various debts which the later prophecy and religion of Judah owed, partly to the Book of Hosea alone and partly to the Book of Hosea and other writings, have

been pointed out. It was also pointed out in connection with Hosea A that (1) the juxtaposition of nakedness and thirst as features of destitution in 2:5 [3], the phrase "I lavished silver and gold on her (*hirbeti lah*)" and the fourfold use of *ʾahav* in 3:1 in the sense of "to befriend" were "deuteronomisms," cf. Deuteronomy 28:48; Deuteronomy 8:13; Deuteronomy 10:18–19 respectively. It is necessary to add from Hosea B the following: (2) although it follows from the account in Genesis 19 that all the cities of the Plain except Zoar were annihilated, which implies that Admah and Zeboiim perished (see Gen. 14:2, 8 for the complete list), only Sodom and Gomorrah (sometimes even Sodom alone) are mentioned by name either in the account in question or in other biblical allusions to these bywords for wickedness and devastation – except in Hosea 11:8, which names just the other two (Admah and Zeboiim), and Deuteronomy 29:22, which lists all four. (3) The chain *savaʿ* ("to be sated")… *ram levavo* ("to become haughty")… *shakhaḥ* (*ʾet YHWH*) "to forget (*YHWH*)" occurs only in Hosea 13:6 and Deuteronomy 8:12… 14. The correspondences thus far cited could all be accounted for by a common linguistic, literary, and/or cultural background. Indeed, in the wording of the Hosea passage in example (1), the absence of the word "hunger" can only be explained by abridgement of either such a common literary source or of the Deuteronomy passage. In the case of (3), however, Hosea is obviously either the original or, at any rate, much closer to the original than the enormously expanded Deuteronomy version, in which the first term is separated from the two others by a good deal of filling. Moreover, in Hosea the terse single version in question is preceded by an equally terse recollection of the supplying of Israel's needs in the wilderness, while in Deuteronomy the three expansive versions in question are followed by two equally expansive ones on the supplying of Israel's needs in the wilderness. (4) This one is of capital importance. Repeatedly Deuteronomy contains stern warnings uttered against, or drastic punishments prescribed or declared to have actually been inflicted for "following after, or worshiping, 'other gods whom you have not known.'" What can be the sense of the repeated qualification "whom you have/they had not known" (Deut. 11:28; 13:3, 7, 14; 29:25)? Would worshiping a golden calf or Baal-Peor, both of which the Israelites had known at the time when Moses was speaking, count as nothing worse than "bad form"? That the problem is not just the invention of a 20th-century writer in search of something to write about is evident from the fact that it bothered Rashi, so that in his commentary on the last of those passages he explained that "whom they had not known" means "in whom they had not known divine power." This interpretation is accepted by Naḥmanides (who criticizes Rashi only for halfheartedly citing Onkelos' [grammatically impossible] interpretation of the following clause as confirmation, after first interpreting it correctly – to the shame of modern apologetes), and it is very close to the truth. This, however, raises the question: How did the author come to express himself – five times – so ambiguously? It would have been far clearer if, instead of אשר לא ידעת(ם) / ידעום he had written הושיעום / (ם)אשר לא הושיעוכ "who have not helped you/had not helped them." The solution will be followed more easily if an analogous puzzle and solution of recent publications are first reproduced in brief. In Isaiah 59:16 Deutero-Isaiah says, "So his own arm (זרעו) wrought victory for him, and his own vindication (וצדקתו) aided him," and similarly in 63:5, "So my own arm (זרעי) wrought victory for me, and my own vindication (וצדקתי) [so the indubitably correct reading of 30 manuscripts; the current reading וחמתי is obviously due to contamination by verses 3, 6] aided me." In both cases, the second clause is very unsatisfying: "his/my vindication helped him/me" is as sparkling as "his/my help helped him/me" or "his/my triumph wrought triumph for him/me." A long step toward a solution of the difficulty can be taken if a person who really knows his Hebrew and his Bible will ask himself: What is the obvious parallel synonym to *zeroʾaʿ*, "arm"? Answer: *yad*, "hand" – or *yamin*, "right hand," Isaiah 62:8; Psalms 44:4; 98:1. Just of Psalms 98, and particularly of 98:1–2, Deutero-Isaiah made extensive use, as shown by Ginsberg (see bibl. 1969). This reusing resulted in more than one illogicality, of which *ẓidqato/ti* for *yemino/ni* is one of those most striking. Here is how it came about. Psalms 98:1b names the instrument by which YHWH has wrought triumph (for Israel, verse 3): "His right hand [*yemino*], his holy arm [*u-zeroʾaʿ qodsho*], has wrought victory for him"; but verse 2 names the product of the instrument, the triumph itself: "YHWH has made known his victory [*yeshuʿato*], manifested his vindication [*ẓidqato*]." In reusing this passage, Deutero-Isaiah sometimes substitutes the instrument "arm" for the product "victory" (Isaiah 52:10; 53:1, which does not strike us as harsh). Conversely, as seen, he substitutes the product "vindication" for the instrument "right hand" in 59:16 and 63:5, and that does strike us as harsh. Similarly, it was in the process of reusing an older text that for the verb *hoshiʾaʿ*, "to help, give success to," in his source the Deuteronomist substituted the verb *yadaʿ*, "to know," which there stands next to it. It has been noted that the verses Hosea 13:1–2 complain that in the past Israel sinned by worshiping Baal and today it sins again by worshiping images, particularly calves. "But," Hosea 13:4 continues, "ever since the land of Egypt,/ only I YHWH have been your God [for of course those sundry varieties of trash do not deserve the name of gods]." "Beside me you have never known [*loʾ tedaʿ*] a God (*elohim*), other than me you have never had a Helper [*moshiʾaʿ ʾayin* – those others never brought you a particle of *yeshuʿah*]." What Israel has not known according to this is a God other than YHWH. What the Deuteronomist calls "other gods" Israel – to its shame – has known, verses 1–2; but Deutero-Hosea's point is precisely that they are not gods, and he avoids calling them by that name. (In the parallel passage 8:4b–6 he says in so many words that the "calf of Samaria" is, like all images of silver and gold, "no god" [*loʾ ʾelohim*], though he cannot deny that the angel Beth-El is an *ʾelohim* in the sense of a divine being, 12:4–5.)

That Deuteronomy, which was published in 622, should owe something to the Book of Hosea is not so surprising, since it has been demonstrated in the body of this article that Jere-

miah, whose activity began five years prior to the publication of Deuteronomy if the date in Jeremiah 1:2 is reliable, and in no case more than a few years later, made four major borrowings from it (the wife-of-YHWH metaphor, the new covenant, the favorable verdict on the desert period, and YHWH's insuperable love for Ephraim). No doubt the other Ephraimite literature that found a haven in Judah after the debacle of 722 also played a part in the religious ferment that culminated in the publication of Deuteronomy. One item of that "other Ephraimite literature," the work which constitutes Micah 6–7, was mentioned in the article proper as having contributed, like Hosea B, to a revival of interest in patriarchal and Mosaic history in Judah. A notable manifestation of this renewed interest is of course Deuteronomy, with its review of the events from Horeb to the land of Moab and its new concepts of a second Mosaic covenant in the land of Moab in addition to the one at Horeb, and incorporating two poems (in chapter 32 and chapter 33 respectively) attributed to Moses. M. Weinfeld has shown (see *Deuteronomy) that Deuteronomy is influenced by the Book of Proverbs. It is therefore suggestive that at least one section of Proverbs was edited in the reign of Hezekiah, i.e., shortly after (perhaps partly during) the fall of the kingdom of Israel. The evidence is Proverbs 25:1, the exact sense of which is uncertain. Not out of the question is a "maximalist" rendering like this: "These too are Solomonic proverbs copied by [*'asher heʿtiqu* – one is strongly tempted to translate 'imported by'] the officials of King Hezekiah of Judah," which would imply that the preceding collections of "Solomonic proverbs" (Prov. 1–9; 10:1–22:16) were likewise copied (or imported) by officials of King Hezekiah. The copying of Hosea, etc., may likewise have been an undertaking during the reign of Hezekiah. This collecting of Hebrew literature, which was largely of north Israelite authorship, by King Hezekiah of Judah, would be a fascinating parallel to the collecting of Akkadian literature, which was largely of south Mesopotamian authorship, by King Ashurbanipal of Assyria. In any case, the Ephraimite Proto-Deuteronomy which has been posited to account for the northern features of Deuteronomy was evidently not the only channel through which northern influences flowed into it (see H.M. Kodesh in bibl.).

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

In the Aggadah

Hosea prophesied concerning Israel for 90 years (PR 33:90). His father Beeri, too, was a prophet, but only two verses of his prophecies are preserved in the Book of Isaiah (Isa. 8:19–20; Lev. R. 6:6). A contemporary of Isaiah, Amos, and Micah, Hosea was the greatest of them (Pes. 87a), for he not only induced his people to repent but he also taught them how to pray (PR 44:23). He was the first prophet to proclaim the greatness of repentance, teaching that it reaches the Throne of Glory (Hos. 14:2). His ancestor Reuben was rewarded for having repented of his hostile behavior toward Joseph (Gen. R. 84:19). Most Midrashim about Hosea center around the command God gave him to marry a harlot, and beget children of harlotry (Hos. 1:2). Her name Gomer daughter of Diblaim signified that "all satisfied (*gomerim*) their lust" on her and she was the daughter of a woman of "ill-fame" (*dibbah*). When God spoke to the prophet about the sins of Israel, expecting him to excuse or defend his people, Hosea countered by telling God to choose another people. It was then that Hosea was commanded to take Gomer to wife. When, after a time, God asked him to follow the example of Moses, who parted from his wife as soon as he was called to prophecy, Hosea replied that he could not send his wife away since she had borne him children, whereupon God said to him: "If thou, whose wife is a harlot and whose children are the children of harlotry and thou knowest not whether they are thine or not, canst not separate from her, how then can I separate Myself from Israel, from My children, the children of My elected ones, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob?" As soon as he realized his sin, Hosea entreated God to pardon him, whereupon he was told: "Instead of asking mercy for thyself, ask mercy for Israel against whom I have decreed three decrees because of you." Thereupon Hosea prayed as he was bidden and the impending threefold doom was averted (Pes. 87a–b). In connection with this incident the rabbis teach that Hosea held a position midway between Moses and Balaam, neither loving nor hating Israel (Num. R. 2:17). According to one opinion, the merits of the fathers (**Zekhut Avot*) ceased in Hosea's time (Lev. R. 36:6).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: IN THE BIBLE: COMMENTARIES: E. Sellin (1929, Ger.); H.W. Wolff, *Kommentar zum Buch Hosea* (1961); J.M. Ward (1966, Eng.); W. Rudolph (1966, Ger.). STUDIES: Graetz, Gesch, 2 (1875), 93ff., 213ff.; N.H. Torczyner, in: *Devir*, 2 (1924), 85; H. Tadmor, in: M. Haran (ed.), *Sefer ha-Yovel le-Y. Kaufmann* (1960), 84–88 (Hebrew section); idem, in: *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 8 (1961), 232–71; Y. Kaufmann, Toledot, 1 (1960), 93–146, 319; H.L. Ginsberg, in: M. Haran (ed.), *Y. Kaufmann Jubilee Volume* (1960), 50–69 (English section); idem, in: JBL, 80 (1961), 339–47; idem, in: *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, 1 (1967), 91–93; idem, in: VT *Supplement*, 16 (1967), 73–82; E.M. Good, in: VT, 16 (1966), 137–51; idem, in: *Svensk exegetisk ărsbok*, 31 (1966), 21ff.; S.M. Paul, in: VT, 18 (1968), 114–20; M.J. Buss, in: BZAW, 111 (1969); H.M. Kodesh, in: *Beth Mikra*, 42 n. 3 (1970), 264–97. STUDIES ILLUSTRATING PRINCIPLES IN ARTICLE: G.R. Driver, in: *Textus*, 1 (1960), 112–31; 4 (1964). IN THE AGGADAH: Ginzberg, Leģends, 4 (1913), 260f.; 6 (1928), 355f. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testament* (1971); M. Astour, in: JAOS, 91 (1971), 383–89; H.W. Wolff, *Hosea* (Hermeneia; 1974); F. Andersen and D. Freedman, *Hosea* (AB; 1980); H.L. Ginsberg, *The Israelian Heritage of Judaism* (1982); B. Levine, in: AJS Review, 12 (1987), 143–57; S.D. Sperling, in: JANES, 19 (1989), 149–59; idem, *The Original Torah* (1998), 61–74; D. Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah* (Word; 1987), 2–220; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11* (AB; 1991), 44–50; C. Seow, in: ABD, 3:291–97; E. Goodfriend, in: ABD, 5:505–9; K. van der Toorn, in: ABD, 5:510–13; R. Weems, *Battered Love: Marriage, Sex, and Violence in the Hebrew Prophets* (1995); M. Sweeney, *Twelve Prophets*, vol. 1 (Berit Olam; 2000).

HOSELITZ, BERTHOLD FRANK (1913–1995), economist. Born in Vienna, Hoselitz received his doctor of law degree from the University of Vienna in 1936. He emigrated to the U.S. in 1939, where he received his master's degree in econom-

ics from the University of Chicago (1946). He taught for a year at Manchester College in Indiana, served as a resident research associate at Yale, joined the University of Chicago faculty in 1945, and in 1953 was appointed full professor.

Hoselitz's major fields of interest were economic history and development. In 1952 he founded the journal *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, which pioneered interdisciplinary research on the new nations that were being formed after World War II. He served as its editor until 1985. He was a member of the U.S. Technical Assistance Mission to El Salvador (1952); consultant to the United Nations and UNESCO (1953–54); and adviser to the government of India on the Delhi Master Plan (1957–58). In 1978 he became Professor Emeritus in Economics at the University of Chicago.

He was editor of *The Progress of Underdeveloped Areas* (1952), *Theories of Economic Growth* (1961), and *Economics and the Idea of Mankind* (1965). His publications include *Economics of Military Occupation* (with H. Bloch, 1944), *A Reader's Guide to the Social Sciences* (1959), *Sociological Aspects of Economic Growth* (1960), *Industrialization and Society* (1966), and *Principles of Economics* (with C. Menger and J. Dingwall, 1981).

[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HOSHAIAH (Oshaiah), RAV (end of the third and the beginning of the fourth centuries), Babylonian *amora*. Hoshaiah was a pupil of R. Judah b. Ezekiel (Git. 25a) and R. Huna (Bek. 37b). He resided in Nehardea and later in Pumbedita (Shab. 19b, et al.), and then proceeded to Ereẓ Israel where he had halakhic discussions with the outstanding pupils of Johanan (Ḥul. 124a; et al.). When Johanan failed in his persistent attempts to ordain him, he was told not to be distressed because Hoshaiah was descended from the family of Eli the priest, of which it was said (I Sam. 2:31): "I will cut off thine arm… that there shall not be a *zaken* in thy house," taking *zaken* to refer to an ordained man (Sanh. 14a and see Rashi *in loco*). As a result of their failure to receive ordination he and his associate Ḥanina were called "the associates of the rabbis" (TJ, Shab. 3:1, 5d, et al.). Ḥanina and Hoshaiah were cobblers by trade and were so well known for their piety and righteousness that common women would swear "by the life of the holy rabbis of Israel," having them in mind. They also engaged in esoteric study (Sanh. 65b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 221.

[Alter Hilewitz]

HOSHANA RABBA (Heb. הוֹשַׁעְנָא רַבָּא; "the great *hoshana*"), a name for the seventh and last day of the *Sukkot festival.

In Temple times, the day was distinguished by the fact that seven circuits (*hakkafot) were made around the altar with the *lulav (instead of the single circuit made on the other days of the festival), and that willow branches, which on this day were specially cut at *Moẓa near Jerusalem, were stood around the side of the altar with their leaves overlapping the top (Suk. 4:5–6; Maim. Yad, Sukkah, 7:22–23). In the Mishnah the day is therefore known as *yom ha-shevi'i shel aravah* ("the seventh day of the willow"; Suk. 4:3). According to R. Johanan b. Beroka palm twigs were beaten on the ground and thus the day is known as *yom ḥibbut ḥarayot* ("the day of the beating of the palm twigs"; *ibid.* 4:6). It is generally known as Hoshana Rabba because of the numerous *hoshanot which are recited and is thus referred to already in the Midrashim (Mid. Ps. to 17:5; Lev. R. 37:2). The ceremony of the willow took place even if this day occurred on the Sabbath (according to Maimonides, loc. cit. 7:21, in order to publicize the obligatory nature of the practice). In Second Temple times this was a source of controversy between the Boethusians and the Pharisees who gave the ceremony biblical authority even though it is nowhere mentioned in the Bible. They considered it to be *halakhah le-Moshe mi-Sinai*, i.e., as having been instructed verbally to Moses during his stay on Mt. Sinai. According to the tradition of many of the *rishonim* (e.g., Tos. to Suk. 43b, Abraham b. David to Maim. Yad, Kiddush ha-Ḥodesh, 7:7; R. Nissim, to Alfasi, Suk. 21b s.v. *u-farkhinan*), the calendar was fixed in such a way that the New Year would not occur on a Sunday so that Hoshana Rabba should not fall on the Sabbath, which would cause the taking of the willow to be canceled (see *Calendar). Today, the obligation of taking the willow on the seventh day of Sukkot remains and it is the "custom of the prophets" or the "principle of the prophets" to beat it on the ground or on some object (Suk. 43b; cf. Maim. Yad, Lulav, 7:22). The custom of circling the interior of the synagogue seven times while reciting prayers and supplications is known from the period of the *geonim* (see *Hoshanot). Already in the Talmud (TJ, RH 4:8, 59c) Hoshana Rabba is mentioned as one of the two days ("the day of blowing of the *shofar* and the day of the willow") on which all attend the synagogue service.

In the period of the *geonim*, the celebration of Hoshana Rabba acquired considerable solemnity and religious-mystic significance. In Jerusalem a large gathering took place on the Mount of Olives which was circled seven times; official announcements (such as fixing the coming year) were proclaimed; philanthropists and communities received blessings; and public excommunications were issued. The *piyyut* of Hoshana Rabba which opens with the words, "the power [or, the truth] of Thy salvation cometh," which deals with the splitting open of the Mount of Olives (Zech. 14:4) and the resurrection of the dead, probably has its origin in this ceremony. From the 13th century onward, there is evidence regarding special popular beliefs connected with Hoshana Rabba. There was a very widespread belief that he who did not see the shadow of his head on the night of Hoshana Rabba would die during that year, for Hoshana Rabba was the day of the "seal," wherein the verdict of man (passed on the *Day of Atonement) is "sealed," or the day on which the "notices" of the verdict were sent out (*Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. by R. Margoliot (1957), nos. 452–3; Naḥmanides on Num. 14:9; Zohar, Ex., 142a–b). It is probable that the view of Hoshana Rabba as a day of judgment was originally connected with the an-

cient belief that "during the festival [i.e., Sukkot], the world is judged for the water to be received" (RH 1:2), i.e., whether the coming year would be blessed with rain or be one of drought and Hoshana Rabba is the conclusion of Sukkot. This would explain the numerous *hoshanot* of Hoshana Rabba in which the motif is water. There is also an allusion to a Prayer for Rain on Hoshana Rabba (*Sefer Ḥasidim*, no. 248).

Over the generations, the conception of Hoshana Rabba as a day of judgment has been expressed by a series of distinct customs, all or some of which have been included in the prayer service of the day in the various rites (see Sh. Ar., OḤ 664:1): numerous candles are kindled in the synagogue, as on the Day of Atonement; in some rites the *ḥazzan* wears a white robe; the *Pesukei de-Zimra of the Sabbath and the *Nishmat prayer are added to the service; the sentences (of the Ten Days of Penitence), "Remember us unto life," and "Who is as Thou," are included in the **Amidah; *Avinu Malkenu*, the Great *Kedushah, and U-Netanneh *Tokef are said in the *Musaf* prayer; and the *shofar* is blown during the processions. In some rites *seliḥot* are recited. The *Amidah* and the Reading of the Law, however, remain the same as on the other intermediate days of the festival. There is a widespread custom to stay up during the night of Hoshana Rabba and to read the whole of the Pentateuch or the books of Deuteronomy and Psalms, and the like. This custom does not go back further than the 13th century. Its original intention was probably to ensure that even those who were not particular concerning the reading of the Pentateuch during the whole of the year would complete it together with the public on *Simḥat Torah (*Shibbolei ha-Leket*, ed. by S. Buber (1886), 334). This custom later assumed the character (probably through the kabbalists of Safed) of a *tikkun* ("purification"; *Tikkun Leil Hoshana Rabba,* "*Tikkun* of the night of Hoshana Rabba").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 138f.; ET, 8 (1957), 527–35; Y.T. Lewinsky, *Sefer ha-Mo'adim*, 4 (1952²), 180–207; Wilhelm in: *Alei Ayin – S. Schocken Jubilee Volume* (1948–52), 130–43.

HOSHANOT (Heb. הוֹשַׁעְנוֹת), poetical prayers, thus named because of the recurrent expression "*Hoshana*" (or "*Hoshi'a Na,*" "Save, I Pray!"). *Hoshanot* are recited on every day of *Sukkot, usually after the *Shaḥarit* or *Musaf* prayers. Each day while they are said a circuit is made of the synagogue (on the seventh day, seven circuits; see below). The origin of the prayers and the procession lies in the Temple ritual: "Every day [of Sukkot] one circles the altar once and says, 'Pray! O Lord, save, I pray! Pray! O Lord, give success, I pray!'; and R. Judah says, 'I and He, save, I pray.'…, and on that day [i.e., the seventh] one circles the altar seven times" (Suk. 4:5). The first references to this practice in the synagogue come from the period of the *geonim*.

Already in ancient times, the words *hosha na* were linked into one word *hoshana*. The word served as a response, or a call, after every rhyme or section of prayers which were composed in later generations for this purpose. Of these prayers (usually written in alphabetical order), many are undefined in content (e.g., "For the sake of Thy truth, for the sake of Thy covenant"); others are supplications for water or for a blessing for the produce (e.g., "Save, I pray! the land from being cursed, the animal from losing its offspring"); while still others are concerned with salvation from exile and with redemption.

In all prayer books – from those of R. *Amram Gaon and R. *Saadiah Gaon to those of the present day – there are *hoshanot* on various subjects and in different forms. It can be assumed that several of the *hoshanot*, which are signed with the name "Eleazar," were written by R. Eleazar *Kallir. There is insufficient evidence, however, to determine the authorship of other *hoshanot*. Some were also written for the Sabbath of Sukkot, and include topics pertaining to the Sabbath. But on that day there is no procession. In some rites *hoshanot* are not recited on the Sabbath of Sukkot at all. The *hoshanot* of the seventh day, *Hoshana Rabba, are of a special character. Seven processions take place; in some rites the *hoshanot* of all the previous days are repeated while others recite *hoshanot* written specially for this day. Under the influence of the Kabbalah, *piyyutim* dealing with the seven guests (see *Ushpizin) have been supplemented to the *hoshanot* of this day. Indeed, the seven processions allude to them.

Hoshanot is also the name of the special willow branches taken on Hoshana Rabba, from which the expression "a beaten *hoshana*" derives (applied for example, to a man who has come down in the world). In the Babylonian Talmud (Suk. 31–34), the myrtles which are bound to the *lulav (palm branch) together with the willows are referred to as *hoshanot*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 219f.; ET, (1957), 535–9; Idelsohn, Liturgy, 42 no. 7, 201–3 no. vi.

[Eliezer Eliner]

HOSHEA (Heb. הוֹשֵׁעַ; probably an abbreviation of a fuller form ending with the divine appellation and meaning "[Let] YHWH save"; *A-ú-si-'* in Assyrian inscriptions), son of Elah and the last king of Israel (732–724 B.C.E.). Hoshea secured the throne after his revolt against *Pekah son of Remaliah and the latter's assassination (II Kings 15:30), an event which occurred after the Assyrian king *Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727) had exiled most of the kingdom of Israel and divided it into Assyrian provinces (732 B.C.E.; *ibid.*, 15:29); Hoshea's rump kingdom was thus confined to the hill country of Ephraim. It appears that in his revolt and assumption of the throne he was supported by the Assyrians, but it also is possible that he gained Assyrian approval and support after his revolt. Tiglath-Pileser III recorded in his annals that after the Samarians overthrew Pekah, he made Hoshea king, and imposed a tribute on him (Pritchard, Texts, 284; Tadmor, 140–41). Thus, from the start Hoshea was a vassal of Assyria.

Accordingly, the notice in II Kings 17:3 that Shalmaneser V (727–722) came up against Hoshea is an indication that the death of Tiglath-Pileser had encouraged Hoshea to attempt to free himself of the Assyrian yoke. Unsuccessful, Hoshea paid tribute for some time, but then rebelled against Assyria counting on aid from Egypt (see *So), prob-

ably within a broader framework of a planned anti-Assyrian revolt. Hosea was imprisoned by the king of Assyria, but the king was, nonetheless, compelled to besiege the city. According to II Kings 17:6 the Assyrian king besieged Samaria for three years (II Kings 17:4), but in the ninth year of Hoshea's reign conquered Samaria and sent the northerners into exile. During the progress of the siege the city was apparently governed by the elders or by army officers. Some of the chronological details are unclear. The "three years" may be less than three full calendar years. The name of the king of Assyria who conquered Samaria is not given in II Kings 17:6. According to the Babylonian Chronicle, Shalmaneser V demolished Samaria. But according to the inscriptions of Sargon II (722–705) it was he who conquered Samaria and the whole of the land of Omri (i.e., Northern Israel). Apparently, Sargon's claim refers to the final conquest after Hoshea's deposition, The statement in II Kings 17:2, Hoshea "did what was evil in the sight of the Lord, yet not as the kings of Israel who were before him," seems to mean that he abolished the golden calf of Beth-El, "the sin of Jeroboam, son of Nebat," for which all his predecessors were censured. However, speculative statements in the Talmuds explain the sentence as referring to his having abolished the guards that Jeroboam I had placed on the road leading to Jerusalem to prevent pilgrims from visiting the Temple (Ta'an. 30b–31a; TJ, Ta'an. 4:9, 69c; see also The Fifteenth of *Av).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bright, Hist, 257–8; Olmstead, in: AJSLL, 21 (1904), 179–84; E.R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (1951), 105ff.; Tadmor, in: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 12 (1958), 22–40, 77–100; May, in: BA, 6 (1943), 57–60; Alt, Kl Schr, 2 (1953), 188–205; Albright, in: BASOR, 130 (1953), 8–11; 141 (1956), 23–27; J.A. Montgomery, *The Book of Kings* (ICC, 1951), 464–6. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (1988); J. Kuntz, in: ABD, 3:298–99; B. Becking, *The Fall of Samaria* (1991); H. Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III King of Assyria* (1994).

[Jacob Liver / S.David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

HOSPITALITY. In ancient Israel, hospitality was not merely a question of good manners, but a moral institution which grew out of the harsh desert and nomadic existence led by the people of Israel. The biblical customs of welcoming the weary traveler and of receiving the stranger in one's midst was the matrix out of which hospitality and all its tributary aspects developed into a highly esteemed virtue in Jewish tradition. Biblical law specifically sanctified hospitality toward the *ger* ("stranger") who was to be made particularly welcome "for you were strangers in a strange land" (Lev. 19:34 and see Ex. 12:49). Foreign travelers, although not protected by law (Deut. 15:3; 23:21), could count on the custom of hospitality. It was also the duty of the elders of the *cities of refuge to succor, as well as to protect, the unwitting killer who sought refuge in their cities until the death of the high priest (Num. 35:9–34). Isaiah states that one of the duties of the pious is to "deal thy bread to the hungry," and to "bring the poor that are cast out to thy house" (Isa. 58:7). The Bible is replete with examples of pious hospitality. As soon as Abraham saw the three men of Mamre "from afar," he hurried to invite them into his house, ministered to their physical comfort, and served them lavishly (Gen. 18). Similarly, Laban was eager to welcome Abraham's servant (Gen. 24:28–32) while Rebekah attended to the comfort of his camels. Jethro the Midianite was particularly disappointed at being deprived of the opportunity to extend hospitality to Moses (Ex. 2:20). Manoah did not allow the angel to depart before he had partaken of his hospitality (Judg. 13:15), and the Shunammite woman had a special room prepared for the prophet Elisha (II Kings 4:8–11). The extreme to which hospitality was taken is shown by the stories of Lot and the old man of Gibeah who were prepared to sacrifice the honor of their daughters in order to protect their guests, who were to them complete strangers (Gen. 19:4–8 and Judg. 19:23–24). Some acts of hospitality had specific rewards. Rahab, who had harbored Joshua's two spies, was granted protection when Jericho fell (Josh. 2), and David repaid a courtesy which Barzillai had extended to his men (II Sam. 17:27–29), with a courtesy to Barzillai's servant Chimham (II Sam. 19:32–40). Breaches of hospitality, on the other hand, were punished. Gideon castigated the elders of Succoth and Penuel for their parsimony (Judg. 8:5–9); the men of Israel made war on the Benjamites for their breach of hospitality (Judg. 19:22, 20:17); and Nabal's death was seen as punishment for having failed to offer hospitality to David's men (I Sam. 25:2–38). The killing of Sisera by Jael is the only breach of hospitality praised in the Bible (Judg. 4:18–24, 5:24–27). One of Job's claims is that "the stranger did not lodge in the street, but I opened my doors to the traveler" (Job 31:32).

Rabbinic literature widened the scope of the virtue of hospitality, which it called *hakhnasat oreḥim* (lit. "bringing-in of guests"). It was considered a great *mitzvah*, an expression of *gemilut ḥasadim* ("kindness"), especially when it was extended to the poor (Shab. 127a–b; Maim., Yad, Evel 14:1–2). One of the virtues for which one enjoys the fruits in this world and obtains the principal reward in the world to come, hospitality is, according to R. Johanan, even more important than prayer or, according to R. Judah, than receiving the divine presence (Shab. *ibid.*). A person who extends hospitality to a rabbinic student is regarded as if he had offered a daily sacrifice (Ber. 10b, and see also Ber. 63b; Kid 76b). The rabbis also sought to inculcate the virtue through a gloss on certain biblical figures: Abraham and Job were said to have left the doors of their homes open on all four sides, so that strangers might have easy access (ARN[2] 14). The Midrash (Lam. R. 4:13) relates that even at the height of Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Jerusalem, mothers would deprive their children of the last crust in order to grant hospitality to a mourner. R. *Huna attempted to set an example by publicly proclaiming his meal times as a sign of open invitation to the stranger (Ta'an. 20b), and his saying "*Kol dikhfin yeitei ve-yeikhul*" ("Let all the hungry enter and eat") is used during the **seder* service. In Jerusalem, it was customary to indicate that a meal was in progress by displaying a flag (BB 93b; Lam. R. 4:4). Children were taught

to be hospitable by instructing them to invite guests to dine when they answered the door (ARN[1] 7). The rabbis considered women to be more adept than men at extending hospitality to strangers (Ber 10b), but to be less generous (BM 87a; but cf. DER 6:2). On the other hand, the rabbis denounced the parasitical guest, especially if he was a scholar (Pes. 49a). Two extremes were avoided through a clear definition of the duties of host and of guest: the host was forbidden to make his guest uncomfortable either by appearing miserable (DEZ 9:6), or by watching his guest too attentively (Maim., Yad, Berakhot 7:6), or by neglecting to serve his guest himself (Kid. 32b). The guest was instructed to show gratitude (Ber. 58a), to recite a special blessing for his host in the *Grace after Meals (Ber. 46a; Maim., Yad, Berakhot 2:7 and 7:2; Sh. Ar., OḤ 201:1), to leave some food on the plate (Er. 53b; DER 6:3; *Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. J. Wistinetzki and J. Freimann (1924²), 872–3), and to comply with his host's wishes (Pes. 86b; DER 6:1). The guest was forbidden to give food to others without his host's consent (Ḥul. 94a; DER 9:4). Several centuries earlier, *Ben Sira (second century B.C.E.) had already defined the table manners which were to be practiced by the guest (Ecclus. 31:21–26), and had condemned the parasite who took advantage of hospitality (*ibid.* 29:23–28; 40:28–30).

The tradition of hospitality was particularly apparent among Jewish communities in the Middle Ages and a separate charitable association called Ḥevra Hakhnasat Oreḥim was established for that purpose. Medieval European Jewish communities instituted a system of *pletten* ("meal tickets") for travelers and itinerant scholars, and in the 15th century, established *battei baḥurim* ("student hostels"). Nor was individual hospitality neglected; Nathan Hannover (17th century) states: "Many wealthy members of the congregation considered it an honor to have the student and his charges as guests at their table, although the congregation sufficiently provided for their support" (*Yeven Meẓulah*, ed. by J. Fishman and J. Halpern (1966), 83). Among Polish communities, it was also the custom to billet students with members of the community for their daily meals (Nathan Hannover, *ibid.*). This custom, known as *essen-teg*, later spread to Germany. In modern times, charitable institutions have assumed most of the responsibility for communal hospitality.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.A. Frisch, *A Historical Survey of Jewish Philanthropy* (1924); idem, *Jewish Philanthropy in the Biblical Era*; A. Cronbach, *Philanthropy in Rabbinical Literature*; idem, *Philanthropic Institutions in the Middle Ages*; Baron, Community, 2 (1942), 319–25; Vaux, Anc Isr, 10; I. Levitats, *Jewish Community in Russia* (1943), 250f.; C.G. Montefiore and H. Loewe (eds.), *Rabbinic Anthology* (1939), ch. 18.

HOSPITALS. The modern name "hospital" must not be confused with that given to the institution which, throughout the Middle Ages in Europe, served the dual purpose of lodging poor or sick travelers and nursing the ailing poor. Hospitals of this nature were established as early as the fourth century C.E., and, according to Jerome (c. 347–c. 420), there was a continuation of institutions which had long been established in the Holy Land. The lepers' quarantine mentioned in the Bible cannot be taken as proof of the existence of hospitals, although, according to the Hebrew grammarian *Gesenius, the term *beit ḥofshit* ("house set apart"), used in II Kings 15:5 to describe the dwelling of King Azariah after he was stricken with leprosy has the meaning of an infirmary or hospital in the sense of a place for the dressing of wounds. In talmudic times the term *beita de-shayish* ("marble room") is used for an operating theater, but this again is not synonymous with a hospital (see *Medicine, in the Talmud). It can be assumed that by the time hospitals were being established in Christian Europe, they were also in existence in Jewish communities where private hospitality and charity were inadequate. There is evidence of one of these dual-purpose institutions in what is now Yugoslavia in the fifth century, and of another in Palermo, in Sicily, in the sixth century.

The Hekdesh

In Germany, a *Domus Hospitale Judaeorum* is recorded in a Cologne document of the 11th century. The fact that it is described in Hebrew as a **hekdesh* ("a hostel for the poor") would suggest that it was intended as a lodging for travelers rather than a place for curing the sick. It has been suggested that the "Jewish inns" in medieval Spain and in Paris may have been similar establishments. The first definite evidence of a Jewish hospital in Spain comes from Barcelona, where in a manuscript of 1385 there is a description of some men as *Procuratores et Rectores Hospitalem pauperum Judaeorum*. At the beginning of the 13th century there is mention of a Jewish hospital in Regensburg, and others are known to have existed in three other German cities: Munich (1381), Trier (1422), and Ulm (1499). By the 16th century they had spread eastward to Vienna and Berlin. These were inns for foreign Jews where sick strangers may have been treated in a part of the building specially set aside for them. They were supported by the community, by benevolent societies (*ḥevrot*), and by charity boxes. While with the population growth in Christian Europe during the later Middle Ages the term "hospital" was confined more and more to institutions dealing exclusively with sick people, the Jewish *hekdesh* did not change its dual function. It was apparently a very primitive affair consisting of one or two rooms with a maximum of six beds, ill-equipped for nursing, and without any regular medical attention. It was sometimes also used for obstetric cases. The reason for the low standards was that most Jewish communities were small and poor, and they were socially insecure and subject to sudden expulsion, so that the provision of permanent facilities for the sick was a waste of money. It must also be remembered that the great physicians of the 16th to 18th centuries had no connection with hospitals. The *hekdesh* was last heard of in Eastern Europe at the beginning of the 20th century, when the term was still used for mental asylums.

The Hospital in Europe

The transition to the hospital as known today began in Western Europe. From there it spread eastward with the 18th-cen-

tury Enlightenment, when Jewish communities could look forward to a permanent settlement and better economic prospects, and when at the same time the idea of the modern, scientific "house for the sick" (*Krankenhaus*) was taking root. A small hospital of this type was opened by the Sephardi community in London in the 1740s. Berlin, Breslau, and Vienna followed in the second half of the 18th century, and the first Jewish hospital in France was founded in Paris in 1836. From then onward Jewish hospitals with general wards for the poor and private wards for the wealthier classes were built throughout Europe. By 1933 they existed in most countries, and usually had a high reputation. At this time there were 48 Jewish hospitals in Poland – nine percent of all hospitals in the country – having a total of over 3,500 beds, more than a thousand of them in Warsaw alone. Jewish hospitals of varying size were to be found in many towns in Lithuania, Latvia, and Romania, and in Salonika in Greece. In Germany, many towns of importance, such as Hamburg and Frankfurt, had their Jewish hospital. Italy's first Jewish hospital was established in Rome in 1881. The Jewish hospital in Vienna, built by the *Rothschilds, served not only the Austrian population but also patients from Eastern Europe. There was a Jewish hospital in Amsterdam from about 1840, and another in Basle, Switzerland. In England beds for Orthodox Jews were maintained by charitable organizations in a number of the great medical centers, such as the Middlesex Hospital in London. The first Jewish general hospital in the country was the Victoria Memorial Jewish Hospital, founded in Manchester in 1903. Two years later the Theodor Herzl Memorial Home for the Jewish Sick, later renamed the Herzl-Moser Hospital, was opened in Leeds. The London Jewish Hospital, in the East End, was founded in 1919. After the outbreak of World War II in 1939 most of the Jewish hospitals in Europe, apart from those in England, disappeared. Those in East Berlin, Hamburg, Vienna, Amsterdam, and Paris were reopened after 1945. With the exception of that in Hamburg, they are all far smaller than in prewar days. There are Jewish hospitals associated with other communities throughout the world. However, with the spread of state medical services, much of the original motivation has gone. They now serve primarily to assist those patients who feel more comfortable in a Jewish environment and who wish to receive kosher food.

In the U.S.

The early purpose of Jewish hospitals in the U.S. was the treatment of Jewish patients, who it was believed needed a medical environment which was Jewish. In German Jewish immigrants' places of origin, medical care had long been a Jewish communal function, and it was they who founded the first Jewish hospital in the U.S., Jews Hospital (from 1869, Mount Sinai Hospital), in New York in 1852. It was followed in 1854 by the Jewish Hospital of Cincinnati, which in the traditional manner of the *hekdesh* also provided shelter for the poor and transients during its early years. Hospitals founded by American Jews before 1900 were paralleled in some large cities by new ones founded by East European immigrants, who sometimes expressed discontent with the "un-Jewish" atmosphere at the established hospitals. After approximately 1920, when Jewish patients needed the Jewish medical environment less and less and they began to lose their foreignness, the Jewish hospitals tended to find as a rationale the necessity of providing professional opportunities for Jewish physicians who were victims of severe discrimination in hospital staff appointments elsewhere.

Some of the Jewish-sponsored hospitals in New York included Maimonides Hospital of Brooklyn, the largest general hospital in the United States observing *kashrut*, and among the first American hospitals to perform open-heart surgery; Mount Sinai Hospital; Montefiore Hospital, known for treatment of prolonged illness, teaching, and research; and Long Island Jewish Hospital with its outstanding premature nursery center; Beth Abraham Hospital for chronic disease; the Beth Israel Hospital; Bronx-Lebanon Hospital; Brookdale Hospital; Hospital for Joint Diseases; and Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn. Other hospitals under Jewish sponsorship in the U.S. included the Michael Reese and Mount Sinai hospitals in Chicago; Cedars-Sinai Medical Center in Los Angeles; the Albert Einstein Medical Center in Philadelphia; the Jewish Hospitals in St. Louis, Cincinnati and Louisville; the Sinai Hospitals in Baltimore, Cleveland, Detroit, Miami, Hartford, Milwaukee and Minneapolis; the Beth Israel Hospitals in Boston, Newark, Denver and Passaic; Cedars of Lebanon Hospital in Miami; Menorah Hospital in Kansas City; Miriam Hospital in Providence; and the Touro Infirmary in New Orleans. Jewish federations also supported chronic disease hospitals in Long Branch, New Jersey, Montreal and New York; tuberculosis and chest disease hospitals in Denver and Montreal; and psychiatric hospitals in Los Angeles, New York, and Philadelphia.

When medical discrimination declined after about 1950, the Jewish hospitals, many of which by then had only 10% to 25% Jewish patients, tended to be rationalized once again, this time as a Jewish service to the community at large.

Jewish hospitals and health services are still supported by Jewish federations. In addition to general hospitals, these federations maintain nursing homes and homes for the aged and infirm. Their help also extends to family welfare agencies, mental health programs, vocational counseling, child care centers, and summer camps.

At present, Jewish physicians can obtain training and admitting privileges at hospitals throughout the United States, and Jews often occupy leadership positions on hospital boards and medical staffs. Furthermore, during the post-World War II period, Jewish communities tended to move to the suburbs. The traditionally Jewish inner-city hospitals experienced weakened financial positions as their patient bases included increasing percentages of uninsured or Medicaid patients.

In 1975, there were 33 Jewish-sponsored acute-care general hospitals in the United States. However, by late 1999, due to demographic and financial trends, fewer than half of these

were being operated under their original ownership or sponsorship. Thirteen of the original 33 Jewish-sponsored hospitals formed or joined existing partnerships with nonsectarian or other facilities. For example, Beth Israel Hospital in Boston merged with Deaconess Medical Center, and New York's Mt. Sinai merged with New York University Hospitals.

However, the sales contracts for such mergers often included stipulations for continuity of Jewish care, such as kosher food and ritual circumcision. Jewish chaplains (see below) at hospitals across the country continue to assist with these services, as well as leading Sabbath and holiday celebrations, providing Torahs, prayer books, Bibles, Sabbath candelabra and other ritual objects, and serving as spiritual and pastoral counselors as well as sources for guidance in making medical ethical decisions.

Some communities came up with innovative solutions to the sale of their hospital properties. In Pittsburgh, for example, the Jewish community put the proceeds from the sale of its hospital into an endowment fund to be used solely to help needy Jews. Jewish communities continue to be prime supporters of medical institutions regardless of religious or other affiliations.

Some Jewish sponsored-hospitals ultimately found that they were not economically viable or for other reasons shut their doors. Yet other Jewish facilities have succeeded in remaining important and prominent communal resources, such as Cedars-Sinai Medical Center in Los Angeles and the Jewish Hospital in Louisville, Kentucky.

[Levi Meier (2nd ed.)

Chaplaincy

Chaplaincy provides spiritual support, counseling, and a Jewish connection for people in institutional or community settings outside of a synagogue. Chaplaincy may include crisis support to individuals or their families, worship services, help with ethical decision-making, staff education and support, training volunteers, and forging connections with synagogues and community organizations. Chaplains are trained professionals, including rabbis, cantors, and lay people, who provide this care. Currently, the terms chaplaincy, spiritual care, and pastoral care are often used interchangeably. The following does not focus on military chaplaincy (see *Military Service) nor on the university setting (e.g., *Hillel).

Chaplaincy is based on Jewish values such as *bikkur ḥolim* (visiting the sick; Sot. 14a). However, this is a general obligation for Jews, not a professional discipline. The first individuals began working in chaplaincy in the late 19th century, and the field itself emerged in the late 20th century.

The earliest examples of salaried Jewish chaplains involved service to people in public institutions. The New York Board of Jewish Ministers (now the New York Board of Rabbis) established a visiting chaplain program for prisoners in 1891 which continues today. In Britain in 1892, the London County Council appointed *ḥazzan* Isaac Samuel as Jewish chaplain to the Colney Hatch Asylum. Rabbi Regina Jonas, the first woman to be ordained, served as a chaplain in Germany in the late 1930s before her deportation and death during the Holocaust.

A number of Jewish hospitals and nursing homes in the United States had a rabbi on staff by the early 20th century. Their roles generally focused on leading worship and providing kosher food. There was little recognition of patient care or counseling as key roles, nor did chaplains create a professional field.

The experience of World War II, when over 300 rabbis served as U.S. military chaplains, advanced the civilian field as well. Between 1945 and 1955 Jewish chaplaincy programs through Boards of Rabbis or Jewish chaplaincy agencies expanded significantly in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia.

Initially, Jewish chaplaincy focused on serving patients in Jewish hospitals and nursing homes and in state-run prisons or hospitals, although not every Jewish-sponsored facility had a Jewish chaplain. As health care changed by the 1980s, chaplains also began to serve Jewish patients in non-Jewish and secular facilities, and a number of community chaplains were appointed to serve multiple institutions.

Jewish chaplaincy had few formal training programs. By the 1980s, some rabbis pursued chaplaincy as a career through Clinical Pastoral Education (CPE), an intensive supervised internship initially developed by Protestants but increasingly pluralistic.

In 1990 the National Association of Jewish Chaplains (NAJC) was founded. In 1993 the group decided that non-rabbis could be full members, opening the door to women and men who were not ordained. In 1995 the NAJC instituted a program of certification, recognizing advanced chaplaincy training and experience. The organization collaborated with non-Jewish pastoral care organizations in the U.S. and Canada to advocate for increased chaplaincy in health care and to establish joint standards for certification, training, and professional ethics. By 2005, the NAJC included some 300 professional members from all streams of Judaism. The large majority were rabbis, but members also included cantors and lay people with advanced Judaic and CPE training. A significant number were women, including most of the non-rabbis. From 1996 the NAJC published a journal, *Jewish Spiritual Care*.

Chaplains work with patients from all Jewish backgrounds, including the many who are unaffiliated. Large numbers of professional chaplains work for long-term care/geriatric facilities. Significant numbers also are employed in hospitals, hospices, and community chaplaincy. Smaller numbers work for secular or interfaith agencies or for government agencies, including prisons, facilities for people with mental illness, and the Veterans' Affairs department.

Chaplaincy is organized in a number of ways. Many facilities employ chaplains directly. Local Jewish federations often support community chaplaincy programs through Boards of Rabbis, Jewish Family Services, or specialized agencies.

Some chaplaincy programs operate in coordination with Jewish Healing Centers.

CHAPLAINCY OUTSIDE THE U.S. Chaplaincy programs exist in Canada and the United Kingdom. In Israel, the field is largely unknown, although a number of individuals work independently in the field of spiritual support. (Even the vocabulary for chaplaincy as understood in North America does not exist in Hebrew. Terms suggested include *temikhah ruḥanit*, "spiritual support," and *livvu'i ruḥanit*, "spiritual accompaniment.") In 2005, joint meetings were held in Philadelphia and Jerusalem between American Jewish chaplains and Israelis from the health care and social service fields, as well as from various streams of Judaism.

[Robert P. Tabak (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: IN EUROPE: H. Friedenwald, *Jews and Medicine*, 2 (1944), 514–22; R.R. Marcus, *Communal Sick Care in the German Ghetto* (1947); A. Phillipsborn, in: YLBI, 4 (1959), 220–34; IN THE UNITED STATES: T. Levitan, Islands of Compassion (1964), incl. bibl.; Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, *Yearbook of Jewish Social Services* (1969). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** T. Weil, "America's Jewish-Sponsored Hospitals: Being Assimilated Too?" in: *Social Work*, 34 (1998–99), Wurzweiler School of Social Work, Yeshiva University, vol. 34 (Winter/Spring), incl. bibl.; *The Dictionary of Pastoral Care and Counseling* (1990), s.v. "Chaplaincy"; R. Tabak, "Jewish Chaplaincy: Into the Twenty-first Century," in: *Journal of Jewish Communal Service* (Fall 1997); D.A. Friedman (ed.), *Jewish Pastoral Care: A Practical Handbook from Traditional and Contemporary Sources* (2001, 2005²); J.S. Ozarowski, *To Walk in God's Ways: Jewish Pastoral Perspectives on Illness and Bereavement* (1995).

HOST, DESECRATION OF, alleged profanation of the wafer consecrated in the Roman Catholic ceremony of the Eucharist, and believed in the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation to become thereby the actual body of Jesus. The doctrine was first officially recognized at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. After that period therefore it was widely held that in certain circumstances – for instance disbelief or desecration – the Host might show supernatural powers. At the same time, it was imagined in some Christian circles that the Jews, believing paradoxically (which they obviously could not if they remained Jews) that the consecrated wafer was in fact the very body of Jesus, desired to renew upon it and him the agonies of the Passion, by stabbing, tormenting, or burning it. Such was the intensity of their paradoxical hatred that they would not abandon their Jewish perfidy even if the sacred wafer manifested its indignation and its miraculous essence by shedding blood, emitting voices, or even taking to flight. There is no need to regard as a wholly spiteful invention the statement that the consecrated wafer shed drops of blood, the most common manner in which the outrage became known, for a scarlet fungoid organism (called for this reason the *Micrococcus prodigiosus*) may sometimes form on stale food kept in a dry place, having an appearance not unlike blood. The charge of desecrating the Host was leveled against Jews all over the Roman Catholic world, frequently bringing in its train persecution and massacre.

The first recorded case of alleged Desecration of the Host was at Belitz near Berlin in 1243, when a number of Jews and Jewesses were burned at the stake on this charge on the spot later known as the Judenberg. It is significant that no cases or few are recorded in Italy, partly owing to the protective policies of the popes, partly to the skeptical nature of the Italian people (the best-known Italian case, the "miracle of Bolsena" (1264) involved a doubting priest, not a Jew). On the other hand, the most remarkable artistic representation of the Des-



Places where some of the most notorious Desecration of the Host libels occurred. Numbers indicate the century.

ecration of the Host was in the famous altar predella painted by Paolo Uccello (1397–1475) for the Confraternity of the Sacred Sacrament at Urbino, showing in successive panels a Jewish loan banker purchasing a wafer from a needy woman, his attempt to burn it, the miraculous manifestation that followed, and the subsequent terrible punishment by burning of the culprit – with his entire family. The Jews were expelled from England (1290) before the libel became widely spread; but there it received its reflection in the Croxton Sacrament Play, written long after the Expulsion (c. 1461).

Well-known incidents on the Continent were those of *Paris in 1290, commemorated in the Church of the Rue des Billettes and in a local confraternity which long flourished; in *Brussels (Enghien) in 1370, long celebrated in a special festivity and still in important artistic relics in the Church of St. Gudule, which led to the extermination of Belgian Jewry; at *Deggendorf in Bavaria in 1337–38 which sparked off a series of massacres affecting scores of places in the region, still celebrated locally as the Deggendorf Gnad; at Knoblauch near *Berlin in 1510 which resulted in 38 barbarous executions and the expulsion of Jews from Brandenburg (it was subsequently discovered that a common thief was responsible); at *Segovia in 1415, said to have brought about an earthquake which resulted in the confiscation of the synagogue, the execution of leading Jews, and still the occasion of the great local feast of Corpus Christi. The Infante Don Juan of Aragon took under his personal patronage allegations of the sort at *Barcelona in 1367 (when some of the greatest Jewish scholars of the age, including Ḥasdai *Crescas and *Isaac B. Sheshet Perfet, were implicated) and in *Teruel and *Huesca ten years later.

The *Marranos of Spain and Portugal were also popularly believed to continue the malpractice of their Jewish predecessors in this respect. When in 1671 the pyx with a consecrated host was stolen from the Church of Orivellas in Lisbon (by a common thief as subsequently transpired) the court went into mourning and an edict was signed banishing all *New Christians from the country. Even in the 18th century, an Alsatian Jew was cruelly executed with others on a charge of desecrating the Host (Nancy 1761). The accusation was brought up in Romania (Bislad) as late as 1836.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Ackermann, in: MGWJ, 49 (1905), 167–82; J. Miret y Sans, in: *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, 4 (1911–12); P. Browe, in: *Roemische Quartalschrift fuer christliche Alterthumskunde*, 34 (1926), 167–97; P. Lefevre, in: *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, 28 (1932), 329–46; J. Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews* (1943), index; C. Roth, *Personalities and Events in Jewish History* (1953), 60–62; Baer, Spain, 2 (1961), 38–39, 88–90.

[Cecil Roth]

HOST OF HEAVEN, an expression used in the Bible and in post-biblical Jewish literature to denote comprehensively either (a) supernal beings or (b) stars. The precise implication of the term "host" is variously understood. Where the reference is to supernal beings, these are sometimes portrayed as a palace guard attendant on God. Thus the prophet Micaiah describes them as standing beside the divine throne (I Kings 22:19); while in Psalms 103:19–21 they, together with his "envoys [angels]," "stalwarts," and "servitors," are bidden to bestow blessings on the enthroned Lord. In such contexts the term "host" (Heb. צָבָא, *ẓava'*) is used in the technical sense of "palace corps." The same meaning is attached to the term in certain earlier texts from the city of Nuzi and in the Akkadian expression, "host of the court" (*ṣab bāb ekallim*). Similarly, "envoy" corresponds to the Akkadian "palace courier" (*mu irru sa ekallim*) (Krueckmann, in: *Reallexikon fuer Assyriologie*, 1:448), and "servitor" elsewhere in the Bible denotes an officer of the royal entourage (II Sam. 13:17–18; I Kings 10:5). The picture reflects the widespread ancient notion that things on earth have their counterpart in heaven. The celestial beings are also portrayed as a formal militia, marshaled and commanded by God. In the words of the prophet in Isaiah 40:26: "Lift up your eyes and see: who created these? Who is it leads forth their host by roster, summoning each by name?" the metaphor is distinctly military. Similarly, in Isaiah 45:12 the military image is equally explicit in the words: "I [the Lord] it was whose hands stretched out the heavens and who commanded all their host" (cf. Isa. 13:3). Again, in Joshua 5:14–15, the otherworldly figure who appears to Joshua before the siege of Jericho, drawn sword in hand, announces himself as a "captain of the Lord's host." It has been suggested that this concept of a celestial (or divine) army has a parallel in the Mesopotamian designation of certain deities (e.g., Marduk) as "musterers" (*asiru*) of lesser gods.

The concept is connected with the title "Lord of Hosts" (or "Lord God of Hosts," or "God of Hosts"), frequently attributed to the Lord in the Bible. It is by no means certain, however, that these hosts were originally regarded as celestial. This title (which is not found in the Pentateuch nor in Joshua and Judges) first occurs in connection with the sanctuary at Shiloh, where the Ark of the Covenant was deposited (I Sam. 1:3, 11; 4:4). Since the Ark served also as a palladium (cf. Num. 10:35–36; I Sam. 4:1–7:2; II Sam. 11:11; 15:24–26), it is probable that the title (which came later to be associated especially with Jerusalem, the Ark's subsequent home: cf. II Sam. 5:10; 6:5; Isa. 31:4, 9) originally designated the Lord as leader of Israel's war-hosts on earth – a probability enhanced by the fact that in Hebrew the word for "host" is never used in the plural to signify the heavenly array. The Lord is indeed said, in several passages of Scripture, to lead the armies of His people (I Sam. 17:45; Ps. 24:8–10; 60:12; cf. also Ex. 7:4; 12:17), and often in Isaiah the title is associated specifically with His bellicose activity (e.g., 1:24; 2:12; 9:6; 10:16, 23, 26, 33; 13:4, 13; 14:22, 24; 17:3; 19:4, 16; 29:6–7). On the other hand, it should be observed that in Mesopotamian texts certain gods are described as lords of the host (*kissatu*), i.e., of the total content of heaven and earth (Reffs, in: W. Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrisch-Englisch-Deutsches Handwoerterbuch*, 1 (1905), 453–4), and since the word "host" is likewise employed in the Bible (e.g., Gen. 2:1) in this vaguer sense, it is possible that in the course of time this wider meaning came to be read into the traditional title. Indeed, the Septuagint

commonly renders it "Lord of All" (Παντοκράτωρ), and it is such an extended interpretation of the word for "hosts" that may likewise be detected in their mistaken rendering of the homonymous *ẓevaʾot* in Song of Songs 2:7 and 3:5 as "powers," where it really means "gazelles."

Most often the "host of heaven" is identified with the stars, being associated expressly with the sun and moon (e.g., Deut. 4:19; Isa. 24:21–23; 40:26; Jer. 8:2). In such cases, however, they are probably regarded as living beings rather than as inanimate phenomena, for it is thus that stars were commonly envisaged in the ancient Near East. In Mesopotamia, for example, each major deity was associated with a heavenly body, while in a Canaanite mythological poem from Ras Shamra-Ugarit (IV AB, i. 4–5) the expression "divine beings" (*bn ilm*) is parallel to "assembly of the stars" (*[p]hr kkbm*), and in Job 38:7 the morning stars which sing in chorus are associated with "divine beings [Vulg. sons of God]" who shout for joy. In this respect, they are regarded as a militia; in the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5:20) the stars are said to fight from heaven against Sisera.

Apostate Israelites worshiped the host of heaven (cf. Deut. 4:19; 17:3; Jer. 8:2). This cult was favored especially by Ahaz (II Kings 17:16) and Manasseh (II Kings 21:3, 5), but was eventually suppressed by Josiah in 621 B.C.E. (II Kings 23:12). Sacrifices were offered and incense burnt on rooftops (Jer. 19:13; Zeph. 1:5). An Ugaritic text speaks similarly of setting up thrones (*mtbt*) for the sun on a roof. The practice was known also in Babylon (J. Morgenstern, in: *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft*, 3 (1905), 110 ff.; and W.R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (1927, 1969³), 580) and is attested at a later date as current among the Nabateans (*Strabonis Geographica* (1921–25), 15:4–25). A myth about the host of heaven may be recognized in Isaiah 24:21–23. The Lord, it says, will eventually settle accounts with "the host of high heaven on high and the kings of earth on earth." They will be rounded up and locked in a dungeon. Then the Lord of Hosts will be installed on Mount Zion as the one true king, and so great will be the sheen of His splendor (Heb. *kavod*) streaming over His courtiers (literally, elders) that even the sun and moon will be put to shame. As in the parallel case of the leviathan myth (27:1), the prophet here projects a primordial event into eschatology. What inspires his words is an ancient tale relating how certain celestial beings, ranging themselves as a rebel army, were expelled from heaven by the supreme god or his champion. The parallel example from the ancient Near East is in the Babylonian Epic of Creation, where Marduk routs the rebel hosts of Tiamat and Kingu and imprisons them in cellars (4:111–114). A similar myth was current among the Hittites (Pritchard, Texts, 120 ff.), while a familiar classical parallel is the banishment of the Titans to Tartaroa. The myth survived in later ages, allusions to it occurring in Enoch (86:1; 88; 90:20–24), in the Book of Revelation 12:7–9, and the Epistle of Jude 13 in the New Testament, in an Aramaic incantation of the ninth (?) century C.E., and in the liturgy of the Mandeans. Significantly enough, the rebels are identified with stars (Gaster, in bibl., par. 185; J. Morgenstern in: HUCA, 14 (1939), 100). Another story of the celestial host appears in Genesis 32:1–3, where Jacob encounters a contingent of otherworldly beings and at once exclaims, "This is God's army [or, an army (camp) of divine beings]." This, however, may be simply a Hebrew version of the widespread myth of the Phantom Host, a ghostly army of departed warriors who ride intermittently across the sky, especially on dark or stormy nights. Although they are more commonly described in European folklore as a hunt, the notion that they are an army is indeed well attested in ancient and modern sources, surviving, for instance, in the Spanish designation of them as *exercito antiguo* or *huesta antigua* (Gaster, in bibl. par. 71).

In post-biblical literature the same ambiguity is associated with the expression "host of heaven" as in the Scriptures. Thus, in Ben Sira 43:7, where the moon is described as their "instrument [? jewel; Heb. *keli*]," they are clearly astral. On the other hand, in Enoch 60:1 they are conjoined vaguely with "angels"; in 61:10, with the supernal hierarchy; and in 104:6 (as again in Dead Sea Hymns 11:13), with the sainted dead, but it is not said that they are stars. Nor does an identification with stars appear anywhere in the Dead Sea Scrolls; the host is simply a supernal congregation. Thus the Hymns speak of the "host of the holy ones" (3:22; 10:3, 5), of the "host of spirits" (13:8), and of the "host which possesses [transcendental] knowledge" (18:23). Nevertheless, they are indeed envisaged as a militia: in the War Scroll it is said explicitly that they will participate in the final campaign against Belial and the forces of evil – an idea which has its perfect counterpart in Iranian doctrine and which is anticipated in Scripture in the words of Zechariah 14:5: "The Lord my God will come [and] all the holy beings be with thee [LXX: Him]."

Lastly, it should be observed that the concept of supernal beings as a host tends to be superseded in later rabbinic literature by the portrayal of them as a celestial family (Aram. *Pamalyaʾ de-maʿlah*; cf. Latin *familia*); while among the Samaritans they are sometimes called simply "the folk on high" (*ʿam ʿilliaʾi*; cf. M. Heidenheim (ed.), *Bibliotheca Samaritana*, 2 (1896), 191, line 11–12), a term which may well have been borrowed from the Arabs and is intended to stand in contrast to the designation of terrestrial spirits as "earth folk" (*ahl al-ard*; cf. K. Kohler, in: *Archiv fuer Religionswissenschaft*, 13 (1910), 75–79).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B.N. Wambacq, *L'épithète divine Jahvé-sebaʾôt* (1947); W.F. Albright, in: JBL, 67 (1948), 376–81; T.H. Gaster, *Myth, Legend and Custom in the Old Testament* (1969), par. 71, 185; O. Eissfeldt, *Kleine Schriften*, 3 (1966), 103–23; 417–25.

[Theodor H. Gaster]

HOSTOVSKÝ, EGON (1908–1973), Czech novelist. Hostovský was born in Hronov, Bohemia. After serving as literary adviser to several Prague publishers, he joined the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry, and escaped to the U.S. shortly before the Nazi invasion. Hostovský resumed his diplomatic career after World War II and was sent to the Czechoslovak Embassy

in Oslo, but resigned his post following the Communist coup d'état of 1948 and returned to the U.S. Though a prominent Jewish assimilationist in his youth, Hostovský preserved a strong Jewish consciousness, which found literary expression in his earliest novel, *Ghetto v nich* (The Ghetto Inside Them, 1928). Some of his later works, such as the psychological novel *Případ profesora Körnera* (The Case of Professor Körner, 1932), also contain Jewish characters, even where they are not explicitly presented as Jews.

Hostovský's many novels include *Danajský dar* (Greek Gift, 1930), *Černá tlupa* (1933; *The Black Band*, 1950), *Žhář* (The Incendiary, 1935), *Dům bez pána* (House without a Master, 1937), *Sedmkrát v hlavní úloze* (1943; *Seven Times the Leading Man*, 1945), and *Úkryt* (1943; *The Hideout*, 1945). Some of Hostovský's later work appeared originally in English, e.g., *Půlnoční pacient* (1959; *The Midnight Patient*, 1954), and *Dobročinný večírek* (1958; *The Charity Ball*, 1957). Some of his earlier short stories appear in *Cesty k pokladům* (Journeys to Treasures, 1934) and *Listy z vyhnanství* (1946; *Letters from Exile*, 1942). Later works include *Všeobecné spiknutí* (*The Plot*, 1961) and *Tři noci* (*Three Nights*, 1964). After 1989, Hostovský's work began to be published in Czechoslovakia and in the Czech Republic again. A project to issue his collected works has been under way.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O. Donath, *Židé a židovství v české literatuře 19. a 20. století*, 2 (1930); B. Václavek, *česká literatura XX. století* (1935); J.V. and A. Novák, *Přehledné dějiny literatury české* (1922^3); J. Pistorius, *Padesát let Egona Hostovského* (1958); P. Den, in: *The Jews of Czechoslovakia* (1968), 454f. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** F. Kautman, *Polarita našeho věku v díle Egona Hostovského*, (1993); A.J. Liehm, *Generace*, (1990); *Lexikon české literatury* 2/1 (1985); A. Mikulášek et al., *Literatura s hvězdou Davidovou*, vol. 1 (1998); V. Papoušek, *Egon Hostovský. Člověk v uzavřeném prostoru* (1996); *Slovník českých spisovatelů* (1982).

[Avigdor Dagan / Milos Pojar (2^{nd} ed.)]

°HOTTINGER, JOHANN HEINRICH (1620–1667), Swiss Protestant theologian and Hebraist, one of the founders of modern Oriental linguistics and Bible exegesis. Born in Zurich, Hottinger taught Oriental languages at the universities of Zurich and Heidelberg. Of his many works on theology and philology, special mention should be made of *Grammatica quattuor linguarum Hebraicae, Chaldaicae, Syriacae et Arabicae Harmonica* (Heidelberg, 1659), a comprehensive grammar of Hebrew, Aramaic, Chaldean, and Syriac; *Erotematum linguae sanctae* (Zurich, 1647), a Hebrew grammar, which appeared in a revised edition as *Grammatica linguae sanctae* (*ibid.*, 1666); and *Rabbi Isaac Abravanel Commentarium super Danielem prophetam* (Zurich, 1647).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, in: ZHB, 3 (1898), 49; Steinschneider, Handbuch, 65–66; Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 1048, no. 5248; Fuerst, Bibliotheca, 1 (1863), 414–5; *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, 4 (1927), 296–7.

HOUDINI, HARRY (originally **Eric Weisz**, 1874–1926), U.S. magician and escape artist. The grandson of a rabbi, Houdini was born in Budapest and taken to the United States, where his father became religious leader of a Jewish congregation in Appleton, Wisconsin. Houdini began his career at the age of nine as a trapeze artist in a five-cent circus. When his family moved to New York he changed his name to Harry (from "Eri") Houdini, in admiration of the great French magician Robert-Houdin. His extraordinary achievements as a magician included making a live elephant disappear before the eyes of a baffled audience (for the first time in the New York Hippodrome in 1918). He repeatedly escaped from shackles, ropes, chains, and handcuffs while suspended head down in a tank of water, buried alive, or thrown into a half-frozen river. The highest paid and most popular performer of his time, he appeared in theaters in Europe and America, and demonstrated his skills to members of Scotland Yard and the Moscow Police Department, breaking out of a Russian "escape-proof" prison van in 1903. He starred as an escape artist in many adventure films and was a pioneer pilot, making the first sustained flight over the continent of Australia on March 16, 1910, near Melbourne. Houdini constantly attacked the charlatanism of so-called mind readers and mediums. Two of his many books, *Miracle Mongers and Their Methods* (1920) and *Magician among the Spirits* (1924), were devoted to this purpose, and he offered a standing $10,000 reward for any "supernatural" manifestation he could not duplicate. He died in Detroit. His library on magic, spirits, and witchcraft was bequeathed to the Library of Congress, Washington.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.F. Rinn, *Searchlight on Psychical Research* (1954); W.L. Gresham, *Houdini; the Man Who Walked Through Walls* (1960), incl. bibl.; M. Christopher, *Houdini; the Untold Story* (1969), incl. bibl.

HOURVITZ, YA'IR (1941–1988), Israeli poet. Hourvitz was born in Tel Aviv, where he resided until his early death. Among his poetry collections are *Bi-Reḥovot Ilmim* (with Binyamin Pashut, 1961), *Shirim min ha-Kaẓeh ha-Namukh* (1963), *Shirim le-Louise* (1963), *Salvion* (1966), *Onat ha-Mekhashefah* (1970), *Narkisim le-Malkhut Madmenah* (1972), *Anatomyah shel Geshem* (1980), and *Yaḥasim u-De'agah* (1986). A volume comprising his poems, 1960–1976, appeared under the title *Goral ha-Gan* in 1988.

The specific features of Hourvitz's work became noticeable after the volume *Salvion* appeared. Many of the poems in this book describe visionary or dreamlike states. There is a marked blurring of the single, discrete image and a disregard for syntax. The altered syntax can be attributed to the writer's wish to achieve immediacy in presenting his experiences and his disavowal of explicit or direct statement. The poems represent a reaction against the colloquial language and sophisticated irony that were so characteristic of the poets of the 1950s (Yehuda Amichai, Nathan Zach, David Avidan). This reaction became a turning point in Hebrew poetry and was characteristic of poems of the 1960s and 1970s.

This technique was apparent in his subsequent volumes as well, in which it was also possible to discern a tendency to-

ward heightening the symbolic nature of the images and structuring the poem around a defined state or event.

Characteristic of his themes are the search for magical sensations close to the world of nature, in the center of a modern city; descriptions of his relationships with friends; and the experience of love and the fear of death.

English translations of some poems by Hourvitz are included, for instance, in *The Modern Hebrew Poem Itself* (2003). For further information about translations see ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Calderon in: *La-Merḥav* (Nov. 13, 1970); N. Calderon, in: *Lamerḥav* (7 Adar 1970); N. Calderon, "*Al Shir Aviv shel Y. Hourvitz*," in: *Siman Keriah* 2 (1973), 179–190; M. Peri, "*Goral ha-Gan*," in: *Siman Keriah* 7 (1977), 367–377, 469–471; A. Levit, in: *Davar* (November 19, 1982); R. Mazali, "Seeing Through: Yair Hurvitz's '*Anatomy of Rain*,'" in: *Modern Hebrew Literature*, 7:1–2 (1981/82), 47–49; Z. Abramovitch-Ratner, *Limẓo et Kivvun ha-Ruaḥ be-Anaf: Iyyun be-Tafkid ha-Iluziyyah be-Irgun Shiro shel Y. Hourvitz* (1985); Y. Oppenheimer, "*Meẓavei Beynayim be-Shirat Y. Hourvitz*," in: *Siman Keriah* 21 (1990), 280–287; R. Weichert, "*Be-Ikvot ha-Yofi he-Avud*," in: *Akhshav*, 59 (1992), 251–270; R. Weichert, "*Hithavvuto shel Meshorer*," in: *Alei Siaḥ* 36 (1995), 33–48; L. Lachman, "*Al Kav Hitpatteḥut be-Shirato shel Y. Hourvitz*," in: *Meḥkarei Makhon Porter*, 2 (1996), 18–40; A. Kuriel, *Shirat Y. Hourvitz* (1997).

[Abraham Balaban]

HOURWITZ, ZALKIND (1751–1812), Polish-born *maskil*, political activist, journalist, and author in pre-revolutionary and revolutionary France. As a young man, Hourwitz left his home in a small village near Lublin and set out for Berlin, where he supported himself by tutoring children of the wealthy. Here he may have interacted with Moses *Mendelssohn and his circle before making his way to Metz and finally, by 1774, to Paris. In Paris, he sold used clothing during the day and at night poured over torn copies of Ovid and Molière, Voltaire and Rousseau.

In 1785, Hourwitz was the only Jew to submit an essay when the prestigious Academy of Arts and Sciences in Metz devoted its annual contest to examining the Jewish question. Sharing the coveted prize with the abbé Grégoire and the Protestant lawyer Claude Thiéry, he gained access to elite governmental circles and competed successfully for the position of *secrétaire-interprète* at the Royal Library, the most important post a Jew could occupy in *ancien régime* France. Hourwitz's award-winning essay *Apologie des Juifs* appeared in 1789, receiving lengthy and laudatory reviews, and played an important role in framing the discussion for granting equal rights to French Jewry.

Hourwitz's commitment to the Revolution, which included service in the National Guard, never wavered. Neither did his presumption that the new political order would bring both security and freedom to his fellow Jews. Barely surviving the Reign of Terror (Hourwitz and his political friends had supported the cause of the Girondins), he once again raised his voice in defense of the Jews during the Directory. Joining a coterie of utopian visionaries and idealistic educators, he sought to vindicate the revolutionary promise of fraternity. He invented a universal language which he presented before the prestigious Institut de France, explored the common origin of all languages, and appended his signature to proposals to prevent thefts, construct fire escapes, rename the streets and quarters of Paris, and feed the poor. He also published three books: *Polygraphie ou l'art de correspondre à l'aide d'un dictionnaire, dans toutes les langues, même dans celles dont on ne possède pas seulement les letters alphabétiques* (1801), *Origine des Langues* (1801), and *Lacographie ou écriture laconique, aussi vite que la parole* (1811). Having alienated members of the Jewish establishment, he was not invited to participate in the Assembly of Jewish Notables convened by Napoleon in 1806. Government ministers, however, consulted him privately.

Hourwitz proudly carried his Jewish identity wherever he went and fought for his vision of Jewish equality in France, defending the texts as well as the ethical integrity of Judaism. Although he frequently accused rabbis and lay leaders of willfully thwarting the economic, political, and intellectual wellbeing of his fellow Jews, he defiantly rejected the need for a Jewish regeneration. He argued in his *Apologie* that it is the Christians whom one must regenerate.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Malino, *A Jew in the French Revolution* (1996); idem, *Un Juif rebelle dans la Révolution et sous l'Empire* (2000).

[Frances Malino (2nd ed.)]

HOUSEMAN (Hauseman), JOHN (1902–1988), U.S. theatrical producer and director. Born in Bucharest, the son of a Jewish father and English mother, Houseman began his career in the U.S. theater in 1934. His productions include *Four Saints in Three Acts* (1934), *Valley Forge* (1935), a Haitian *Macbeth* (for the Federal Negro Theater Project, 1935), *Hamlet* with Leslie Howard (1936), and a modern-dress *Julius Caesar* (1937) at the Mercury Theater which he had cofounded with Orson Welles. He was artistic director of the Shakespeare Festival in Stratford (1956–59), taught at the University of California, Los Angeles, and in 1965 he became director of the new drama division of the Juilliard School of Music, New York.

In the early 1970s (and in his early 70s!), Houseman became a movie star, winning an Academy Award for Best Supporting Actor in *The Paper Chase* (1973). Houseman went on to appear in many films, including *Rollerball* (1975), *Three Days of the Condor* (1975), *Wholly Moses* (1980), *Ghost Story* (1981), and *Another Woman* (1988).

[Jonathan Licht (2nd ed.)]

HOUSE OF ISRAEL COMMUNITY. The House of Israel community of Sefwi Wiawso and Sefwi Sui in western Ghana is a newly developing Jewish community. Fifty families practice Judaism and claim that their ancestors, the Sefwi, were descendants of Jews who migrated south through the Ivory Coast, perhaps originally from Timbuktu (see *Zakhor), bringing with them ancient Jewish observances.

The community was born in 1976 after a Ghanaian named Aaron Ahotre Toakyirafa had a vision that convinced him that his Sefwi ancestors had a direct link to ancient Jews and were descended from one of the Lost Tribes. He reportedly remembered that before the arrival of Christian missionaries, the Sefwi had strictly adhered to Jewish beliefs, just like ancient Jews, according to the Torah. From that time, the members of the Sefwi Sui and Sefwi Wiawso community began to learn about Jewish practices and the Hebrew language, notably with the help of American-based organizations, observing *kashrut* and building a synagogue. Most members of the community are young and this first generation of Ghanaian Jews would like to convert formally.

The House of Israel community is part of an international network of newly developed Jewish groups in Africa (*Tutsi, *Ibo) inspired by symbolic uses of Judaism. The myth of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel revived by the rescue of the *Beta Israel of Ethiopia has served as a means of self-identification for these groups, which together constitute a sort of marginal Judaism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. Primack, *Jews in Places You Never Thought Of* (1998); T. Parfitt and E. Trevisan-Semi, *Judaising Movements: Studies in the Margins of Judaism* (2002).

[Tudor Parfitt (2nd ed.)]

HOUSE OF THE FOREST OF LEBANON (Heb. בֵּית יַעַר הַלְּבָנוֹן, *Beit Ya'ar ha-Levanon*), one of the buildings included the complex of Solomon's palace in Jerusalem; probably served as the entrance to the king's palace. The building was named for its cedar pillars, which were imported from Mt. Lebanon and resembled a forest. The Bible describes the house as a large rectangular building (100 × 50 cubits), divided by four (or three, according to LXX) rows of pillars, with an upper story of chambers distributed in rows of 15 (I Kings 7:2–5).

Scholars have sought to explain the function and primary purpose of the house. Several scholars maintain that the house served as a royal guardhouse, containing rooms used as arsenals; this is attested by I Kings 10:17–21 and Isaiah 22:8. Various references are made to the golden shields of the guard (II Chron. 9:16) and the precious golden vessels (II Chron. 9:20) which were kept in the house. R. de Vaux (*Les Livres des Rois* (1949), 48) believes that the house was used as a foyer for festive processions connected with court life, and that the royal guard was stationed there. Though the exact purpose of the building is not certain, it is most likely that the technical innovation of its style, rather than the particular importance of the building itself, made it a subject for biblical elaboration. It has been suggested that Solomon's structure is of the building type known in ancient Syria as *bit hilani*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I.Benzinger, in: Marti, *Kurzer Handkommentar zum Alten Testament* (1899), 385f.; G. Richter, in: ZDPV, 40 (1917), 172ff.; K. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas*, 1 (1933–35), 95–97; K. Moehlenbrink, *Der Tempel Salomos* (1932), 49ff.; R. de Vaux, *Les Livres des Rois* (1949), 48. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Cogan, I *Kings* (2000), 254–58.

HOUSTON, port and industrial center in southeastern Texas. Population (est. 2003), 2,009,690; Jewish population, 45,000.

Early History

Houston was founded in 1836; it is not known when the first Jew arrived, but there are records of several who came during the early years of settlement. Eugene Chimene is often cited as the first Jew in Houston, but he is not listed until the 1860 census, and information about him there makes the date of his arrival unlikely to be before 1850. Jacob de *Cordova came to Houston in 1837, and Michael Seeligson was there in 1839. Lewis A. Levy came between 1837 and 1842, and Henry Wiener, Isaac Coleman, and Maurice Levy arrived in the early 1840s. The earliest available census is from 1850, and a possible 17 Jewish adults out of a population of 1863 can be identified; in 1860 the figures were 68 out of a total of 3,768. The majority of these Jews were merchants and clerks who operated stores selling clothing and food, luxuries, and necessities, both wholesale and retail. From their advertisements it is evident that they often formed and broke partnerships and had business dealings with each other. These Houston Jews were reported to be "comfortably situated" and "in a prosperous pecuniary condition" by contemporary sources. The 1860 census indicated that approximately 60% of these Jews were landowners (as compared with about 25% of other immigrant groups), but there were also some Jews listed with no personal and real estate. Socially, Houston Jews were active in the Masons and in the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, an organization which Jacob de Cordova is credited with establishing in Texas, as well as founding the first chapter in Houston.

The earliest tombstone in the Houston cemetery is dated December 10, 1854, so the cemetery was either established then or sometime between 1852 and 1854. The Jews were informally organized in Houston until 1855 when a Hebrew Benevolent Society was founded. The *Occident* heralded its organization as the first "regular Jewish Society in the state of Texas." On May 8, 1859, the first congregation, Beth Israel, was established, and in August of that year its synagogue, a wooden structure in the middle of the city, was dedicated. Beth Israel was begun as an Orthodox synagogue according to the Polish *minhag*, even though the majority of Jews in Houston were of German origin.

In 1856 a home was converted into a synagogue and in 1860 the Orthodox Beth Israel congregation was formed, with Z. Emmich acting as its first rabbi, cantor, and ritual slaughterer. In 1866 it appeared as one of the ten "churches" listed in the Houston City Directory. The congregation's first building was erected in 1870. The city then had a population of 9,382, of whom 245 were Jews. That population would almost double only 7 years later, to 471. The last decades of the 19th century witnessed the beginnings of Jewish immigration to Houston from Eastern Europe, replacing the earlier German one. As Beth Israel congregation became more liberal in outlook, two new Orthodox congregations were formed: the largely Gali-

cian Dorshe Tov, and the Russian-Polish Adath Yeshurun, both of which merged as Congregation Adath Yeshurun in 1891. The first B'nai B'rith lodge and a Hebrew Free Loan Society were organized, along with the beginnings of a YMHA. The new immigrants mostly entered the retail trade as peddlers and shopkeepers, although there were also several bankers among them, as well as dealers in cotton and commodities. Henry S. Fox was one of the founders of the Houston Cotton Exchange, Morris Levy was a member of the first Houston Ship Channel Company, and Ed Klein established Houston's first department store.

Twentieth Century

The turn of the century inaugurated a period of rapid growth in the Jewish community, spurred on by the 1900 hurricane that drove many Jewish inhabitants inland from the Texas coast, and by the implementation of the *Galveston Plan. The city's first Jewish newspaper, *The Jewish Herald*, went into publication in 1908. New synagogues were established and Jewish institutional life expanded, with such new organizations as a Bikur Cholim society, Workmen's Circle (1915), Zionist Federation (1903), United Jewish Charities (1914), and the weekly *Jewish Herald* (1908). The large military installations near Houston during World War I brought an influx of Jewish servicemen, many of whom remained in the city after their discharge. In 1917 the Jewish population of Houston was put at 5,000. By 1920 it had jumped to 10,000, close to seven percent of the city's total. The leading figure in the Jewish community during much of this period was Rabbi Henry Barnston, who accepted the Beth Israel pulpit in 1900 and for the next 45 years presided over the congregation. Judge Henry J. Dannenbaum was nationally active in the fight against white slavery and served the city in its civic life, along with participation in Jewish communal affairs.

Post-World War I

Houston's Jewish community grew at a slower pace between the two world wars, reaching an estimated 13,500 in 1941. Ku Klux Klan activity in the area during the 1920s and 1930s discouraged Jews from entering civic and political life, with the growing professional class reluctant to fight back and the small merchants afraid to stand out. Beth El, Texas' first Conservative congregation, was formed in 1924. In 1927 Rabbi A.I. Schechter became leader of Adath Yeshurun; among his accomplishments was the organization of the Texas Kallah, an association of Texas rabbis which meets annually. The Jewish Community Council was organized during these years, with Max H. Nathan as its first president. An annual United Jewish Campaign was instituted under the Council's direction. A charitable foundation left to the community by Pauline Sterne Wolff helped support many of Houston's Jewish institutions in the years to come. Religiously, the drift in the Jewish community was toward Reform. A unique event in national Jewish life occurred in Houston in 1943 when a radically anti-Zionist majority at Congregation Beth Israel, the city's largest, passed a resolution of "Basic Principles" that excluded from the congregation all members professing an interest in Zionism. A minority of dissenters withdrew from the congregation to form a new synagogue, Emanu El. Beth Israel eliminated the "Basic Principles" from its membership application only in 1967.

Post-World War II

The growth of Houston's Jewish community after World War II did not keep pace with the phenomenal growth of the city as a whole, so that by 1970 the Jewish percentage in the total population had declined to less than two percent. To an extent this may be attributed to the fact that, more than elsewhere in the United States, large chain stores and distribution outlets in Houston have eliminated the traditional Jewish role of the individual entrepreneur. Nevertheless, Houston has remained a city rich in Jewish organizations. Among other institutions were a 12-story Jewish Institute for Medical Research, and a $3,500,000 Jewish Community Center. In 1967 the Houston Commission for Jewish Education was formed to coordinate Jewish educational activities.

Unlike neighboring Galveston, which had a number of Jewish mayors, few Houstonian Jews participated in local political life. The first Jew to be elected to political office in Houston in the 20th century was Richard Gottlieb, who was chosen to the city council in 1969. Jews have been more prominent in business, among them Joe Weingarten, one of the pioneers in the supermarket field, Simon Sakowitz, one of Houston's leading merchants, and M.M. Feld, an industrialist. In the field of education, Norman Hackerman became president of Rice University in 1970 and Joseph Melnick, one of the world's leading virologists, was dean of the graduate research department of the Baylor College of Medicine. Maurice Hirsch was for many years chairman of the Houston Symphony Society. D.H. White (d. 1972) edited and published the weekly *Jewish Herald-Voice*.

[Jack Segal / D.H. White]

Developments 1970–2005

The 1970s saw a tremendous growth in Houston's Jewish community, which grew from 25,000 to 45,000. The growth was a reflection of the boom in the Houston economy that lasted through the mid-1980s. With the growth, the Jews moved beyond the Southwest Houston corridor, the traditional site for Jewish communal institutions that reflected the concentration of Jewish families. The 1970s and 1980s also saw tremendous growth in Jewish institutions.

By 1995, the Houston Jewish community had five Jewish day schools with an enrollment of over 1,000 children. More than 3,000 children participated in other forms of Jewish education throughout the community.

In the mid-1990s the community had 30 congregations representing every stream of Judaism and geographically located in all corners of the city.

Houston's Jewish Home for the Aged, now called Seven Acres Jewish Geriatric Center, evolved into a 290-bed nursing home and day care facility. Houston's Jewish Community

Center had four locations: the Weingarten Building in Southwest Houston, a specialized facility providing early childhood services, a campsite for day and resident camping, and a satellite facility in West Houston.

The Jewish Federation of Greater Houston raised $8,000,000 annually through the United Jewish Campaign. Through the 1980s and 1990s, the Jewish Federation raised $3 million for neighborhood renewal in Israel and in excess of $10 million for the rescue and resettlement of Jews from the former Soviet Union.

A Commission on Jewish Continuity implemented special programs targeted at enhancing Jewish identity and affiliation. Houston is home to a $6 million Holocaust Education Center and Memorial Museum, opened in 1996. The museum features a permanent exhibit telling the stories of Holocaust survivors living in the Houston area. It has served as a regional educational center, drawing visitors from Louisiana as well as Texas and educating in Spanish as well as English.

The Jewish community of Houston has grown to incorporate many different traditions and branches. In the early 21st century it was one of the largest Jewish communities in the South and continued to contribute to the cultural and economic life of the region.

[Benjamin Paul (2nd ed.)]

ḤOVAH (third century C.E.), wife of R. *Huna, the head of the Sura academy. Ḥovah is mentioned only twice in the Talmud – each case in connection with acts of doubtful halakhic propriety: She shaved her children's heads (Naz. 57b) and she looked after her husband's sheep although sheep were not supposed to be bred in Babylonia (BK 80a). Each time, R. Adda b. Ahavah – who had a reputation for uncompromising piety as well as miraculous powers (Ber. 20a; Ta'an. 20b; et al.) – pronounced a malediction against her: "Ḥovah will [or shall] bury her children." As long as Adda was alive, none of the children she bore to R. Huna survived. Since many of Huna's children are known to have survived, Hyman suggests that Ḥovah was probably his second wife. However, she could equally have been his first or only wife, and the surviving children could have been born after R. Adda's death. The vocalization of Ḥovah's name is uncertain. Since Ḥovah means "guilt" or "debt," it is more likely to have been Ḥubbah or (according to Ms. M in BK 80a) Ḥibbah ("love").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 1, 343.

[Moses Aberbach]

HOWARD, LESLIE (**Leslie Steiner**; 1893–1943), British actor. Born in London of Hungarian Jewish parents, Howard started as a bank clerk and made his first appearance on the stage in 1918. He subsequently acted in many plays in London and New York and started film work in 1930. On the screen he came to typify British upper-class urbanity. His most famous role was in *Gone With the Wind* (1939), where he played Ashley Wilkes: few filmgoers unfamiliar with Howard's background could have guessed that this archetypal Southern gentleman was played by an actor of Hungarian Jewish background. Howard also starred in *The Scarlet Pimpernel* (1933), *Pygmalion* (1938), and *Pimpernel Smith* (1941). He was killed when the plane in which he was flying from Lisbon in 1943 was shot down by the Germans.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

HOWARD, MICHAEL (1941–), British politician. Born in South Wales, Michael Howard is the son of Romanian Jewish immigrants originally named Hirsch who ran a small shop in Llanelli. Howard was educated at Llanelli Grammar School and at Cambridge University, where he was president of the Cambridge Union. A barrister who became a Q.C. in 1982, Howard entered Parliament in 1983. On the right of the party, Howard first entered Margaret Thatcher's government as a junior minister in 1985. When John Major became prime minister in November 1990, Howard became employment minister, with a seat in the cabinet. He retained a place in the Conservative cabinet until Major's government lost office in 1997, moving to the Environment Ministry in April 1992 and to the senior position of home secretary in May 1993. Howard's hard line on crime proved both successful and popular, although his deputy minister Anne Widdicombe (herself on the right of the party) famously said in May 1997 that there was "something of the night" in his personality. After the Conservatives' disastrous loss at the May 1997 general election, Howard was an unsuccessful candidate to succeed John Major. In November 2003, however, Howard was elected leader of the British Conservative Party, the first Jewish leader of a government or opposition party in Britain in the 20th century. (Sir Herbert *Samuel was leader of the minority Liberal Party from 1931 to 1935.) Howard's Jewish origins do not appear to have been a factor in his election; unlike many Anglo-Jewish leaders, and perhaps because he comes from South Wales rather than a major center of Anglo-Jewish life, Howard has not been particularly close to the Jewish community, although his Jewish background is well-known and he has often referred to his origins as the son of immigrants. Howard resigned as party leader in 2005 following the Conservative election defeat.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

HOWARD, MOE, SHEMP, and **CURLY** (**Moses Horwitz**, 1897–1975; **Samuel Horwitz**, 1895–1955; and **Jerome Horwitz**, 1903–1952), U.S. actors/comedians. The Brothers Howard, later known as the Three Stooges, were born in Brooklyn, New York and raised by their parents, real estate entrepreneur Jennie Horwitz and clothing cutter Solomon Horwitz. The evolution of the Three Stooges can be traced back to the vaudeville partnership between Moe and his childhood friend Ted Healy. Healy would perform on stage while Moe harassed him from the audience until slapstick chaos ensued. Shemp soon joined the act and, in 1925, they recruited a violinist by the name of Larry Fine to form Ted Healy & His Stooges. The act proved a tremendous success. They first made their Broadway debut in Earl Carrol's *Vanities* and then their Hollywood debut in

the 1930s *Soup to Nuts*. Soon thereafter, Shemp left the group to pursue a solo career and the vacancy was filled by the youngest Howard, Curly, whose contribution to the team was invaluable. From 1934 to 1970 the comic trio churned out over 190 short films and 13 features for Columbia. Characterized by slapstick mayhem, the films featured Moe as the group's abusive boss, Larry as the sycophantic middleman, and Curly as the unwitting patsy. In 1946, Curly suffered a debilitating stroke and was replaced by his brother, Shemp, who performed with the troupe until his death in 1955. Although the studio brought in Joe DeRita to fill Curly's shoes, The Stooges were fading by the late 1950s. In 1959, Columbia released the old Stooges shorts on television to a new generation of fans and the group experienced a full-fledged comeback, allowing the act to continue until 1970, when Larry suffered a stroke that left him incapacitated and led to Moe's retirement.

[Max Joseph (2nd ed.)]

HOWE, IRVING (1920–1993), U.S. literary and social critic, editor. It is fair to say that Howe changed the tone and depth of American literary and social criticism. Like those of approximately his generation, Alfred *Kazin, and the often ornery but dedicated writer and social thinker Paul *Goodman, he was a presence. Born in the Bronx, New York City, and a child in the Great Depression, Howe made a moral use of the poverty around him. He brought the ethical values of a secularized Judaism and socialism (both of which emphasize the dignity of humankind, justice, freedom, and satisfaction of necessary, rational wants) into his examination of American culture and politics. He pointed out that socialism was his "regulative idea" and, as his studies of Yiddish culture indicated, exaltation – but not evasion – of the human condition was a demanded component of the literary imagination. He attended City College when its reputation as an arena of intellectual student debate and discussion was notable. After leaving the Army, he soon turned his attention to writing pieces for journals. He wrote critical studies of the works of Thomas Hardy, Edith Wharton, and Sherwood Anderson, and received attention as a critic because of his attempts to view literature in its social context, an approach that was the subject of his book, *Politics and the Novel* (1957). In 1970, he edited *Essential Works of Socialism* and in 1984 he edited *Alternatives: Proposals for America from the Democratic Left*. Howe also took an interest in Yiddish literature, particularly that reflecting the immigrant experience in the United States, and he was coeditor with Eliezer Greenberg of *A Treasury of Yiddish Stories* (1954) and *A Treasury of Yiddish Poetry* (1969). With Greenberg, he also edited *Voices from the Yiddish: Essays, Memoirs, Diaries* (1972) and *I.L. Peretz: Selected Stories* (1974), and with Ruth Wisse, *The Best of Sholom Aleichem* (1979). After 1954, he was an editor of the liberal-socialist publication *Dissent*. A moderate socialist himself, equally critical of the American political establishment and of more radical leftist challenges to it, Howe was coauthor of *The American Communist Party* (1957) and editor of *The Basic Writings of Trotsky* (1963). In 1979 there appeared his *Celebrations and Attacks. Thirty Years of Literary and Cultural Commentary*. Howe's autobiography, *A Margin of Hope*, appeared in 1982. His magisterial *World of Our Fathers* (with the assistance of Kenneth Libo, 1976) explored the culture and politics of East European Jewry in New York. A companion work, also with Kenneth Libo, *How We Lived: A Documentary History of Immigrant Jews in America, 1880–1930*, was published in 1979. His *Selected Writings 1950–1990* was published in 1990, and *A Critic's Notebook* appeared posthumously in 1994.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Alexander, *Irving Howe: Socialist, Critic, Jew* (1998); J. Rodden (ed.), *Irving Howe and the Critics* (2005); G. Sorin, *Irving Howe: A Life of Passionate Dissent* (2002).

[Hillel Halkin / Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

ḤOẒIN, ẒEDAKAH BEN SAADIAH (1699–1773), Baghdad rabbi and talmudist. Ḥoẓin was born in Syria, and in 1743 was appointed rabbi of Baghdad, where he did much to spread the study of Torah. He introduced many regulations which were adopted by the Jews of Iraq, among them the ruling that pregnant and nursing women are not to fast on Tishah be-Av because of the heat generally prevailing at that time of the year. He left many books in manuscript, among them *Ẓedakah u-Mishpat*, consisting of hundreds of responsa on all aspects of Jewish law, some of which were published in 1926 with an introduction and notes by Isaac *Nissim; responsa *Ma'aseh Ẓedakah* and *Me'il Ẓedakah*; an extensive work on Maimonides, the *Tur*, and the *Beit Yosef*; and *Avodat ha-Ẓedakah*, homiletical comments on the Torah. Some of Ẓedakah's novellae are quoted in the books of his disciples. Ẓedakah died in Baghdad during a plague. His son, Moses, wrote *piyyutim*, many of which gained wide circulation in Iraq and adjacent countries. Among his *piyyutim* is the well-known *Melekh Go'el u-Moshi'a*, printed in many Passover *Haggadot*, prayer books, and collections of *piyyutim*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Assaf, in: *Zion Me'assef*, 6 (1934), 97, 99–101; A. Ben-Jacob, *Yehudei Bavel* (1965), index; D. Sassoon, *A History of the Jews in Baghdad* (1949), 113–20.

[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

°**HRABANUS (Rabanus) MAURUS** (776–856), abbot in Fulda and archbishop of Mainz from 847. Although he did not know Hebrew himself, this distinguished scholar and author possessed a sound knowledge of Jewish biblical exegesis. He derived this not only from patristic sources, which contained a considerable amount of material of this kind, but especially from a Jewish work of biblical exegesis which was probably contemporary; he quotes this in numerous places in his own works, calling it *Hebraeus moderni temporis*. It is probable that Hrabanus received the assistance of Jews in unraveling the Hebrew text of this work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Blumenkranz, *Auteurs chrétiens latins…* (1963), 174–5; idem, *Juifs et chrétiens…* (1960), 48; F. Cayre, *Patrologie*, 2 (1945), 372.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

HRANICE (Ger. **Maehrisch-Weisskirchen**; Heb. הריייניץ ,רייניץ), town in Moravia, Czech Republic. According to tradition Jews settled there between 1475 and 1553, but the first documentary mention dates from 1644. Among the Jewish settlers were refugees from the *Chmielnicki massacres (1648) and cattle dealers who passed through the town on their way to the Moravian markets. The number of Jewish families permitted to reside in the town by the *Familiants Law was 120; 115 families lived there in 1753. From 659 persons in 1830, the community grew to 802 in 1857, but then declined to 582 in 1869, 522 in 1880, and 462 in 1900. The greater number of Jews lived in the Christian part of the town. After 1848 the Jewish community was constituted as one of the *politische Gemeinden. In 1930 the community numbered 192 persons (1.8% of the total population). Those still remaining in 1942 were deported to Nazi extermination camps. Fourteen Jews returned to the town after World War II. A religious congregation was revived but did not remain active. Its prayer room was in use until 1969. Synagogue appurtenances were sent to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague. The synagogue, built in 1863–64, served from 1943 as the municipal museum. Julius Freud, the brother of Sigmund Freud, is buried in the local cemetery. Natives of Hranice included the German apostate writer, J.J. David; the Jewish scholar, Isaac Hirsch *Weiss; the editor of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Isidore *Singer; and the advocate of Reform, Aaron *Chorin. The community gave its name to the Reinitz families.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rabbinowicz-Wachstein, in: H. Gold (ed.), *Juden und Judengemeinden Maehrens* (1929), 381–5; I.H. Weiss, *Zikhronotai* (1895), 13–18 and passim.

[Meir Lamed / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

HROZNETIN (Czech **Hroznětín**; Ger. **Lichtenstadt**, Heb. לייש), town in N.W. Bohemia, Czech Republic. The presence of Jews in Hroznetin is first documented in 1503. In the 17th and 18th centuries it was one of the most important communities in Bohemia and seat of the primator of Bohemian Jewry, Abraham Aaron *Lichtenstadt. It is frequently mentioned in responsa of this time and among Jews who regularly attended the *Leipzig fair. Hroznetin Jews had business connections with nearby *Carlsbad, where some of them lived illegally, laying the foundation for the later community. Lichtenstadt, and the Hebrew abbreviation Lash, occur frequently as a family name. In 1570, 16 Jewish families lived in Hroznetin, in 1708 the community numbered 298; 47 families were recorded in 1724, 457 persons in 1857 (29% of the total population), 77 in 1869, 44 in 1921, and 7 in 1932. The community ceased to exist before World War II.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Treixler, in H. Gold (ed.), *Die Juden und Judengemeinden Boehmens in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (1934), 378–82; I. Ziegler, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Juden in Karlsbad* (1913), 29 and passim; S. Krauss, in: *Zeitschrift fuer die Geschichte der Juden in der Tschechoslowakei*, 2 (1931/32), 147–9; M. Lamed, in: BLBI, 8 (1965), 302–11.

[Jan Herman]

HRUBIESZOW, town in Lublin province, Poland. The first information about Jewish settlement in Hrubieszow dates from 1444. Two Jewish merchants are mentioned in 1456 as court purveyors. In 1578 the Jews were authorized by charter to reside in any part of the town, to engage in their customary professions, and to establish a synagogue. In the same year a Jew Abraham obtained the contract for distilling in the town. By agreement with the clergy in Hrubieszow in 1678 the Jews had to pay annual imposts to the ecclesiastical authorities. The community suffered from the disasters of the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648–49, and in 1672 from the Tatar incursions. Twenty-seven Jewish houses and the smaller synagogue were destroyed in a fire in 1736. The leaders of the community and its rabbis were active on the *Council of the Four Lands. The main occupation of the Hrubieszow Jews was trade in agricultural products. In the second half of the 19th century they expanded into industry and the building trades. The first Jewish-run hospital in Poland was inaugurated in 1818, a new synagogue in 1874, and an old age home in 1905. The Ḥasidim were active from the early 19th century, and between the world wars the Zionists, Bund, and Agudat Israel were also active. Many emigrated in the post-World War I economic crisis. The Jewish population numbered 709 in 1765, 3,276 in 1856, 5,352 (out of 10,636) in 1897, 5,679 (out of 9,568) in 1921, and 7,500 in 1939.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust Period

The German army entered on Sept. 15, 1939, and immediately organized a series of pogroms. Ten days later the Germans withdrew and the Soviet army occupied the town, but after a fortnight returned it to the Germans, according to a new Soviet-German agreement. Over 2,000 Jews, having experienced the Nazi terror, left together with the withdrawing Soviet army. On December 2, 1939 1,000 Jews from Hrubieszow and 1,100 from Chelm were led on a death March to the Bug River, where 1,500 died. In early 1940, around 6,000 Jews including refugees were confined to a ghetto. In early June 1942 Jews concentrated in Belz were driven in a 31 mi. (60 km.) death march to Hrubieszow. Those who could not continue on the way were shot by the SS guards. All the others, after a short stay in a camp established outside Hrubieszow were deported along with about 3,000 Jews from Hrubieszow, to the *Sobibor death camp and exterminated. The second deportation from Hrubieszow took place on October 28, 1942, when 2,500 Jews were deported to Sobibor and exterminated. Around 400 who resisted were executed at the Jewish cemetery and the last 160 Jews were sent to a forced labor camp in Budzyn, where almost all of them perished due to the subhuman conditions.

RESISTANCE. On the outskirts of Hrubieszow the Jewish underground, mostly members of the Zionist youth movements from the *Warsaw ghetto, tried to organize one of the first Jewish partisan bases as early as the summer of 1941. The attempt failed mainly due to a lack of support from the local

peasant population. Hundreds of Jews succeeded in fleeing from Hrubieszow during the deportations, and found refuge in the forests. Many of them joined resistance groups, sometimes in faraway places, e.g., Solomon Brand who became one of the leading organizers of the Jewish resistance in Vilna, and Arieh Perec (known as Leon Porecki) who became a captain in the Polish underground Home Army during the Warsaw uprising. The Jewish community in Hrubieszow was not reconstituted after the war.

[Stefan Krakowski]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.B. Weinryb, in: MGWJ, 77 (1933), 277; idem, *Neueste Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden in Russland und Polen* (1934), index; I.L. Schiper (ed.), *Dzieje handlu żydowskiégo na ziemiach polskich* (1937), index; Yaari, in: KS, 20 (1943/44), 219–28; B. Yanover, *Adam be-Iro* (1947); B. Kaplinsky (ed.), *Pinkas Hrubieszów* (Eng., Heb., Yid., 1962). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** PK.

HUARTE DE SAN JUAN, JUAN (also known as **Juan de Dios Huarte of Navarra**; 1529–1589), Navarrese author and physician of presumed Marrano descent. His principal work, *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* (Baeza, 1557; *The Examination of Men's Wits…*, London, 1594), assigns vocations to men according to their temperament and nature. In this study, Huarte de San Juan stated that men are children of their works and that their role in life should depend on personal qualities rather than on inherited position. He originated the theory of professional aptitude and established the thesis of the correlation of temperament and talent, minimizing the effects of apprenticeship, habit, and vocation on intellectual aptitude and efficiency. The theory of his Converso identity is based on the fact that his surname is found among Navarrese Judaizers. Huarte de San Juan displays notable sympathy for the Jewish people and expresses his belief that the Jews are peculiarly suited to the medical profession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Caro Baroja, *Los Judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea*, 1 (1962), 93; 3 (1962), 274; A. Farinelli, *Dos excéntricos: Christóbal de Villalón, El doctor Juan Huarte* (1936).

[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

HUBERMAN, BRONISLAW (1882–1947), violinist and founder of the *Israel Philharmonic Orchestra. Born in Czestochowa, Poland, Huberman was a child prodigy in Warsaw. At the age of 10, he played before the emperor Francis Joseph in Vienna and for the violinist Joseph *Joachim in Berlin. In 1893 he began playing in the main cities of Europe. An appearance with the famous soprano Adelina Patti led to many other engagements, and in 1896 he played the Brahms violin concerto in the presence of the composer. From then on Huberman was a celebrity. He played on Paganini's violin in Genoa in 1908 and was a frequent soloist in the concert halls of Germany. When the Nazis introduced their measures against Jews in 1933, the German conductor Furtwaengler nevertheless invited Huberman to appear with him. Huberman refused and later gave his reasons in the English newspaper the *Manchester Guardian*, accusing the German intellectuals of having silently acquiesced in the actions of the Nazis.

Huberman made several appearances in Palestine and in 1936 assembled in Tel Aviv a number of experienced refugee musicians, raised the financial backing, and founded the Palestine Orchestra (later the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra). He thus created the basis for a full-fledged concert life in Israel. Arturo Toscanini agreed to conduct the opening concerts in December 1936, and the orchestra immediately acquired international standing. In October 1937, Huberman suffered a serious hand injury in a plane accident over Sumatra. It was not until late in 1938 that he was able to play with his orchestra, and he saw it for the last time in 1940. War and travel difficulties prevented him from visiting Palestine again. In 1946 he sustained a fall which necessitated a delicate operation. He died in Switzerland while preparing for further concert appearances.

Huberman used his great technique not merely for display. He made it the means of evoking musical significance through personal expression. He wrote on problems of the violin virtuoso, and also on political matters. Between the two world wars he was active on behalf of the Pan-Europa movement. His papers and his musical estate were given to the Central Music Library in Tel Aviv.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: MGG; Riemann-Gurlitt; Grove's Dict; *An Orchestra Is Born, a Monument to Bronislaw Huberman* (compiled by I. Ibbeken, 1969).

[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz]

HUBEŞ, ROZET (1959–), Turkish actress and director. Born in *Istanbul and a graduate of Istanbul University and the Istanbul Municipality Conservatory, Department of Theater, Hubeş started acting in 1976 in the Jewish community's cultural groups and from 1986 she began her professional career in Istanbul's municipality theaters. In 1988 she started working in the Kenter Theater of Istanbul. In 1991 she returned to the municipality theaters. She also acted in various television serials and in two films. She is the recipient of several awards: In 2001–2 she received the Ismet Küntay award for best actress and in 2003–4 she shared the Afife Jale and Sadri Alışık best actress awards with another actress. She also directed plays for the Istanbul Jewish community's cultural groups.

[Rifat Bali (2nd ed.)]

HŪD. (1) In the Koran, Hūd is the collective noun for Jews (Sura 2:105, 129, 134, 62:6), and the root *hwd* in two forms denotes the belief in Judaism (Sura 2:59; 4:48; 158–60, and see *Yahūd, Yahūd (i)). (2) The apostle Hūd was the earliest of the five apostles to be sent to the Arabs; the other four were Ṣālīh, *Abraham, Shuʿayb (*Jethro), and *Muhammad (e.g., Sura 7:63–71; 11:52–64). Some commentators occasionally identify Hūd with Eber (cf. Gen. 11:14). Hūd rebuked the tribe of ʿĀd, to whom he was sent, but they did not listen to his words and were all annihilated, with the exception of Hūd and a few of his followers (Sura 11:61). The assumption has long since been

raised that Hūd was an allegorical figure who emerged as a result of the influence of Judaism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: "Hūd," in EIS², 3 (1971), 537–38 (incl. bibl.); I. Eisenberg (ed.), Qisā'ī, *Qiṣaṣ* (1922), 102–3; A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* (1833), 111–7; Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ* (1356H), 51–55.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

HUDSON, STEPHEN (pseudonym of **Sydney Alfred Schiff**; 1868–1944), English novelist. Hudson's talents first emerged in *War-Time Silhouettes* (1916) and he gained recognition at the age of 50 with the psychological novel, *Richard Kurt* (1919). A friend of *Proust, he also translated that author's *Le temps retrouvé,* as *Time Regained* (1931). His other works include *Richard, Myrtle and I* (1926) and *The Other Side* (1937). Hudson's wife, Violet Zillah Beddington (1874–1962), was a sister of the writer Ada *Leverson. Hudson was also known for financially aiding the poet Isaac *Rosenberg during World War I, and for his friendship with T.S. Eliot, Katherine Mansfield, and other leading British writers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

HUDSON COUNTY, county in N.E. New Jersey. Despite its proximity to New York City, Hudson County is not known to have been settled by Jews before the middle of the 19th century. The first synagogue, Congregation Ephraim, was founded in 1872 in Jersey City, where the first Jewish family arrived in 1858. This city's oldest existing congregations are Temple Beth-El, on York Street, founded in 1864, and B'nai Israel, established in 1882. Temple Beth-El moved into its magnificent sanctuary in 1926 at what is now the corner of Harrison Avenue and Kennedy Boulevard. In 1878 a second congregation was organized in neighboring Bayonne. In 1896 Congregation Beth Abraham was opened in Bayonne. Hoboken's first synagogue, Adath Emuno, was founded in 1871 when it opened with 55 members. The Moses Montefiore congregation was established in 1892 in Hoboken, and it numbered 60 members at its founding. A wave of East European immigration in the early 1900s led to the formation of further synagogues throughout the county. In 1900 a Young Men's Hebrew Association was founded in Jersey City. The majestic Congregation Mount Sinai building in Jersey City was opened in 1910. West New York's Congregation Shaare Zedek opened in 1919. The United Synagogue of Hoboken was organized in 1947 through the union of the Hoboken Jewish Center – founded in the 1920s as a Conservative congregation – and the Congregation Star of Israel – organized in 1910 as an Orthodox congregation. A typical pattern was for Jewish communities to come first into existence in the port areas along the Hudson River and then gradually to move back into the more suburban setting of the heights to the west. This process was hastened in the years after World War II, as suburbanization increased and the commuter age brought an exodus to New Jersey of many Jewish families from New York City. Concomitantly, other Hudson County Jews began to move out of the county entirely to the nearby but less industrialized North Hudson and Bergen Counties. However, Jewish life in Hudson County began to experience a resurgence in the late 1980s, as young Jewish singles, couples, and families began to move into Hoboken and neighboring towns. The 1990s brought a remarkable revival of Jewish religious and cultural activity in Hoboken. A young and vigorous section of the National Council of Jewish Women was established; there was a total reorganization of the Jewish Family Service of Jersey City, Bayonne, and Hoboken; and a United Jewish Communities Young Leadership Division was founded.

The Jewish Family & Counseling Service, headquartered in Bayonne, offers a senior companion station, Kosher Meals-on-Wheels, support groups, an emergency kosher food pantry, and emergency shelter. The Yeshiva of Hudson County and its affiliated Rogosin High School, in Union City and Jersey City respectively, were noted for their high standards of scholarship and drew students from many communities. The Yeshiva began in 1938, with eight students. Its first main building was at the Five Corners Talmud Torah in Jersey City before moving to Union City in 1947. As the population it served increasingly moved to nearby Bergen County, the school was renamed the Yeshiva of North Jersey, and it opened several sites in Bergen County before permanently moving to River Edge in 1993. The Jewish Home and Rehabilitation Center, which moved to Rockleigh, New Jersey in 2001, was founded in Jersey City 1915 as the Hebrew Orphans Home of Hudson County. Over the years it evolved into the Hebrew Home for Orphans and the Aged. In the 1950s it became the largest medical hospital in New Jersey. In 1970 a long-term care facility was opened by the Home in River Vale, New Jersey and the name Jewish Home and Rehabilitation Center was adopted. The first adult day care program in New Jersey was established at the Home's Jersey City facility. The *Jewish Standard*, New Jersey's oldest Anglo-Jewish newspaper, was founded in Hudson County by Morris J. Janoff in 1931. The newspaper moved to Bergen County in the early 1950s. The Bayonne Jewish Community Center has served the community since 1952. This JCC offers a full range of programs, from early childhood classes to older adult services. The Federations currently serving this area are the UJA Federation of Bayonne and the UJA Federation of Northern New Jersey, which serves North Hudson County. The non-Federated United Jewish Appeal of Jersey City also serves the community.

In the early 2000s, the Jewish population of Hudson County numbered approximately 11,800. There are approximately 6,000 Jews in Jersey City; an estimated 1,600 in Bayonne; approximately 1,400 in Hoboken; and an estimated 2,800 in North Hudson County.

[Mort Cornin / Alan J. Grossman (2nd ed.)]

HUEBSCH, ADOLPH (1830–1884), rabbi and Orientalist. Huebsch was born in the Hungarian town of Lipto-Szentmiklos. Upon receiving his rabbinical diploma in 1854, he became rabbi of the small Orthodox congregation of Miawa. In 1857

he went to the University of Prague to study philosophy, receiving his doctoral degree in 1861, the same year that he accepted the rabbinate of the Neu-Synagogue in Prague. In 1866 Huebsch was invited to become head of Congregation Ahawath Chesed in New York, where he served for the remainder of his life. His interest in liturgy led him to introduce a moderate reformed ritual and to compose a new prayer book, later adopted by many other congregations. As a scholar, Huebsch's main work was his edition of the Syriac Peshitta on the Five Scrolls, *Ḥamesh Megillot im Targum Suri* (1866), translated as *Fuenf Megilloth nebst dem Syrischen Thargum* (1866). He also published a collection of his sermons, *Dein Licht und deine Wahrheit* (1868), and a book of Arabic aphorisms, *Gems of the Orient* (1887).

His son, BEN W. HUEBSCH (1875?–1964), U.S. publisher and editor, began his career as a printer and went on to build his own publishing house, B.W. Huebsch Co., which merged in 1925 with Viking Press, of which he became vice president and editor in chief. An ardent anti-militarist, Huebsch was executive of the American Neutral Conference during World War I and published a radical weekly, *The Freeman*, during 1920–24. He was an original national committee member of the American Civil Liberties Union upon its foundation in 1920 and served as its national treasurer for many years. In later years he was appointed United States representative to the United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I.M. Wise, in: J. Huebsch (ed.), *Rev. Dr. Adolph Huebsch* (1885), i–xiii.

HUESCA (Osca), city in Aragon, N.E. Spain. It had one of the most important Jewish communities in the kingdom. With Saragossa and Calatayud, they were the three major Jewish communities in the Kingdom of Aragon. The correspondence has been preserved of a learned and wealthy Jew of Huesca, Basaam b. Simeon, with an Arabic author of Umayyad origin, dating from the last generation of Muslim rule in the city. At this time Jews in Huesca engaged in agriculture and owned fields and vineyards. Many also were craftsmen and traders, especially cloth and silk merchants.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

This remained the position after the Christian reconquest in 1096. From the Christian conquest onwards, we have a great abundance of sources on the Jews of Huesca. The Jewish quarter in the Christian period, as in Muslim times, was situated in the southwestern section of the town; its center was the present Plazuela de la Judería. The location of the Church of St. Cyprian in the vicinity gave rise to conflicts between Jews and Christians, since the latter would shorten their way to church by passing through the Jewish quarter. James I authorized the Jews of the town to close their quarter during Easter from Holy Thursday until the following Saturday morning. The three synagogues in the quarter, the Great, Middle, and Little Synagogues, existed until the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. At the beginning of the 14th century the Jews of Huesca were occupying 108 houses, and the Moors 69 houses. This means that the number of Jews in Huesca was between 550 and 700. The community's cemetery is first mentioned in 1156. After the expulsion, the name of the quarter was changed to *Barrio Nuevo*, as happened with other Jewish quarters.

In 1106 an important member of the community, Moshe ha-Sefaradi, a famous scholar and scientist, decided to become baptized and assume the name Pedro Alfonso. During the 12th and 13th centuries the Jews of Huesca engaged in trade, moneylending, and crafts. In 1134 King Ramiro II of Aragon granted Huesca, among other privileges, the right to acquire real property which had been owned by Jews or Muslims. In about 1170 Esteban, the governor of Huesca, concluded an agreement with several Jews on the construction of shops in the city. Jewish contractors from Huesca were commissioned by the governor of Barbastro to build shops there. In 1190 there was an important Jewish settlement in the commercial center on land owned by the Monastery of Sigena. Some of the Jews who lived there played a leading role in the public and economic life of the city and also moved in court circles, among them Eleazar, the *repositarius* ("treasurer") of the king, and Joseph the physician, probably in the service of Queen Sancha.

The history of Huesca Jewry is typical of a large Jewish community in Aragon. In 1207, Pedro II granted the community a privilege stipulating that none of its members could be imprisoned for debts whether owed to the king, the city authorities, the *merino* ("royal officer"), the judge, or any other person. It was also forbidden to distrain on Jews on the Sabbath or on festivals. The king authorized the community to impose bans, seizures, and other methods of enforcement on any person who tried to evade paying taxes. It was also stipulated that, in cases where the death penalty was carried out, the community would pay 1,000 sólidos to the crown treasury. The community of Huesca took part in the controversy over *Maimonides' writings. In 1279, Pedro III ordered the Jews of Huesca to attend the conversionary sermons given by the Dominicans.

The situation of the Huesca community declined during the 14th century. The *Pastoureaux disorders of 1320 severely affected Huesca, and Alfonso, the son of James II, ordered 40 of the rioters to be hanged in the city. The community, however, apparently recovered from the damage since by 1327 it paid an annual tax of 6,126 sólidos. The communal regulations of 1340 indicate that there were 300 men from the age of 15 upward, and it can be assumed that the community then numbered up to 1,500 persons. During the riots at the time of the *Black Death (1349), the Jews of Huesca fortified themselves within their quarter and were thus saved. Nevertheless, from this period began the decline of the community. The community's difficulties increased in 1376, and it had to mortgage the Torah crowns to pay its debts to the king. In 1377, several of the community's notables were accused of having stolen a

*Host. Some of those arrested were tortured and burnt at the stake; the others were tried by the governor of Saragossa and eventually set free.

In 1390, John I granted the Jews of the city a privilege empowering the leaders of the community to judge slanderers and informers at their own discretion. During the persecutions of 1391 one of the grandees of the kingdom, Don Lope de Gurrea, was ordered to go to Huesca to protect its Jewish inhabitants. The community slowly recovered after the disorders. In 1394, John I prohibited Jews from leaving Huesca before they had settled their debts to the community. After the Disputation of *Tortosa, oppressive measures against the community increased. The royal officials compelled the Jews of the city to leave their homes and settle in places so distant from their quarter that they could not earn their livelihood.

In 1414, the infante Alfonso intervened on their behalf and ordered that the status of the Jews should remain unchanged. A municipal order of 1449 prohibited the Jews of Huesca from grazing more than 100 sheep on the pastures belonging to the city, for the use of which a special tax was to be paid to the municipal council.

From 1440 until almost the Expulsion, a period of cultural efflorescence prevailed in Huesca. Its greatest figure was Abraham *Bibago (Bivach).

In 1465 a number of *Conversos who had arrived in Huesca from Castile were received back into Judaism by the community. About 25 years later, many of those who had been present at the ceremony were tried by the Inquisition. The initiators of the affair had been Abraham b. Shem Tov *Bibago (Bivach), author of *Derekh Emunah*, and Abraham *Almosnino, who was burned at the stake together with Isaac *Cocumbriel. Another trial held by the Inquisition during the 1480s concerning events of the 1460s was that of the community's beadle Abraham Alitiens, who had sent away his son Eliezer, a young physician who had also qualified as rabbi, to prevent him from being baptized. The father was finally martyred, along with so many other Jews of his generation.

One of the most complete descriptions of the implementation of the decree of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain (March 1492) has come down from Huesca. Special commissioners, among them the city magistrate and the judge of the Hermandad, were appointed to supervise the expulsion. On May 1, 1492, they began to register the properties of the Jews and to confiscate their gold and silver which the decree of expulsion prohibited them from taking out of the country. Numerous waivers of outstanding debts were registered with the city notaries. The community council met on July 23 and authorized its administrative officers to liquidate the debts of the community and proceed with the sale of its property. Guards were posted in the Jewish quarter to prevent Jews from selling their property without the authorization of the commissioners. Several Jews were imprisoned for debt. On the day of the expulsion, the Jews left Huesca by the road to the west, accompanied by the head of the municipal council, Pedro Cavero.

Organization of the Community

The information that has been preserved about the organization of the Huesca community is especially important for understanding the structure of the Jewish communities in the Crown of Aragon in general, and in the Kingdom of Aragon in particular. At the beginning of the 14th century, the community appointed a council, *Eẓa* in Hebrew, of 18 elders whose number was reduced to 12 in 1324. The community was headed by *muqaddimūn* ("administrative officers") or *adelantados* in Romance, who were also invested with judicial authority. The communal taxes were levied according to a system of assessments, the tax assessors being appointed every two years. Those whose assets amounted to less than 50 sólidos, and "those who study by day and night and have no other profession" (tax regulations of 1340), as well as the teachers and the synagogue beadles, were exempted from paying tax. A complicated proportionate system was established to assess the tax, which was levied on houses, gardens, fields, vineyards, loans, commercial deposits, mortgaged lands, rented houses and shops, transactions in real estate, textiles, grain, foodstuffs, gold and silver, furs, and other commodities. Taxes were also collected on the daily earnings of craftsmen. Loans to communities, servants, and scholars, as well as the sums specified in engagement contracts and wills, were exempted from tax.

In 1374, the community of Huesca adopted, with certain changes, the communal organization of *Barcelona. Among other regulations, it was decided that 12 arbitrators would appoint two *muqaddimūn* and two bookkeepers. In 1391, John I confirmed additional regulations. At the end of the 13th century 160 members of the Huesca community took part in the elections for a cantor in the Great Synagogue of Huesca (resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 300). The community of Huesca also had a burial society, run on the lines of a charitable society, whose regulations were confirmed by Pedro I in 1374 and re-endorsed by John I in 1391.

Nothing has remained of the *judería* (the Jewish quarter) of Huesca. From the sources we know exactly where it was located. The neighborhood is known, as usual, as Barrio Nuevo. The quarter was surrounded by a wall and had four gates and was located in the area where the current San Jorge, Loreto and Amistad streets are found. San Jorge street was originally the *carrera Mayor* which was divided by the *alcaiceria,* the bazaar. In Huesca there were three synagogues. In the *Sinagoga Mayor* meetings of the community took place. Together with the *Sinagoga Menor*, it used to be on San Jorge street. We do not know the location of the third synagogue, the *Sinagoga Mediana.* The community had its own *hospital* catering to the poor and visitors.

[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Urkunden, index; Baer, Spain, index; R. del Arco, in: *Sefarad*, 7 (1947), 271–301; R. del Arco and F. Balaguer, *ibid.*, 9 (1949), 351–92; R. del Arco, in: *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón*, 4 (1951), 320–409; F. Cantera, *Sinagogas Españolas* (1955), 229ff.; J. Caberzudo Astrain, in: *Sefarad*, 23 (1963), 265–84; Ashtor, Korot, 2 (1966), 169–73; idem in: *Zion*, 28 (1963), 45–46. **ADD.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Balaguer, in: *Cuadernos de historia,* 12–13 (1961), 115–27; idem, in: *Sefarad,* 45 (1985), 341–51; D. Romano, in: *Sefarad,* 40 (1980), 255–81; A. Naval Más, in: *Sefarad,* 40 (1980), 77–97; A. Durán Gudiol, *La judería de Huesca,* (1984); M.B. Basáñez Villaluenga, *La aljama sarracena de Huesca en el siglo XIV* (1989), 77–78 and also documents.

HUETE (**Huepte**), town in Castile, central Spain, situated between Cuenca and Guadalajara. There was a prosperous Jewish community there during the 13th century. In 1307 Ferdinand IV confirmed that the queen mother and other dignitaries could continue to receive the revenues they derived from the Jewish quarter of Huete. The Jews of Huete were attacked in 1391, but we have no information about the extent of the losses and damages the Jews there suffered. From that time, however, there was a *Converso group in Huete. The communal tax regulations, established in 1437 by John II, were confirmed in 1476 by Ferdinand and Isabella, who also ratified the Huete community's charter of privileges. In the second half of the 15th century there were in Huete 150 Jewish families, numbering about 750 Jews. When the decree of expulsion of the Jews from Spain was issued in March 1492, the Jews of Huete demonstrated and claimed that they had been given four years to leave the kingdom. Ferdinand and Isabella ordered that measures should be taken to punish them (May 12, 1492).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.J. Amor Calzas, *Curiosidades históricas de Huete* (1909), 13, 30, 85f.; Piles Ros, in: *Sefarad*, 7 (1947), 356; Suárez Fernández, Documentos, index; Leon Tello, in: *Instituto Tello Téllez de Meneses*, 25 (1966), 21. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** C. Carrete Parrondo, in: *Sefarad,* 36 (1976), 121–40; idem, in: *American Sephardi,* 9 (1978), 15–21; idem, in: *Anuario de estudios medievales,* 12 (1982), 411–19; J. Blázquez Miguel, *Huete y su tierra; un enclave inquisitorial conquense,* (1987) [On crypto-Jews, see pp. 42–63].

[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

HUGHES, SARAH ELIZABETH (1985–), U.S. figure skater; Olympic gold medal winner. Hughes was born in Manhasset, N.Y., the fourth of six children, and grew up in Great Neck, N.Y., where she was an honor student at Great Neck North High School. Her father, John, was the captain of the Cornell hockey team that won the national collegiate championship in 1970. Hughes' mother is Jewish, although the family does not formally practice religion. Hughes began skating at age three, and came to prominence in 1998 when she won the U.S. Junior Figure Skating Championships, one of three skaters to capture the Junior before the age of 13, and then finished second in the 1998 Junior World Championships. The next year she qualified for the World Championships, finishing seventh, the highest-placing 13-year-old in modern figure skating history. Hughes won a bronze at the 2000 U.S. Nationals, bronze at the 2001 Grand Prix Finals, silver at the 2001 U.S. Nationals, bronze at the 2001 World Championship, bronze at the 2002 Grand Prix Finals, and bronze at the 2002 U.S. Nationals. She then won the gold at the Salt Lake City Olympics with a near-perfect final skate featuring seven triple jumps, including two triple-triple combinations, an unprecedented feat for a female skater at the time. She was 16, the fourth-youngest Olympic woman figure skating champion of all time, and the first Jew to capture the gold medal in figure skating. Indeed, three of the top four women in the Olympic figure skating competition had at least one Jewish parent. The following year, Hughes won another silver at the 2003 U.S. Nationals. Her younger sister Emily is also a skater, and was a bronze medallist at the 2005 women's International Skating Union World Junior Figure Skating Championships.

Hughes also won a variety of awards and honors, including the 2002 Sullivan Award Winner, 2002 Presidential Award for Academic Excellence, 2002 USOC Sportswoman of the Year, March of Dimes 2002 Sportswoman of the Year, and Woman's Sports Foundation 2002 Sportswoman of the Year.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

°**HUGH OF LINCOLN** (c. 1246–1255), alleged victim of ritual murder. His body was found in a well in the Jewish quarter of *Lincoln by his mother, about Passover time 1255, near the house of a Jew named Copin. Under torture, Copin stated that he had killed the child for the fulfillment of the Jewish paschal rites. Henry III went to Lincoln to take charge of the proceedings. Copin was barbarously executed and some 90 Jews, including R. *Benedict of Lincoln (Berechiah of Nicole), were tried in London. Eighteen of them were put to death and the others pardoned through the influence of the king's brother, Richard of Cornwall. The child Hugh came to be regarded as a saint, and it was said that miracles were performed by his corpse which was buried under a magnificent tomb in the cathedral. His birthday (August 27) was celebrated, though with diminishing importance, until the Reformation; the story is reverently mentioned by *Chaucer in *The Prioress's Tale*, and the alleged martyrdom was commemorated in many English and French ballads. The beatification was informal, however, and was not recognized officially by the Roman Catholic Church. For centuries a shrine to Hugh of Lincoln existed at Lincoln Cathedral. In 1955 this was replaced by a plaque declaring the story of his ritual murder to be "fiction." Little St. Hugh is to be distinguished from ST. HUGH OF LINCOLN, i.e., Hugh of Avalon, bishop of Lincoln 1186–1200, who was officially canonized in 1220. His treatment of the Jews was kindly, and Jews are stated, together with the rest of the population, to have mourned his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jacobs, in: JHSET, 1 (1893–94), 89–135; idem, *Jewish Ideals and Other Essays* (1896); J.W.F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (1948), 224–32; A. Hume, *Sir Hugh of Lincoln* (1849); F. Michel, *Hugues de Lincoln* (1834); Roth, England³, 56–57. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online.

[Cecil Roth]

HUGÓ, KÁROLY (**Philip Bernstein**; 1806–1877), playwright. A physician turned writer and a convert to Christianity, Hugó was active during the 1830 Polish revolt and in Paris during the 1848 revolution. He is remembered for his German *Psalmen eines armen Poeten* (1845) and for his outstanding social drama, *Bankár és báró* ("Banker and Baron," 1847).

ḤUKKAT HA-GOI (Heb. חֻקַּת הַגּוֹי; "law or custom of the gentiles"), term designating heathen customs of idolatrous (or superstitious) origin that Jews are forbidden to emulate. The source for this prohibition is the biblical commandment "ye shall not walk in the customs of the nation" (Lev. 20:23 and 18:3; see also Ezek. 5:7 and 11:12), the purpose of which was to prevent the Israelites from being "ensnared to follow them" (Deut. 12:30). In talmudic literature the term *darkhei ha-Emori* ("the customs of the Amorites") is also used. It covers all heathen, superstitious, and idolatrous practices of the gentiles at that time.

In general, the *halakhah* discerns three categories of *ḥukkat ha-goi*: (a) customs that are closely connected with idolatry or that form part of a non-Jewish religious ritual. These must not be followed and even gentile dress associated with religious practice is strictly forbidden; "martyrdom should be accepted rather than change even the style of a shoelace" (Sanh. 74a–b); (b) laws and customs of gentiles which do not have any direct connection with religious worship. These, as they are a matter of general mores or civil legislation, are allowed: e.g., the execution of criminals by sword, or the burning of incense at the funeral of kings (Sanh. 52b); (c) gentile folk customs deriving from superstitious beliefs. These should not be followed, but opinions differ as to where to draw the line. Most rabbinical authorities agree that even such gentile customs as are characterized by vanity and foolishness do not automatically fall in the category of *ḥukkat ha-goi*, but only those customs which are conducive to unchastity and lewdness. During the Middle Ages, the tendency of the Jewish minority to distinguish between their own habits of dress and those of their neighbors contributed toward their survival and their self-assertion. The imitation of gentile garb and of their innovations in fashions was regarded as *ḥukkat ha-goi*. Jews who had to deal with government authorities were, however, permitted to wear "gentile clothes," and so were physicians and artisans, according to the rules of their craft guilds (Joseph Colon, quoted in *Sifrei ha-Kohen* to Sh. Ar., YD 178:1).

The Jewish garb worn in Eastern Europe became an emblem of allegiance to traditional Judaism. The efforts of the Russian rulers (decrees of 1804, 1835, 1845) to compel Jews to dress in "German clothes" were considered as attempts to Christianize them, and Orthodox Jews regarded the wearing of "modern dress" as prohibited by *ḥukkat ha-goi*. The preservation of the Jewish dress was one of the struggles between the Ḥasidim and *Mitnaggedim* in Eastern Europe. Likewise, the many changes in Jewish ritual and ceremonies that *Reform Judaism inaugurated such as *organ music, worship without covering of the head, etc., were declared forbidden according to *ḥukkat ha-goi* by opponents of Reform (e.g., D.Z. Hoffmann, responsa *Melammed le-Ho'il*, 1 (1926), no. 16). In modern times, with the exception of some radical Orthodox circles, traditional Jews have adopted a more lenient approach to *ḥukkat ha-goi*, based on the talmudic maxim which forbids only the emulation of immoral and superstitious customs of gentiles, but allows the imitation of those gentile ways of life which promote the welfare of society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maim. Yad, Akkum, 11:1–3; 12:1; Sh. Ar., YD 178; Eisenstein, Dinim, s.v.

[Meir Ydit]

HUKOK (Heb. חֻקֹּק, חוּקֹּק), city in the territory of Naphtali. The Bible locates it between Aznoth-Tabor and Naphtali's border with Zebulun on the south (Josh. 19:34) – a location which refutes its generally accepted identification with the abandoned Arab village of Yāqūq, 5½ mi. (9 km.) south of Safed. At Yāqūq B. Ravani excavated four rock-cut burial caves and two small rock-cut tombs in 1956. Ossuaries, lamps, pottery, and glass vessels found there indicate that the tombs date from the second half of the first century C.E. and were reused from the second to the fourth centuries. In the time of Resh Lakish a settlement called Ḥikok was known near Tiberias (TJ, Shev. 9:1, 38c); it may be identical with Hukok since remains of an ancient synagogue were visible there. A levitical city is also called Hukok (I Chron. 6:60) but in the parallel list it is replaced by Helkath, which is apparently the correct version (Josh. 21:31). In the Middle Ages Hukok was considered the site of the tomb of the prophet Habakkuk, apparently because of the similarity of the names. A kibbutz called Ḥukok was founded near the abandoned village of Yāqūq in 1945. It is affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad and has developed hill farming. It also operated 72 guest rooms and a spa. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 310, dropping to 265 in 2002. The Hukok fortress is located nearby.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ben-Zvi, in: BJPES, 6 (1939), 30ff.; M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua* (1938), 92; Ravani and Kahane, in: *Atiqot*, 3 (1961), 121ff.; Y. Aharoni, *Hitnaḥalut Shivtei Yisrael ba-Galil ha-Elyon* (1957), 79ff.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ḤULATAH (Heb. חוּלָתָה), kibbutz in the Ḥuleh Valley, Israel, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, founded in 1936 after the Ḥuleh Concession (Ḥuleh Valley) was acquired by Jewish bodies. The founders were Israel-born youth of Ha-No'ar ha-Oved movement and *Youth Aliyah graduates from Germany. In the initial years they developed fishing in Lake Ḥuleh and investigated its fauna and flora. At the time, they suffered from still-rampant malaria and from Arab attacks. After drainage of the lake and the swamps, Ḥulatah engaged in farming, but its economic mainstay became a shoe factory and retail outlets. In 2002 its population was 396. The name of the kibbutz derives from the Aramaic name of the Valley.

WEBSITE: www.maga.co.il/yeshuvim/holata/fhol.htm.

[Efraim Orni]

HULDAH (Heb. חֻלְדָּה; "weasel"), wife of Shallum son of Tikvah, the "wardrobe keeper" of the king; one of the five women in the Bible referred to as *nevi'ah*, "female prophet") and the only woman prophet in the book of Kings (II Kings 22:14–20). She was consulted by *Josiah when he sent to "inquire of the

Lord" concerning the Book of the Law discovered during the restoration of the Temple. She prophesied God's ultimate judgment upon the nation. However, this judgment was to be postponed until after Josiah's peaceful death because of the king's acts of repentance. Inasmuch as Josiah's death was not peaceful hers may be a genuine predictive prophecy. Most of her prophecy is molded by the authors of the Book of Kings in Deuteronomistic style. It is of interest that women prophets are well-attested in roughly contemporary Neo-Assyrian sources.

[Tikva S. Frymer / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

She was one of the seven prophetesses (by rabbinic count) mentioned by name in the Bible. After Josiah found the copy of the Torah in the Temple, he consulted Huldah rather than Jeremiah, because he felt that a woman would be more compassionate and more likely to intercede with God on his behalf (Meg. 14b). Since Jeremiah was a kinsman of the prophetess, both being descended from Joshua and Rahab, the king felt no apprehension that the prophet would resent his preference for Huldah (*ibid.*). While Jeremiah admonished and preached repentance to the men she did likewise to the women (PR 26:129). In addition to being a prophetess, Huldah also conducted an academy in Jerusalem (Targ., II Kings 22:14). The "Gate of Huldah" in the Temple (Mid. 1:3) was formerly the gate leading to Huldah's schoolhouse (Rashi, II Kings 22:14). Huldah's husband Shallum, the son of Tikvah, was a man of noble descent and compassionate. Daily he would go beyond the city limits carrying a pitcher of water from which he gave every traveler a drink, and it was as a reward for his good deeds that his wife became a prophetess. Huldah's unattractive name which means "weasel" is ascribed to her arrogance when she referred to Josiah as "the man" (II Kings 22:15) and not as king.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ginzberg, Legends, index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (1988), 295; S. Parpola, *Assyrian Prophecies* (State Archives of Assyria vol. ix; 1997), xiviii-lii.

ḤULDAH (Heb. חֻלְדָּה), kibbutz in the Judean foothills, 7½ mi. (12 km.) S.E. of Reḥovot, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. It was established in 1909 on one of the first plots of land acquired by the Jewish National Fund (1907). Initially Ḥuldah was an agricultural training farm. A section of the olive tree forest planted in Herzl's memory was situated here and a closed courtyard and administrative building (Herzl House) were erected. During World War I, the olive groves did not thrive, owing to lack of care, and after the war the first experiment in afforestation with coniferous trees was carried out here. The isolated settlement was attacked in the Arab riots of 1929; its 24 defenders held out against overwhelming odds, although their commander Ephraim Chizhik fell in the battle. (A statue erected in 1929 in the Herzl Forest by Batya Lishansky commemorates Chizhik and the heroic defense of Ḥuldah.) The British Mandate police immediately evacuated the defenders, but the site was resettled in 1930 by members of the *Gordonia youth movement. The site of the kibbutz was transferred somewhat to the west. Farm branches were developed; economic progress was slow at first due to the scarcity of water, but the situation improved after the *War of Independence (1948), in which Ḥuldah served as a headquarters for the Israel forces opening the Jerusalem Corridor from the west. Ḥuldah is a historical name, first appearing in a Christian place names list dating from the sixth century. In the mid-1990s, the population of the kibbutz was approximately 365, dropping to 312 in 2002. The kibbutz was the home of the Barkan winery, owned by private investors who purchased 40 dunams of land from the kibbutz for their winery and visitors center.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ḤULEH (Heb. חוּלָה), a valley and a former lake in N.E. Israel (see Physiography of the Land of *Israel, Rift Valley). Early Stone Age remains have been discovered in the Ḥuleh Valley, near the Benot Ya'akov Bridge. They include flint tools, iron hand-axes, flint flakes, etc., found together with bones of a Pleistocene elephant. In the Canaanite period, three cities near the Ḥuleh are mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts (late third millennium): Ijon, Abel, and Laish. Egyptian armies on expeditions to the Lebanon Valley passed through the Ḥuleh, and the cities of Abel, Laish, Ijon, and Kedesh, northwest of the Ḥuleh, also appear in the lists of cities conquered by Egyptian kings of the 18th Dynasty. During the period of the Israelite conquest, the Israelites achieved control of the Ḥuleh Valley after their capture of Hazor. The northern part of the valley, however, remained in the possession of the rulers of Beth-Rehob and Maacah until the tribe of Dan, retreating from Philistine pressure, conquered and settled Laish (Tell al-Qāḍī) renaming it Dan (Judg. 18). With the division of the monarchy, the Ḥuleh Valley was included in the kingdom of Israel. It was the scene of numerous clashes between the kings of Israel and Aram (I Kings 15:20) and was taken from Israel by the Assyrian Tiglath-Pileser III in his campaign in 733/2 B.C.E. Under Persian rule the valley was held by Tyre until the Hellenistic city Paneas was founded nearby in the time of the Ptolemies. The valley then received the Greek name Oulatha (Ḥulata) but the lake retained its early name of Yam Samcho (Gr. Semachonitis) which apparently already appears in Ugaritic documents. A decisive battle between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids took place near Paneas (200 B.C.E.) and after the victory of Antiochus III, the city of Antiochus was founded at Dan and the whole region renamed "Valley of Antiochus." This district was conquered by Alexander Yannai and incorporated into the Jewish kingdom (Jos., Ant., 13:394; 17:24; Wars, 1:105). Although it was restored to the Itureans by Pompey, Augustus granted it to Herod in 20 B.C.E. (Ant., 15:359–60; Wars, 1:400) and it remained a possession of his heirs until the death of Agrippa II (end of the first century C.E.). At that time Jewish settlement was renewed there; its

rice production is mentioned in the Talmud (TJ, Dem. 2:1, 22b). Lake Samcho was considered one of the seven lakes surrounding Ereẓ Israel. The Ḥuleh area subsequently belonged to the city of Caesarea Philippi (formerly Paneas) up to the time of the Arab conquest. Early Arab writers (e.g., al-Muqaddasī, 985 C.E.) praise the cotton grown in the Ḥuleh Valley and its mat industry. The valley still contained many villages in the 14th century. The lake was called Lake Malḥa by the crusaders after one of the springs in its vicinity. The erroneous identification of Lake Ḥuleh with the waters of Merom first appears in the crusader period. The Ḥuleh Valley also flourished after this period; Yāqūt (13th century) found it comparable to Iraq in its rice production and numerous villages. The valley however subsequently deteriorated through neglect and malaria. First Jewish settlements were founded in the Ḥuleh Valley and on its outskirts with the beginning of the Zionist enterprise (*Yesud ha-Ma'alah, *Mishmar ha-Yarden, *Maḥanayim). During World War I *Ayyelet ha-Shaḥar and *Kefar Giladi were added. After the acquisition of the Ḥuleh Concession, planned settlement was started in 1939 with the "Ussishkin strongholds," *Dafnah, *Dan, and *She'ar Yashuv, followed by settlements nearer the swamps (*Amir, *Kefar Blum, etc.).

For the history of the reclamation of the marshlands, see *Ḥuleh Valley.

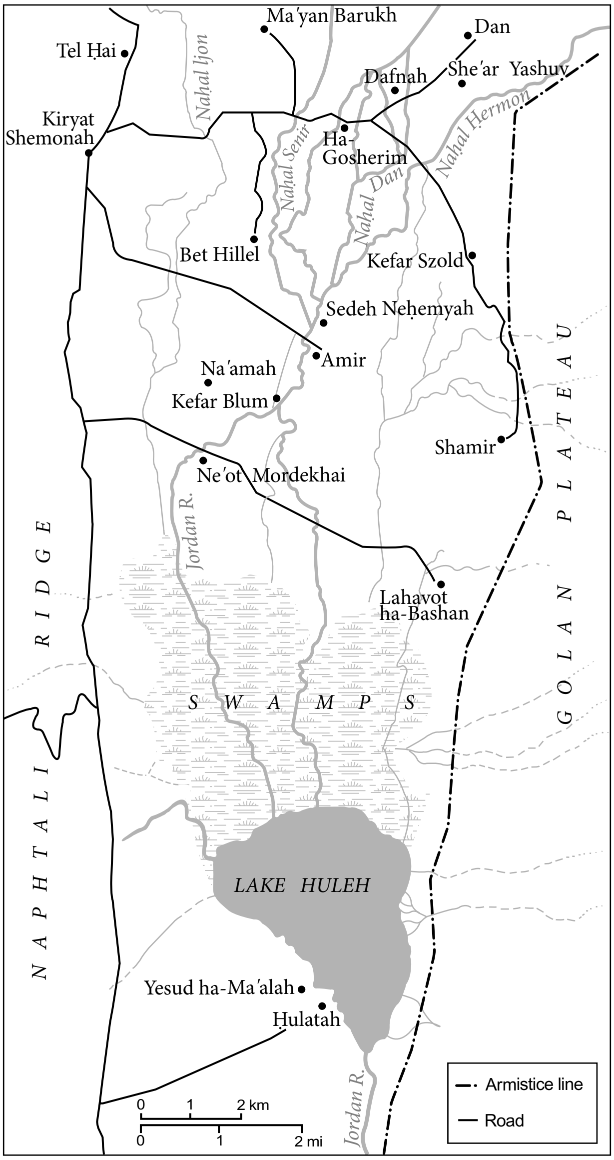
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Karmon, *The Northern Huleh Valley: Its Natural and Cultural Landscape* (1956); idem, in: IEJ, 3 (1953), 4ff. (includes bibliography); Avi-Yonah, Geog, index; E. Orni and E. Efrat, *Geography of Israel*, 1 (1964), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Avi-Yonah et al., *The Huleh and the Upper Jordan Region* (1954); M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 1 (1974), 289; Y. Tsafrir, L. Di Segni, and J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani. Iudaea – Palaestina. Maps and Gazetteer.* (1994), 226, s.v. Semachonitis Lacus.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

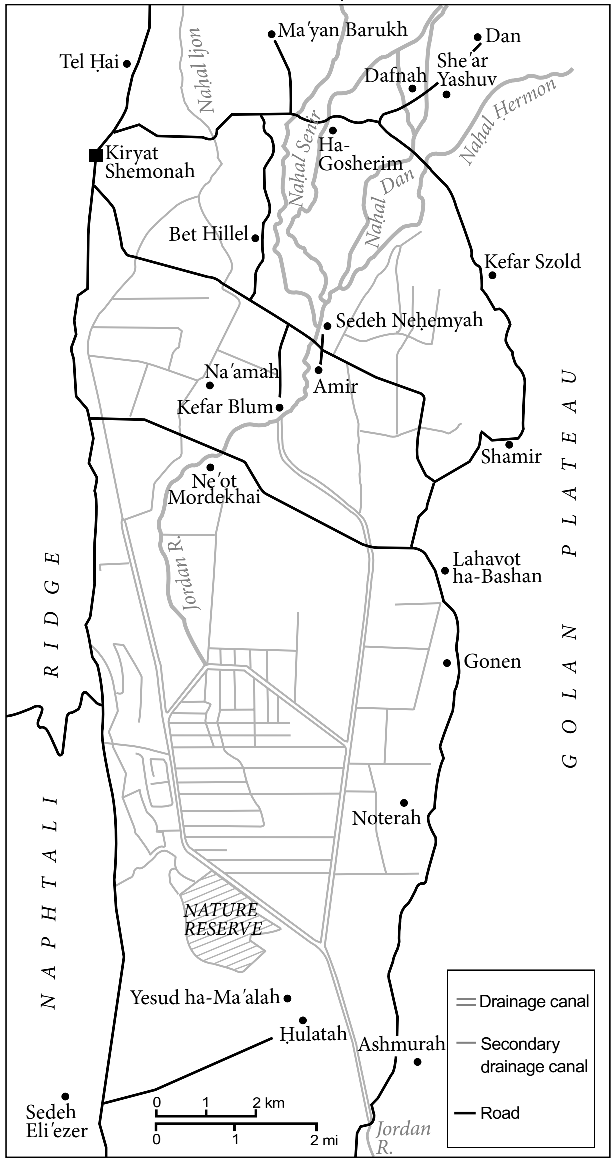
ḤULEH VALLEY, region in upper eastern Galilee; a section of the Syrian-East African Rift, at least since the Tertiary period, hemmed in on three sides by steep hill and mountain slopes: viz., the Naftali Ridge of Galilee in the west, the Hermon Massif in the north, and the Golan Plateau in the east. In the Quaternary, volcanic lava consolidated into the Rosh Pinnah Sill in the south, sealing the valley's only water outlet and transforming it into a closed basin. Alternating peat and chalk layers found in the former swamp area give evidence that the outlet was plugged by a basalt barrier at least twice. As a result, the shallow Lake Ḥuleh was formed by waters stagnating in front of the sill. The country's climate of dry summers and rainy winters, along with the drainage of great quantities of water toward the Ḥuleh Valley from the west, north, and east, explains the formation of the Ḥuleh swamps stretching north and northwest of the lake. However, after the last blocking of the outlet, the lake and swamps slowly contracted, as the water, eroding the lowest spot in the southern sill, deepened and widened the outlet anew. While historians assume that permanent and seasonal water bodies covered considerable parts of the Ḥuleh Valley even in the Roman and Byzantine periods, leaving only its circumference for human habitation, the lake covered, in the 1940s, 5 sq. mi. (14 sq. km.) and the swamps about a sixth of the valley's 68 sq. mi. (177 sq. km.). Seasonal inundations and waterlogging, however, affected the soils of a far larger area, permitting regular farming only on a fraction of the valley's total expanse. Malarial conditions from the swamps affected the Arab villages in the valley, which had, as a result, the highest mortality rate and the lowest living standard in Ereẓ Israel at the end of the 19th century.

It was clear that the deepening and widening of the southern Jordan outlet would constitute a decisive step toward reclamation of the lake and swamp areas. The Turkish government which had declared the lake and swamps *jiftlik* (i.e., crown, and since the Young Turkish revolution in 1908, government property) was interested in enlarging the cultivable area there in order to increase its income from leasehold fees and taxes. At the end of the 19th century, the *Gesher Benot Ya'akov (Benot Ya'akov bridge) was lengthened by an additional span to permit a freer flow of water from the lake. This resulted in a certain shrinkage of the swamp. Shortly before World War I, a concession for draining the Ḥuleh swamps was granted to two Beirut merchants. These rights were upheld under the British Mandate, although the merchants did not undertake the drainage. In 1934, the Palestine Land Development Corporation (PLDC) acquired the Ḥuleh Concession which comprised 21 sq. mi. (56 sq. km.). However, to make the project efficient, drainage operations had to be extended beyond the Concession boundary to the north and south. To this end the Jewish National Fund made efforts to acquire additional land in the Ḥuleh Valley in the ensuing years, and new settlements were established there. The drainage project was undertaken by the JNF only in 1951, in the State of Israel, and concluded in 1958. The Construction Aggregate Company of Chicago contributed to its technical execution. The project consisted of three stages: (a) straightening and deepening the Jordan course between the lake outlet and a point south of the Benot Ya'akov Bridge; (b) digging three main canals through the Ḥuleh Valley – two, from north to south, to replace the natural river beds (whose level, higher than the adjacent fields, aggravated the danger of inundation by winter floods), and a third canal connecting the north-south canals, to isolate the peat area from its northern side and prevent the danger of underground peat conflagrations; and (c) constructing a network of secondary drainage canals and irrigation installations. The Syrians interfered with the execution of the project by repeatedly opening fire on work crews along the Jordan course and by obtaining from the UN a stipulation that the dredged earth and stone be deposited on the western river bank only (although the eastern bank was Israel territory as well).

The project's effectiveness can be summed up as follows: Over 20,000 acres (8,000 ha.) of highly fertile land were reclaimed for intensive cultivation, with additional expanses ameliorated through lowering of the water table; large amounts of water, formerly lost from the lake and swamp surfaces through evaporation and evapotranspiration by the swamp



Map 1. The Ḥuleh Valley in 1950, before the draining of the lake and swamps.



Map 2. The Ḥuleh Valley in 1970, after drainage.

vegetation, were made available for local irrigation, and added to the supply entering the National Water Carrier in Lake Kinneret, and the menace of malaria was finally eliminated.

Of the reclaimed land, about 15,000 acres (6,000 ha.) were allocated to Ḥuleh Valley kibbutzim, moshavim, and to villages on the surrounding hill slopes and in mountainous Upper Galilee, to consolidate their economic foundations, while 5,000 acres (2,000 ha.), mostly peat soil, were taken under cultivation by the Ḥuleh Valley Authority, a company set up by the Ministry of Agriculture, with the participation of the *Jewish Agency and the JNF. The crops grown on this land – wheat, cotton, groundnuts, corn, alfalfa and other fodder plants, flowers and bulbs, vegetables, and deciduous fruit – afforded record yields. The Ḥuleh Valley Authority took over the task of experimenting in peat soil cultivation and of providing employment to laborers, mainly from nearby *Kiryat Shemonah. It encountered grave problems, e.g., subsidence in the fields' level after the water was drained from the spongy peat; salination of the soil caused by underground irrigation from deep ditches, which brought salt-saturated water to the surface through capillary action. The Authority thus incurred considerable losses. When Kiryat Shemonah's employment situation improved, manual labor could be reduced through an increase of mechanization. In 1970, the Authority was dissolved and the lands were earmarked for allocation to settlements of the Ḥuleh Valley and Upper Galilee. An area of approximately 750 acres (300 ha.) was set aside near Yesud ha-Ma'alah as the Ḥuleh Nature Reserve, where the former semitropical water flora and fauna are preserved.

[Efraim Orni]

HULL, seaport in N.E. England. According to an absurd 19th-century forgery, David de *Pomis settled here in 1599. A community was organized in the last quarter of the 18th century, a deconsecrated Catholic chapel serving as the first synagogue. In the 19th century, Hull was the principal British port of entry from northern Europe. Large numbers of Jewish immigrants landed there, necessitating the foundation of a second synagogue in 1886 and a third in 1902. Both of the old synagogues had to be rebuilt after having been destroyed in World War II. Numerous charitable organizations also grew up. In 1968 the community was said to number approximately 2,500, and, in the mid-1990s, about 1,120. The 2001 census revealed 670 declared Jews in Hull, which contained an Orthodox and Reform synagogue.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Roth, *Rise of Provincial Jewry* (1950), 70f.; Lehmann, Nova Bibl, index; J. Lewenstein, *Story of the Hull Western Synagogue* (1953); L. Rosen, *Short History of the Jewish Community in Hull* (1956); Finestein, in: *Gates of Zion*, 11 no. 4 (1957), 7–13; JYB (1969). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** I. Finestein, "The Jews in Hull between 1766 and 1830," in: JHSET, 35 (1998), 33–92.

[Cecil Roth]

ḤULLIN (Heb. חֻלִּין; "profane"), a tractate of the order *Kodashim* in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Babylonian Talmud. (There is no Jerusalem Talmud to the whole order of *Kodashim*.) In manuscripts of the Mishnah (Mss. Kaufmann, Cambridge, etc.) and the Tosefta, as well as by the **geonim* and the early authorities, the tractate is called *Sheḥitat Ḥullin* ("the slaughter of 'profane' animals," i.e., for human consumption as distinct from sacrificial purposes) after its first chapters, which deal with the laws of the slaughter of such animals and birds. As its name implies this tractate – in contrast to the other tractates of this order – is almost wholly devoted to the *halakhot* relevant to the eating of meat and to the gifts due to the priests from animals of *ḥullin*. Unlike the other tractates, *Ḥullin* thus deals with matters of practical *halakhah* applying to all Jews at all times, even after the destruction of the Temple. Probably for this reason it was customary in the time of the *geonim* to join it with the order *Mo'ed* (Meiri, *Beit ha-Beḥirah* to *Ḥullin*, introd.).

The tractate comprises 12 chapters whose main contents are as follows: Chapters 1 and 2 deal with the laws of **sheḥitah* and explain, among other things, the five acts of ritual slaughter which render it invalid: *shehiyyah* ("pausing" during the act), *derasah* (pressing the knife with force), *ḥaladah* ("concealing" the knife in the skin or the fleece), *hagramah* (a slanting stroke), and *ikkur* ("tearing" instead of cutting; see Ḥul. 9a and Tos. ad loc.). Chapter 3 enumerates the 18 physical defects which render an animal **terefah*, those which render a bird *terefah*, and those which do not render them unfit for food. The laws of the embryo – whether alive or dead – found inside the slaughtered animal are covered in chapter 4. From chapter 5 until the end of the tractate almost every chapter commences with the uniform wording: "such and such a law is in force within the land [of Israel] and outside it, during the time of the Temple and after it." Chapter 5 deals with the prohibition on slaughtering the dam and its young on the same day (Lev. 22:28), and chapter 6 with the precept of covering the blood of non-domestic beasts (*ḥayyah*) and birds, and with what the covering may or may not be effected (Lev. 17:13). Chapter 7 discusses the law of "the sinew which was dislodged" (the sciatic nerve; Gen. 32:33). The standard opening formula is missing from chapter 8, which deals with laws of the prohibition of eating meat with milk, but it is given in the Tosefta (8:1). The laws of ritually unclean food and the uncleanness of carrion are treated in chapter 9. Mishnah 6 mentions a legendary creature, a mouse that is part flesh and part earth, and the sages discuss which parts of it are unclean. The existence of such a creature, reported from Egypt, was also taken for granted by many early gentile writers (see Maim. Commentary to the Mishnah, and S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (1950) 183f.). Chapter 10 deals with the portions of the slaughtered animal which are the priests' perquisites – the shoulder, the two cheeks and the maw (Deut. 18:3). The 11th chapter treats of the precept of the first of the fleece of the sheep which was also given to the priest (Deut. 18:4). The last chapter deals with the law of letting the dam go from the nest, namely not to take both dam and young from a nest but to release the dam (Deut. 22:6–7). The Mishnah concludes with an aggadic dictum: "If then of so light a precept [letting go the dam] the Torah says 'that it may be well with thee,' and that 'thou mayest prolong the days' [Deut. 22:7], how much more so [shall like reward be given] for [the fulfillment of] the weightier precepts of the Torah."

Many *halakhot* in the Mishnah allude to idolatrous modes of sacrifice and to the injunction against imitating them; e.g., 2:9: "None may slaughter [so that the blood falls] into the sea or into rivers etc." in order not to imitate idolaters. The Babylonian Talmud (41b) explains that the prohibition is because he thus appears to be slaughtering to the prince of the sea (Poseidon). *Mishnayot* 5:3 and 6:2 afford an insight into the method of Judah ha-Nasi in editing the Mishnah and arriving at the *halakhah*. Both cite disputes of *tannaim* on the problem whether *sheḥitah* that should not have been performed (e.g., the slaughtering of an unconsecrated animal within the Temple court) is to be regarded as an act of *sheḥitah*. The first Mishnah states, in the name of the sages, that it is regarded as *sheḥitah*, whereas the second states, in their name, that it is not so regarded. On this Johanan comments (to 85a): "Rabbi [Judah ha-Nasi] approved the words of Meir with regard to the mother and its young [5:3] and taught them as the view of the sages in general, and approved the words of Simeon on the covering of the blood [6:2] and taught those as the view of the sages in general" (but see Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Mishnah*, 275f.). A decision of Judah ha-Nasi in a tannaitic dispute occurs in the Tosefta (Ḥul. 2:5): "If a hen was stolen and he found it slaughtered … Hananiah the son of Yose the Galilean invalidates it, but Judah permits it [cf. Ḥul. 12a where the opinions are reversed]. Said Rabbi [Judah ha-Nasi]: "I approve the words of Hananiah son of Yose the Galilean if it was found

inside the house and those of Judah if it was found in the ash heap." A similar decision is found also in Tosefta *Ḥullin* 8:6 and in accordance with this Judah ha-Nasi stated Mishnah 8:3 as an undisputed ruling.

The Tosefta, which contains ten chapters, complements the Mishnah. It contains, among other things, several traditions of historical importance. For instance (3:10): "Concerning this *ḥalakhah* the inhabitants of Asia [= Ezion-Geber on the shore of the Red Sea] went up to Jabneh, on the third occasion it was permitted to them." It also cites several *halakhot* that reveal an exceptional stringency with regard to association with heretics. In connection with this, it states (2:22) that Eliezer b. Damah, the nephew of Ishmael, was bitten by a snake and Jacob of Kefar Sama came to heal him in the name of "Jesse son of Pantira" (see *Jesus, in the Talmud) and Ishmael did not permit it, as a result of which he died (cf. Av. Zar. 27b).

From the Babylonian Talmud there is evidence that in order to clarify the *halakhah* the sages investigated the anatomy of animals and also performed various experiments on them (see e.g., 59a and 57b). Interwoven in the Babylonian Talmud are aggadic sayings including: When gifts were sent to R. Eleazar from the house of the **nasi* he would not accept them, and when invited to a meal there he did not go. He said to them; "Do you not wish me to live? For Scripture [Prov. 15:27] says: 'He that hateth gifts shall live'" (44b). Reporting that the flax crop of Ḥiyya was attacked by pests, the Talmud inquires, "Does it not say that when Ḥiyya and his sons, who were very pious, came up to Ereẓ Israel, shooting stars, earthquakes, storms, and thunder ceased in Ereẓ Israel because of their merit, neither did the wine turn to vinegar, nor was the flax of the local inhabitants smitten?" To which the reply is given that the merit of the righteous is effective toward others but not toward themselves (86a). Among the maxims found there are: "it is forbiddden to mislead people, even non-Jews" (94a); "those who perform good deeds will come to no harm either on their way to do so or on their return" (142a); "no person bruises his finger on earth unless it be decreed in heaven" (7b). This tractate of the Talmud was translated into English by Eli Cashdan in the Soncino edition (1948).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ḥ. Albeck (ed.) *Shishah Sidrei Mishnah, Seder Kodashim* (1959), 107–14.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

HUMAN DIGNITY AND FREEDOM. These are fundamental values in the world of Judaism and, today in the Jewish State. In 1992, "Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom" was enacted, to anchor rights derived from these values. Section 1 of the Basic Law determines that: "Fundamental human rights in Israel are founded upon recognition of the value of the human being, the sanctity of human life, and the principle that all persons are free; these rights shall be upheld in the spirit of the principles set forth in the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel." Section 1A of the Law states that: "The purpose of this Basic Law is to protect human dignity and freedom, in order to anchor in a Basic Law the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state."

The Law proceeds to describe these fundamental rights. Sections 2 and 4 of this law stipulate that: "There shall be no violation of the life, body or dignity of any person as such" and that "All persons are entitled to protection of their life, body and dignity." According to section 3 of the law, "There shall be no violation of the property of a person"; section 5 states that: "There shall be no deprivation or restriction of the liberty of a person by imprisonment, arrest, extradition or by any other manner"; while section 6 clarifies that "All persons are free to leave Israel" and that "Every Israeli national has the right of entry into Israel from abroad."

Section 7 of the Basic Law stipulates that: "All persons have the right to privacy and intimacy"; "There shall be no entry into the private premises of a person who has not consented thereto"; "No search shall be conducted on the private premises or body of a person, nor in the body or belongings of a person"; and "There shall be no violation of the secrecy of the spoken utterances, writings or records of a person." In 1992, shortly after the enactment of the "Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom," the Knesset enacted the "Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation," which enshrines the basic right of every Israel national or resident "to engage in any occupation, profession or trade" (Section 3). For a detailed discussion of the rights enumerated in the Basic Laws, see *Rights, Human.

These principles existed in the legal system of the State of Israel even before the enactment of the aforesaid Basic Laws, most of them pursuant to case law of the Supreme Court from the time of the State's establishment. The fundamental change that occurred with the enactment of the Basic Laws was to attribute constitutional status to the basic principles contained in these Laws, as opposed to their being based on ordinary legislation or judicial precedent alone.

The practical significance of anchoring the aforesaid fundamental rights in a Basic Law appears in section 8 of the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, the so-called "limitation clause." This states that: "There shall be no violation of rights under this Basic Law except by a law befitting the values of the State of Israel, enacted for a proper purpose, and to an extent no greater than is required or by regulation enacted by virtue of express authorization in such law" (cf. section 4 of the Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation). The Supreme Court ruled that by virtue of this section, a court is entitled to strike down any law that does not comply with the terms of these sections (See HC 6821/93 *United Mizrahi Bank Ltd. v. Migdal Cooperative Village*, PD 49 (4) 221; HC 1715/97 *Office of Investment Managers in Israel v. The Minister of Finance*, PD 51 (4) 367).

It should be noted that there are significant differences between the two aforesaid Basic Laws. Section 10 of the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom states that: "This Basic Law shall not affect the validity of any law in force prior to the commencement of the Basic Law." By contrast, the Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation does not include any such provision and applies even to laws enacted prior to the Basic Law's com-

ing into force, with certain exceptions set out in sections 8 and 10 of this Law. A further significant difference exists in relation to the entrenchment of the two laws. According to section 7 of Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation, the latter may only be changed by a Basic Law passed by a majority of the members of the Knesset. By contrast, Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom contains no such entrenchment provision.

Human Dignity and Freedom in Jewish Tradition

Human dignity and freedom are fundamental values of the Torah and the rabbinic literature. The Torah states that man was created "in the image of God": "And God created man in his image; in the image of God He created him" (Gen. 1:27). Respect for the Divine image in man serves as an important source in the Torah for the preservation of human dignity. The Torah states the following concerning a person who has sinned and is liable to the death penalty: "If a man is guilty of a capital offense and is put to death, and you hang him on a tree, you must not let his corpse remain on the stake overnight, but must bury him the same day. For an impaled body is an affront to God and you shall not defile the land which the Lord your God is giving you to possess" (Deut. 21:22–23). The Sages expound these verses: R. Meir asks – what is the meaning of the words "an impaled body is an affront to God"? This can be likened to two identical twin brothers, one of whom became king over the entire world while the other went out to pursue highway robbery. After a while, the latter was caught and crucified, and passersby seeing the body said "the king himself has been crucified!" This is the meaning of the words: "for an impaled body is an affront to God."

The principle of human dignity even requires respecting the dignity of criminal offenders. The Torah imposes a penalty on a person who steals an ox and later slaughters or sells it, in the amount of five times the value of the ox, while for stealing a sheep under similar circumstances, one is required to pay only four times its value (Ex. 21:37). The difference between the fine imposed for stealing an ox and that for stealing a sheep is explained by the Sages as follows: "R. Johanan b. Zakkai states: The Holy One blessed be He is mindful of the dignity of mankind. For [stealing] an ox, which walks on its [own] feet, the payment is fivefold; for [stealing] a sheep, which has to be carried on one's shoulders, the payment is fourfold" (*Mekhilta de-R. Yishmael*, *Mishpatim* 13). The difference between the fines stems from the sense of shame suffered by the thief in the case of the stolen sheep, which is usually carried away on his shoulders. Hence, the Torah was more lenient in the case of stealing a sheep than with stealing an ox, in which case the thief can simply lead the ox to his home and need not demean himself by carrying it on his shoulders.

The origin of human rights in Judaism lies in the fundamental notion of man's creation in the image of God. This basic axiom is the origin, not only of a person's right to dignity and freedom, but also of man's duty to protect his own dignity and freedom. This principle is given clear expression in a fundamental rule stated by the *amora* Rav: "A worker can withdraw from service even in the middle of the working day… for it is written (Lev. 25:55): 'for the children of Israel are My slaves [i.e., whom I took out of the land of Egypt'] – and not slaves to other slaves" (BK 116b; BM 10a). According to this law, an employee who hired himself out for an entire working day may withdraw his agreement in the middle of the day (and in such case only receives payment for the time he worked – see *Labor Law), by virtue of the principle that a person's obligation to work for another person, even if he agreed to do so out of his own volition, constitutes a violation of that person's freedom, and a type of slavery. The principle that a person's subservience to God requires that he not be subservient to another human being receives expression in the principle of the Hebrew slave.

According to the Torah, a person may be compelled to work for another individual if he is convicted of theft and is unable to pay his fine, or if he is in a state of absolute poverty and sells himself to another person. In both these cases, his term of service is limited to a maximum of six years, and the goal of this period, during which the slave's employer owes numerous duties towards his slave, is to facilitate the rehabilitation of the offender, who would otherwise remain homeless, as an alternative to imprisonment or remaining on the streets without a roof over his head. According to the Torah, a slave who refused to go free at the end of his term would have his ear pierced by his master using an awl, and would thereafter remain a perpetual slave to his master (Ex. 21:6). The Sages questioned the underlying principle behind this commandment of piercing the slave's ear: "R. Johanan b. Zakkai was asked by his disciples: Why, of all limbs, was the ear [of the slave who refused to go free] chosen to be pierced? He replied: 'The ear that heard at Mount Sinai: "You shall have no other gods but for Me" (Ex. 20:2), and rejected the yoke of the kingdom of Heaven, and in its stead accepted the yoke of a human being; the ear that heard at Mount Sinai (Lev. *ad. loc.*) "for unto Me the children of Israel are servants" and yet this person went and acquired for himself another master; therefore, let his ear come and be pierced because he disregarded that which his ear heard'" (TJ Kid. 1.2).

The slave is punished for having waived his right to freedom. Perpetual enslavement to another person involves a kind of idolatry. As explained by the aforesaid words of the Sages, the first commandment states: "I am the Lord your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt out of the house of slavery. You shall have no other gods but Me" (Ex. *ad loc.*). This commandment exhorts a person to be free, and he cannot release himself from this obligation, neither in favor of an idol, nor in favor of another human being. The slave, the worker and the master, are all servants of God, before whom all creatures are equal. Therefore no person is entitled to be the slave of another person, when the latter himself is merely a servant of God. Even this institution of a Hebrew slave, which is in essence an act of hire for a limited period for the purposes of rehabilitation, has not been practiced, according to all opinions, for close to two thousand years, and this too is compat-

ible with the unbending commitment of Jewish Law to human dignity.

The principles of human dignity and freedom according to Jewish Law were developed and continued to constitute a central plank of Jewish law throughout the ages, culminating in the modern State of Israel. We will consider some of these developments in the context of judicial rulings made by the Israeli Supreme Court.

A Jewish and Democratic State

Section 1A of Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, and similarly section 2 of Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation, states: "The purpose of this Basic Law is to protect human dignity and freedom, in order to anchor in a Basic Law the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state." This section underlies the constructive principles of the two aforesaid Basic Laws, in whose light the courts must construe the values anchored in the Basic Laws. Many judges and scholars have disputed the construction of the key phrase in this section – a "Jewish and democratic state" (see entry *Values of a Jewish and Democratic State).

Human Dignity and Freedom in Jewish Law, Through Rulings of the Supreme Court

The fundamental principles of human dignity and freedom existed and were developed even before the enactment of Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, and the Supreme Court had recourse to the principles of Jewish Law when considering human dignity and freedom-related issues. One example of this was the *Katlan* case (HC 355/79 *Katlan v. The Prison Service et al.*, PD 34 (3) 294), which discussed the question of whether the prison authorities were entitled to order the administration of an enema without the consent of the prisoners concerned, in order to discover drugs those prisoners had allegedly swallowed. The Court ruled that every person, including a prisoner, has a basic right to bodily integrity and the preservation of his dignity, and if the legislator wished to change this it needed to pass new and explicit legislation to do so. The judges hearing the case disputed the question of what would constitute the best law in this regard and the reasons for their recommendation.

Justice Aharon Barak reasoned that the legislator had to conduct a comprehensive examination of the various aspects of this issue, and that only after such an examination could the legislator decide that the legal status quo established as a result of the Court's ruling was not satisfactory, and could then change it via primary legislation, which might give rise in certain cases to secondary legislation. Justice Haim Cohn relied on Jewish legal sources: "Great is the principle of human dignity, as it overrides a negative commandment of the Torah," which the Babylonian Talmud interprets as referring to all rabbinical prescripts and interdicts which defer to human dignity, the rationale being that the Rabbis who imposed the prohibition may remove it later for the sake of human dignity. This principle, according to Justice Cohn, would suggest to the legislature that the administration of an enema into a person's body without his consent should not be permitted: "In this sense, the Oral Law of the rabbis is similar to the primary legislation of our own times. That may also suggest to the primary legislature that, just as the Rabbis were bold in waiving all prohibitions instituted by them where necessary to preserve human dignity, it too should be cautious in sacrificing human dignity on the altar of any other requirement whatsoever" (p. 306 of the judgment).

Justice Landau agreed with Justice Cohn's approach. However, he held that, according to Jewish Law, legislation should not necessarily be prohibited, in certain circumstances, which would permit the administration of an enema into a prisoner's body without his consent, because it may be that "we are faced with essential interests which exceed in importance even the need to preserve a person's right to bodily privacy, and even the Rabbis… never closed their ears to necessary evils and always found the way to enact regulations as emergency measures to 'fence in things' when they saw that the times required such measures in order to avoid worse evils to the public" (p. 308 of the judgment). At the same time, Justice Landau stopped short of making any specific recommendation as to the appropriate arrangement. The *Katlan* case is an interesting example of the fact that reliance on Jewish Law does not necessarily bring about a uniform outcome, and that disputes are possible within this framework regarding both the construction of its principles and the weight given to them.

In the Supreme Court, even before the enactment of Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, the issue was disputed as to whether, according to the law in force at the time, the gravity of an offense per se is sufficient to constitute grounds for detention until the termination of legal proceedings. According to one opinion, a person could be detained until the end of proceedings solely on the basis of the gravity of an offense, thereby assuring public confidence in the effectiveness of the criminal legal mechanism. An additional factor relevant to this perspective was the need to prevent the feeling among offenders that much time would pass between the date of committing the offense and the time for proving their guilt by the prosecution, during which they would be at liberty to continue their activities. Justice Menachem Elon (MCM 2169/92 *Suissa v. The State of Israel*, PD 46 (3) 338), held that, even before the enactment of the above-mentioned Basic Law, a person should not be detained until the end of proceedings solely on the basis of the gravity of the offense, because this would befit neither the values of a freedom-loving state nor the values of Israel's Jewish heritage, which emphasizes the value of human freedom in light of the principle that: "Beloved is man who was created in the Divine image" (see MCM *Suissa*, *ad loc.* and the entry on *Detention). Following its passage, this approach is necessitated thereunder: "Upon the passage of the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, which includes mention of… detention as a violation of personal liberty, and which must be construed according to the express purpose… [of] anchoring the values of the State as a Jewish and democratic state. These interwoven supra legal values – Judaism and democracy –

militate against the possibility of a person's arrest before trial on the grounds of 'guaranteeing the public confidence in the effectiveness of the criminal legal mechanism'... This reason cannot negate the most basic right that a person has as such, viz. his personal liberty" (p. 347 of the judgment). Today, following the enactment of the Criminal Law (Enforcement – Arrest Powers), 5756 – 1996, a person may not be imprisoned solely on the basis of the gravity of his offense.

In the case of *Perah* (HC 5304/92 *Perah v. The Minister of Justice*, PD 47 (4) 715), Justice Elon determined that a person may be imprisoned for a debt he owes only when it becomes apparent that the debtor is a person of means who is concealing his assets, and the imprisonment becomes the means to force him to disclose his assets and to restore the debt (see entry: *Imprisonment for Debt). The Supreme Court relied on the position of Jewish Law on this issue and on the legal status quo prevalent in other democratic systems, and ruled on this basis that the legal status quo that existed at that time, under which a debtor could be imprisoned for his debt without clarifying that he is debtor of means who refuses to pay his debt, was contrary to the provisions of the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, negating as it did the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state.

In the Kastenbaum case (CA 294/91 *Hevra Kadisha Kehillat Yerushalayim v. Kastenbaum*, 46 (2) PD p.464) the Supreme Court ruled, on the basis of Jewish Law, that human dignity applies not only during a person's life, but also after his death, and that this fundamental dignity includes the dignity of the deceased, the dignity of his family, and even the dignity of the public.

In establishing the essence and the scope of human dignity within the meaning of the Basic Law, the Supreme Court also referred to the limits of the concept, and in another case wrote the following:

> Human dignity means not to disgrace or embarrass the divine image in man. Consider the matter well. Not every infringement of honor is included in the *Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom*. For example, insulting a respected person, who by dint of his stature ought to be seated with others of the same rank rather than among the ordinary people, might be regarded as a social insult (if it indeed is!), but is insufficient to cause a disgrace or embarrassment of his divine image, and such "offense" is in no way included within the framework of *Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom*. (HC 5688/92 Vicsilebaum v. Minister of Security, 47 (2) PD 812. 817

In discussing the essence of human dignity, its constituent values, and their implementation, the Supreme Court also addressed the problem of cases in which these values were in competition. This was the background of the Yael Shefer case (CA 506/88, *Yael Shefer v.State of Israel,* 48 (1) PD 87), in which the Court was required to rule on a mother's request to disconnect life support systems from her terminally ill daughter. The Court (per Justice Menachem Elon) wrote the following:

> As a rule, the basic rights... complement one another. The protection of a person's life and body, dignity and privacy, and his personal liberty and intimacy do not contradict each other, but are complementary. This is not so in our case. A fundamental problem that arises is that the protection of this individual's life seemingly does not go hand in hand with the protection of her human dignity, personal liberty, privacy and intimacy. In our case, the obligation to protect the life of the patient is opposed – such is the argument presented to us – to protecting the dignity of the patient, who wishes to die and who refuses to accept the medical treatment whose purpose is to preserve her life. Hence, it is in opposition to the personal liberty of the patient and her personal autonomy. With this, we reach the heart of the matter before us: Is there really a contradiction between a person's fundamental right to life and its companion, human dignity? And if there is, indeed, a contradiction between certain basic rights and others, which among the rights is to be preferred over the other, and which one must we protect and preserve [?]" (For a detailed discussion of this case see *Law and Medicine; *Parents and Children.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Elon, *Ha-Mishpat Ha-Ivri* (1988), 1:113, 252ff., 264ff., 287ff., 424ff., 535ff., 575ff., 606, 614ff., 795; 3:1391, 1392, 1431, 1464ff., 1491ff., 1496, 1499, 1542ff., 1552ff., 1555ff.; idem, *Jewish Law* (1994), 1:127, 295ff., 310ff., 340ff.; 2:518ff., 651ff., 708ff., 750, 760ff., 975; 4:1659, 1660, 1705, 1739ff., 1779, 1784, 1833ff., 1843ff., 1847ff.; idem, *Jewish Law* (*Cases and Materials*) (1999), 389ff., 441ff.; idem., "*Derekh Ḥok be-Ḥukkah: Arakheha shel Medinah Yehudit ve-Demokratit le-Or Ḥok Yesod: Kevod Adam ve-Ḥeruto*," in: *Iyyunei Mishpat*, 17 (1992), 659; idem, "*Kevod Adam ve-Ḥeruto: Madei ha-Yahadut ve-Arakheha shel Medinah Yehudit ve-Demokratit*," in: *Madei ha-Yahadut*, 34 (5754), 9; idem, "*Kevod Adam ve-Ḥeruto be-Moreshet Yisrael*," in *Kevod Adam ve-Ḥeruto be-Moreshet Yisrael* (5755), 15; idem, "*Ḥukkei Yesod: Darkhei Ḥakikatam u-Parshanutam – me-Ayin u-Le'an*," in: *Meḥkerei Mishpat*, 12 (1995), 253; idem, "*Ḥukkei ha-Yesod: Iggun Arakheha shel Medinat Yehudit ve-Demokratit: Sugyot be-Mishpat ha-Pelili*," in: *Meḥkerei Mishpat,* 13 (1996), 27; idem, "*Ha-Aḥer be-Mishpat ha-Ivri u-vi-Pesikat Bet ha-Mishpat ha-Elyon*," in: *Madei ha-Yahadut*, 42 (5754), 31; idem, "Medicine, Halakhah, and Law: The Values of a Jewish and Democratic State," in: *Jewish Medical Ethics*, vol. 1 (2004), v–xxxvii; H. Cohn*, Zekhuyot ha-Adam ba-Mikra u-ve-Talmud* (1988); S. Ishon, "*Kevod Adam ve-Ḥeruto, le-Or ha-Halakhah*," in: *Teḥumin,* 16 (5756), 313; I. Knohl, "*Ḥerut ha-Adam ba-Mikra*," in: *Kevod Adam ve-Ḥeruto be-Moreshet Yisrael* (5755), 60; N. Rakover, *Gadol Kevod ha-Beriyyot: Kevod ha-Adam ke-Erekh-Al* (1998).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

°**HUMBOLDT, WILHELM VON** (1767–1835), German philologist and statesman. Humboldt grew up during the Enlightenment period in Berlin where he frequented Henriette *Herz's salon. He became acquainted with D. *Friedlaender, was introduced to *Mendelssohn, and heard informal lectures by Markus *Herz and *Dohm. A friend and counselor of K. *Hardenberg, Humboldt was responsible in 1809/10 for education and religious questions in the Prussian administration. During this time he wrote a draft of a constitution for Prussian Jewry, submitted on July 17, 1809. He proposed that the nomadic existence of Jews, the political nature of their communal organization, and their isolation could be eliminated through resettlement, terminating the autonomy of Jewish communities, and ensuring full assimilation. Humboldt demanded that emancipation be complete and immediate: Jews were to be

acknowledged not only as citizens but as human beings. The state should not concern itself with their "improvement" but provide equal rights for all its citizens if they agree to equal obligations. He was also instrumental in opening to Jews the new University of Berlin (founded in 1810). At the Congress of *Vienna he was a vigorous advocate of Jewish rights. His brother, ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT (1769–1859), geographer and naturalist, was a consistent philo-Semite who was vehemently opposed to the *Kreuzzeitung* and to other antisemitic and illiberal doctrines, but his views concerning the Jews were generally more of the aesthetic or personal kind than political.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.W. Baron, *Die Judenfrage auf dem Wiener Kongress…* (1920). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** P. Sweet, *Wilhelm von Humboldt*, 2 vols. (1978–80), 203–8; P. Honigmann, in: BullLBI, 76 (1987), 3–34; idem, in: R. Heuer et al. (eds.), *Konfrontation und Koexistenz* (1996), 46–81; J. Grossmann, in: *German Studies Review*, 20:1 (1997), 23–47.

HUMENNE (Slovak **Humenné**; Hg. **Homonna**), town in E. Slovakia; until 1992 Czechoslovak Republic, then Slovak Republic. Humenné is situated on the highway leading from Poland to wine-growing regions in eastern Hungary. Jewish tradesmen frequented this highway. The first record of Jewish presence in the town is from 1743. There were no guilds in Humenné, and nobody intervened in the activity of Jewish businessmen. Although the community was founded in 1809, the *ḥevra kaddisha* existed from 1786, and the oldest tombstone dates from 1772. Humenné attracted Jewish settlers; in particular, an influx of Jews from Poland was evident in the 19th century. In 1830/35 there were 666 Jews in Humenné; in 1857 there were 1,020; and in 1880 there were 1,280. In 1910 the number reached 1,570 (34.8%). The first Czechoslovak census of 1921 reported 1,254; in 1930 there were 2,197. In 1940, on the eve of the deportations, 2,172 Jews lived in Humenné.

The first synagogue was erected in 1792. The *talmud torah* opened its doors in 1835, and the first elementary school in 1856, one of the first in eastern Slovakia. The language of instruction was German. It burned down in 1880 and was reestablished in 1882; the language was already Magyar. Hebrew was also taught, unofficially. The school closed in 1919, and the teachers left for Hungary. A Beth Jacob school for girls was founded in the early 1930s. The first rabbi was Rabbi Pinchas Luria, who became involved in a conflict and left. His successor, Rabbi Jacob Shapira ("Jakev Chariff," 1809–1828), organized the routine of the congregation. The last rabbi, Haim Judah Herrmann Ehrenreich (1887–1942), published a scholarly periodical *Oẓar ha-Ḥayyim* ("Riches of Life"). He died in the Holocaust. In 1830, a new synagogue was erected. From 1815, an assistant rabbi, (Daja) Lezer Liebermann, demanded reform of the Jewish religion, to which end he lectured throughout Hungary. However, after the Hungarian Jewish Congress of 1868, the congregation chose Orthodoxy. Ḥasidic Jews from Poland caused a split in the community by establishing a *bet midrash* in 1902, which followed *nusaḥ sefarad*. Four years later they erected their own small synagogue. A split within the *nusaḥ sefarad* group occurred when less extremist members left and founded a *bet midrash* of their own. The community organized an array of charitable, religious, and professional groups. After World War I, several political and Zionist groups joined the community organization. In August 1937 the deputy of the nationalist Hlinka Party, Korol Sidor, gave an inflammatory speech accusing Jews of sacrilege, and a campaign of "punishment" was planned. The deputy of the Jewish Party, Chaim *Kugel, rushed to Humenné and defused the situation.

The proclamation of Slovakian autonomy within Czechoslovakia in September 1938 and independence under protection of the Third Reich on March 14, 1939, were accompanied by anti-Jewish sentiment. Jews were targeted, and persecution occurred daily. In the fall of 1941 Jews were expelled from Bratislava, and some settled in Humenné, bringing the population to 2,285. In March 1942, the deportation of Jews to Poland began. In Humenné, Jews were smuggled to Hungary in an effort to save them. In March, entire families began to be deported to the Chola ghetto near Lublin. The few remaining Jews in the town were ordered in the spring of 1944 to move to western Slovakia. They took the Torah scrolls with them to *Nitra, but a fire destroyed the scrolls.

The survivors, who flocked to the city in spring 1945, repaired the synagogue and the *mikveh* and tried to restore the community. Several survivors gathered in the nearby village of Kolbasy. On December 6, 1945, a band of Ukrainian nationalists of the Bandera movement attacked and killed all the Jews and, together with the villagers, stole their property.

In 1948–49, most of the Jews immigrated to Israel and overseas. In the 1960s, there were 160 Jews in the town, many from neighboring villages. The Košice community provided kosher meat and religious needs. Both large synagogues were demolished; the Klaus was turned into an apartment. In November 1986, citizens attacked the cemetery, overturning 27 tombstones. In 1990, there were 28 Jews in Humenné.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EJ, 8 (1931), 268–9; L. Rothkirchen, in: *The Jews of Czechoslovakia* (1968), 110–1; D. Friedmann, *Geschichte der Juden in Humenne* (1933); M. Lányi and B.H. Propperné, *Szlovenskói Zsidó Hitközségek Története* (1933), 248–58; Uj Magyar Lexikon (1960), 346. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E. Bàrkàny, L. Dojč, *Židovské náboženské obce na Slovensku* (1991), 411–14.

[Sarlota Rachmuth-Gerstl / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

HUMILITY (Heb. עֲנָוָה), a humble estimate of one's qualities; decency of thought, speech, and conduct. The presence of many biblical synonyms testifies to its importance as a religious principle. Rabbinic literature ascribes the quality to God Himself, with the implication that man should imitate Him in this respect (Meg. 31a).

Humility is commended as an outstanding personal virtue, and is a mandatory qualification for those in positions of leadership. Biblical figures who tempered an awareness of

their prestige with a sense of personal modesty achieved renown, while those who were arrogant suffered defeat (Gen. 18:27; Ezek. 28:2; Ned. 38a; DEZ 1). Humility was the crowning virtue of the greatest of Jewish leaders, Moses: "… and the man Moses was very humble" (Num. 12:3; cf. Deut. R. 2:2; Shab. 89a; ARN[1] 23, 75).

The prophets condemn excessive pride, while they affirm the value of humility (Isa. 10:13, 57:15; Jer. 9:22; Ezek. 28:2; Ps. 51:18–19). Micah includes humility among the three fundamental principles of the Jewish religion: "… to do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God" (Micah 6:8). In relation to God, man's humility stems from his existential helplessness in the shadow of divine omnipotence (Ps. 22:7; Avot 4:4). In human relationships humility calls for a giving nature and is incompatible with self-love.

Humility is not merely the absence of pride, but a positive force which expresses itself in constructive action. Thus, even extremism in its pursuit is not a vice (Maim., Yad, De'ot 2:3). This positive aspect is manifest in the tradition of anonymity of authorship in Jewish letters as well as anonymity in charitable acts.

Unlike philosophies which emphasize man's insignificance and preach self-effacing submissiveness, Judaism conceives of humility in the general context of the dignity of man. It requires the transfer of emphasis away from the self rather than destructive self-abnegation. Egotistical preoccupation with one's own humility, however, breeds a pietistic pride denounced by the rabbis. Similarly, false modesty and abdication of responsibility under the guise of humility have no place in Jewish life (Git. 56a; M.Ḥ. Luzzatto, *Mesillat Yesharim*, ed. by M. Kaplan (1936), 104–5). The midrashic portrayal of man as a being created in the image of God, on the one hand, and as an insignificant mortal, on the other, clarifies this Jewish concept of modesty (Sanh. 38a). Humility represents the peak of moral perfection, and in the "ladder of virtues" is superior even to saintliness (Luzzatto, op. cit., 106, see also chs. 22–23; Prov. 11:2, 15:33, 16:5). Humility is not an isolated trait, but rather a life-style, which encompasses and structures every aspect of human thought and behavior.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baḥya ibn Paquda, *Ḥovot ha-Levavot*, ch. 6; *Kitvei Rabbenu Moses ben Naḥman*, 1 (1963), 372–7; C.G. Montefiore and H. Loewe (eds.), *A Rabbinic Anthology* (1938), index.

[Zvi H. Szubin]

ḤUMMASH (Heb. חֻמָּשׁ, "Pentateuch," from the root חָמֵשׁ, "five"), the first five books of the Bible. The *ḥummash* (pl. *ḥummashim*) is separately printed for use in the synagogue during the Reading of the Law when the worshipers follow individually the text of the section of the Pentateuch that is being read. It serves as a school text for Bible instruction and is usually printed with the Aramaic translation, Targum *Onkelos, and *Rashi's commentary. The more elaborate editions, called *Mikra'ot Gedolot*, also have the commentaries of Abraham *Ibn Ezra, *Naḥmanides, etc. In talmudic literature, the equivalent term for *ḥummash* is *mikra* (מִקְרָא), or *Torah* (תּוֹרָה), as distinct from the Prophets and the Writings. In modern times, *ḥummashim* with translations and commentary in the vernacular contributed to a more extensive knowledge of the Pentateuch (e.g., Samson Raphael *Hirsch's *Pentateuch* with English translation and commentary (6 vols., 1956–63), J.H. *Hertz's *Pentateuch and Haftorahs* (1962[2]), A. Cohen's *Soncino Chumash* (1964[2])). In case of fire on the Sabbath, *ḥummashim*, even those printed in the vernacular, may be saved from the conflagration because they are considered to be "holy writings" (Shab. 16:1, also Sh. Ar., OḤ 334:12).

HUMOR.

Definition

Jewish humor is the humor created by Jews, intended mainly for Jews, and reflecting special aspects of Jewish life. This broad definition includes popular, verbal humor, such as jokes or anecdotes as well as humor created by professionals. Since humor reflects a people's life, it changes and varies accordingly. Thus, one can talk about East European, Sephardi, American, or Israeli Jewish humor. In spite of the great differences in the life conditions of the different communities, Jewish humor has certain characteristics which make it unique. What is generally identified in the professional literature as Jewish humor originated in the 19th century, mainly, but not exclusively, in Eastern Europe. Today in the U.S., Jewish humor is considered as one of the mainstreams of American humor.

At the beginning of the 19th century, a sense of humor was not associated with Jewishness. Hermann Adler, the chief rabbi of London, felt impelled to write an article in 1893 in which he argued against the view that Jews have no sense of humor. It is perhaps interesting to note that not only Jews but non-Jews as well consider today "a good sense of humor" as one of the notable characteristics of Jews.

Historical Roots: The Bible and the Talmud

The Bible mentions "laughter" 50 times (as צחוק (*ẓeḥok*) or שחוק (*seḥok*)). Bible translators frequently used other terms instead of "laughter." In the English translation *ẓeḥok* is rendered as: play, enjoy, insult, mock, fondle, rejoice, scoff, and laugh. In addition to the relative frequency of laughter, many examples of humor appear in the Bible. Irony is evident in the question people asked Moses after he took them out of Egypt: "Because there was no grave in Egypt have you taken us away to die in the wilderness?" (Exodus 14:11). The same ironic touch is seen when Joseph's brothers who did not like him and his dreams decide to kill him: "We will say some evil beast devoured him and we shall see what will become of his dreams" (Genesis 37:19). Or Elisha talking sarcastically about a pagan god: "Cry aloud for he is a god, either he is talking or he is pursuing or he is on a journey or peradventure he sleeps and must be awakened" (1 Kings 18:27). Self-irony and laughter are expressed by Sarah: "Therefore Sarah laughed within herself saying, After I am waxed old shall I have pleasure, my lord being old also?" (Genesis 18:12). Her son was named Isaac (Yiẓḥak, i.e., he shall laugh).

Many references to laughter, humorous tales, and rules about joking appear in the Talmud. It seems that talmudic sages were able to differentiate between "laughing at" and "laughing with." While formal prohibitions to "laugh at" are frequently mentioned, other views, where the accent is on "laughing with," is encouraged. There is an explicit talmudic dictum: "Rabbi Naḥman says, all joking is prohibited except jokes about idol worship" (Meg. 25b). Here the point is to "laugh at," what in modern terms would be considered aggressive humor. But laughter was also considered positive: "Tears of sadness are bad, tears of laughter are beautiful" (Shab. 151b–152a). The first book of research relating humor to education was written in 1979 in France. It demonstrated what appeared already in the Talmud: "Before starting to teach, Rabbah joked and pupils laughed, afterwards he started seriously teaching *halakhah*" (Shab. 30b).

More important, however, is the way of thinking the learning of Talmud encouraged. From the first century on, Jewish boys, whose education began at kindergarten age, learned by examining things from all angles and by speculating; they were encouraged to find contradictions, too. The passing from concrete to abstract and vice versa and the asking of all possible questions to clarify a point and find the most subtle answers to complex problems were appreciated. This very way of thinking was highly valued and is considered by some literary critics as one basis of Jewish literature of all times. This method of problem solving, the examination of all possible (and sometimes impossible) solutions, is one of the mental traits encouraged by generations of students of Talmud, who passed it on influencing even those who nowadays are far from talmudic studies. The talmudic way of thinking, seeing the contradictions, and incongruities, and finding surprising solutions are important ingredients in any humor creation. It is probably one of the reasons for the great number of Jewish humorists.

From the Middle Ages to Emancipation

The religious tradition with its study of the Bible and Talmud was the main intellectual occupation of Jews in the Diaspora. Humor and satire attack what is accepted, and this could not be permitted in the study of religious writing. However, sensing the importance of the need for some humorous relief, certain liberties were admitted and even encouraged. Thus once a year, on Purim, it was permissible not to be serious and drinking was highly recommended. The gaiety found its expression in the "Purim spiel." A Purim rabbi was chosen, his behavior being a caricature of the real rabbi. He gave illogical and funny "rabbinical decisions" to the great delight of his listeners, including the rabbi. However, this was for one day only; immediately afterwards, the community got back again to serious studies, until the following Purim.

Slowly, Jews enriched their talmudic folklore and stories by adopting popular folk stories from their environment. Many of these stories accorded with the psychological need to mock inferiors, creating stories about idiots and simple-minded peasants. These new "heroes" were also sometimes used to make fun of the Christians, fulfilling the aggressive function of humor and giving some form of relief to the persecuted Jews.

In Spain under Arab rule, Jews knew a literary Golden Age. Among the many writers on both religious and secular themes, humorists and satirists were greatly appreciated. One of them, Abraham *Ibn Ezra who lived in the 12th century, used sophisticated self-disparaging humor. In "Out of Luck," he writes about his misfortune:

> The heavenly sphere and the constellations strayed from their path when I was born. If my business were in candles, the sun would not set until I died! However I struggle, I cannot succeed, for my stars have ruined me: if I were a dealer in shrouds, no one would die as long as I lived.

This can be considered as the ancestor of the anti-hero, the *schlemiel* (Yid.) or *shlumiel* (Heb.), who when meeting hardships and disaster, instead of crying and lamenting, is able to see the laughter in the situation. Taking one's distance from one's unhappiness, looking at it with irony, is a way of coping with it, an attitude later to become the hallmark of many Jewish humorists.

Judah ben Solomon *Al-Ḥarizi (1170–1235) was one of the great poets of medieval Hebrew literature. He used a humorous literary style typical of Arab medieval literature. He was the author of *Taḥkemoni* which consisted of 50 *makamat*, a narrative in rhymed prose. Some of his many writings are erotic ones where examples of sexual humor, so rare in Hebrew, can be found. He is considered a precursor of the picaresque novel. Al-Ḥarizi also introduced the "Mosaic style" in which he used partial quotations from the Bible and Talmud, completely out of context, to create humorous effects.

In Italy, *Immanuel of Rome (c. 1260–1328) wrote parodies of the Bible and Talmud which amused those who knew the original (and in those times, they were numerous). His *Maḥbarot of Immanuel* was prohibited by some Italian rabbis because of its erotic content.

Other satirists of the Middle Ages included *Judah ben Isaac ibn Shabbetai (who wrote Hebrew satires, *Minḥat Yehudah Sone ha-Nashim* ("The Gift of Judah the Misogynist") and *Milḥemet ha-Ḥokhmah ve-ha-Osher* ("Strife of Wisdom and Wealth")), *Jedidiah Bedersi ha-Penini (who wrote a reply to "The Gift of Judah the Misogynist"), and Kalonymus ben Kalonymus, who lived in 14th-century Italy. Kalonymus wrote *Massekhet Purim* ("Tractate Purim"), a satirical work which mocks many halakhic teachings. For instance, "Rabbi Abraham used to say: According to a tradition coming from my ancestors, the one who does not enjoy the pleasure of this life, will not join in the pleasures of the world to come; but the one who enjoys the pleasures of this life, will also enjoy pleasures in the world to come." Or, ironically about Purim: "Children are taught about Purim. What are they taught? To fight… so that if they live to the day of the arrival of the Messiah, they will be good in the arts of wars and will be able to fight the wars of the Lord."

Judah *Sommo (c. 1527–1592) wrote *The Comedy of Betrothal* (*Ẓaḥut Bediḥuta de-Kiddushin*) which is considered by some as a precursor of Moliere's *The Miser*. Written c. 1550, it is considered by J. *Schirmann as the first Hebrew play.

Famous Humorous Folkloristic Figures

The ḥasidic movement, which started in Eastern Europe in the middle of the 18^{th} century, saw the relation with God as a joyful one, and the ḥasidim loved to laugh, sing, and dance. This was a departure from the traditional forms of Jewish worship. Ḥasidic sages often used irony and wit to illustrate their points, this certainly adding to their popularity. Some rabbis had court jesters, and Hershele *Ostropoler (1770–1810) fulfilled this role for Rabbi Baruch of Medzibezh (Southern Russia). The rabbi suffered from acute depression and as a defense mechanism promulgated the principle "it is sinful to be sad." As legend has it, Hershele was called upon to cure the rabbi of his depressive moods by making him laugh. Hershele was a simpleton only on surface; he frequently expressed deep truths in a humoristic way. Many Yiddish penny books were written about Hershele who delighted the simple people by his jokes and satires against religious hypocrites, rich misers, and pompous people. He is still a popular figure in many children's jokes in Israel.

Motke Ḥabad (see DC/17:472) was a jester to Yudel Opatov of Vilna and Reb Yossifel the spiritual leader of Chelm became a folk hero. Chelm was for the Jews what Abdera was for the Greeks, Gotham for the English, and Schilda for the Germans: a place populated by naive, talkative, and not very bright people. An example of a Chelm story tells of the old *shammes* (sexton) who complained that he was too old and tired to make the round of all Jewish homes banging on the shutters to wake the men up for the midnight services. The wise men of Chelm discussed the problem in a specially called assembly. And they finally found it: all shutters would be brought to one place, near the *shammes*' home so that he could bang on all of them without having to make the tiresome trip around the shtetl. The men of Chelm always found a theoretically perfect solution having only one disadvantage: it was not practical. But why should one worry about the practical aspects of a problem? Great intellects should be involved in intellectual solutions!

The *maggidim* were itinerant preachers who from talmudic times, in expounding Jewish law and tradition, introduced many humorous stories, knowing that they would thereby be more easily comprehended and even enjoyed by their listeners. They were active and very popular during the Middle Ages and before Emancipation. The most famous among them was Jacob ben Wolf *Kranz of Dubnow.

The *badḥanim* were the merry makers at Jewish weddings which were happy events not only for the family but for the entire community. Frequently, the festivities lasted for many days and became a sort of carnival with music, joking, and dancing. Here probably one can find the beginning of the stand-up comic, made so popular by Jews in the United States. In addition, the Jewish marriages had *leẓim* and *marshalik*. The *leẓ* was a musician-juggler and the *marshalik* was the master of ceremonies.

A new type of Jewish folklore appeared in which the confrontation with the gentiles provided the occasion to demonstrate how clever Jews are. Humor here fulfilled one of its main functions – imaginary superiority. In addition a new humorist appeared in Jewish humor: the rabbi. In ḥasidic humor, rabbis made jokes on people's little failings, generally with a didactic flavor.

Emancipation and the Beginning of Modern Jewish Humor

Emancipation in Western Europe created great opportunities for Jews to integrate into the dominant culture, but a strong ambivalence emerged among those who wanted to integrate and stay Jewish at the same time. Some, such as Heine, decided to convert but his lack of satisfaction was evident in the use of self-irony even against conversion: "I wouldn't trust the sincerity of a Jew who converted to Christianity; no Jew can truly believe in the holiness of another Jew." For German Jews trying to assimilate, self-disparaging humor become a way of showing the Christians that they, the "real German Jews," were different from the other "ugly Jews." By making fun of Jews and developing the stereotyped image of cheaters, liars and people thinking only about money these Jews administered a kind of self-punishment to themselves. By poking fun at the obscurantist (or what seemed to them as so), traditionalist behavior unfit for modern times, they tried to change themselves and their coreligionists. They wanted to create a new image for the Jews, which would be more acceptable to them, the "enlightened ones," as well as to the Christians. In order to do that, they tried to destroy the image of the "primitive Jew" by making it ludicrous, by laughing at it. This was probably the main origin of Jewish self-disparaging humor in Western Europe.

The hallmark of the Enlightenment (Haskalah) literature was satire. Using mainly humor to change a people's way of life is probably unique in the history of social changes. The Haskalah writers produced a rich satirical literature in Hebrew, many of their works being still highly readable today. It was directed mainly against the Orthodox traditionalists, producing in addition some virulent satire against the Ḥasidim.

SATIRIC HUMOR OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT. The Enlightenment brought many changes in the Jewish way of thinking. The conflicts between Haskalah, the Mitnaggedim, and Ḥasidism, the three mainstreams of Jewish thought, provoked a wonderful renaissance of Hebrew and Yiddish writings. The lively battle between Haskalah and Ḥasidism was conducted by writers, who often used humorous satire as a weapon against the ideological "enemy." The fact that satire was the main weapon is an additional affirmation of the importance of humor in Jewish life.

Two main currents can be identified in the satirical writings encouraged by the Haskalah movement. The first was virulent satire, sometimes even vitriolic, in which tradition, the "unhealthy and unproductive" life of the Jews, was attacked. The second current viewed the traditional life in the shtetl in a loving way, albeit with mild criticism, as the result of recognizing the fact that the wonderful ideas of the Haskalah would not easily change Jewish fate; this type of literature was written mainly in Yiddish.

Haskalah authors used Hebrew as well as Yiddish in order to get their message to the greatest number of readers. This was not an easy endeavor since Yiddish was considered by most *maskilim* a "lower language."

When Mendel *Levin (Lefin) translated the book of Proverbs into Yiddish (1814), the outcry of other *maskilim* was terrible. Tobias Feder (1760–1817), author of a parody of the Zohar entitled *Zohar Ḥadash*, wrote a satire in which he described the disciples of Moses Mendelssohn talking in heaven. A disciple informs them that someone has translated the book of Proverbs into a peasant gibberish. Nobody wants to believe that this terrible thing was done by one of Mendelssohn's followers, but when Lefin's translation is shown to them, they decide to burn it.

Joseph *Perl was an outstanding exponent of fighting satire. He imitated so well the stylistic manner of the ḥasidim that the most naive among them accepted his books as reflecting the truth. Since they told stories of machinations and intrigues at the ḥasidic courts and of love of money and power struggles without any thought about simple people, those who believed Perl's satire became disillusioned with the ḥasidic movement.

Other outstanding Haskalah period satirists were Israel *Axenfeld (1787–1866), who wrote strong satires against the manipulation of simple people by the wonder rabbis whom he described as drunken quacks; Solomon *Ettinger who wrote clever moralistic fables; and Abraham Baer *Gottlober (1811–1899) who also wrote strong satire against ḥasidic behavior.

THE PERIOD OF LOVING SATIRE. "Loving satire" is an original Jewish approach to satire. While satire is directed "against" persons, institutions, or concepts, Jewish satire of the shtetl is a kind of critical identification with the people. While they are laughable, the little people (*kleine mentshele*) are understood, loved, and even admired – not for their lifestyle but for their inner qualities. Their tragedies and hardships are encountered with an understanding smile. "Laughing through tears" is the main weapon. The Jewish writers of the 19th century made this laughter part of the continuing Jewish heritage of fighting adversity with humor.

One of the greatest Yiddish writers of late 19th–early 20th century, was Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh, better known as Mendele Mokher Seforim (Mendele the Bookseller). Having achieved a certain fame in Hebrew writing, he decided to turn to Yiddish in order to reach the masses. His tales became popular and his humor, satirical at first but getting milder later, described Jewish life in the shtetl with love and understanding of the "little people."

His first satirical pieces attacked the religious leaders who were getting fat from the taxes imposed on Jews. His many other works included satires such as "The Nag," an allegory of the Jew as the world's scapegoat, and "Fishke the Lame," in which Jewish beggars, thieves, and vagabonds were described with their rich characters, a mixture of naivete and shrewdness, kind and joyful in spite of the wretched conditions in which they lived. In his unfinished epic "Travels of Benjamin the Third," he made fun of the impractical dreamers, determined to change the world and not able to cope with daily life. His Jewish characters are "besservaisser" – not "knowing it all" but "knowing it all better." They indulge in endless discussions, real feasts of *pilpul* in spite of their miserable economic conditions. Mendele's humor was a mixture of satire and irony with identification, love, and understanding for the little people who, in spite of the difficult lives they led, had an innate nobility and dreamt about higher ideas, always proud to be Jews.

*Shalom Aleichem (1859–1916) was the greatest humorist in all of Jewish literature. His immortal characters, life in the shtetl Kasrilevka which he invented, and overall his atttitude of looking at sad things with humor, made him the best loved and most popular of Jewish writers. His irony is bitter-sweet and his characters, in spite of their naive behavior, are always lovable. Shalom Aleichem does not laugh at them, but brings the reader to laugh with them.

He expressed his philosophy on humor as a way of fighting human suffering in a letter addressed to a friend. In it he wrote: "This is an ugly and mean world, and only to spite it we mustn't weep. If you want to know, this is the constant source of my good spirit, of my 'humor.' Not to cry, out of spite. Only to laugh out of spite, only to laugh." His heroes lead a difficult life but they know how to smile at adversity and always keep on hoping. His best character is Tevye the Milkman, the wise but simple Jew, honest and hard working, who holds discussions with God in whom he believes with fervor, despite a few questions concerning the way He deals with His chosen people. He tries to be rational at all times, but his emotions are always more important and dictate his behavior. His optimistic conclusions are that although things are pretty bad, one should rejoice because they could be worse.

Here is how he described Kasrilevka, the "town of little people":

> Among us Jews poverty has many faces and many aspects. A poor man is an unlucky man, he is a pauper, a beggar, a schnorrer, a starveling, a tramp, or a plain failure. A different tone is used in speaking of each one, but all these names express human wretchedness. However, there is still another name – kasril, or kasrilik. That name is spoken in a different tone altogether, almost a bragging tone. For instance, "Oh, am I ever a kasrilik!" A kasrilik is not just an ordinary pauper, a failure in life. On the contrary, he is a man who has not allowed poverty to degrade him. He laughs at it. He is poor, but cheerful.

Other heroes of Shalom Aleichem figure among the most lovable figures of Jewish literature. Motl Peyse the cantor's son who lives cheerfully and even when his father dies sees some good in becoming an orphan. Menachem Mendel, the eternal luftmentsch, who dreams about getting rich in the great city, but whose heart belongs to the shtetl. Mendel is the archetype *schlemiel*, the hero of Jewish humor, the eternal loser who rationalizes his failures and keeps his optimism. Fishel the Melamed, Aleck the Mechanic, Kopel the Brain, Mendel the Tinman were all part of the miserable but lovable characters of the shtetl. The art of Shalom Aleichem, the virtuosity with which he could describe the most terrible situations with humor can be seen from a letter brimming with current, as well as some not-so-fresh information, one of his heroes writes to a distant cousin who left the shtetl:

> Dear Yankel; you asked me to write at length, and I would like to oblige, but there is really nothing to write about. The rich are still rich; and the poor are dying of hunger as they always do. What's new about that? And as far as pogroms are concerned, thank God we have nothing more to fear as we've already had ours – two of them in fact, and a third wouldn't be worthwhile. You asked about Heshel. He's been out of work now for over half a year. The fact is they won't let them work in prison. Mendel did a clever thing: he upped and died, some say of consumption, others of hunger. Personally, I think he died of both. I really don't know what else to write about, except for the cholera which is going great guns.

This is a perfect example of one of the main characteristics of Jewish humor as a way of coping: the twisting around of and giving an original interpretation to a traumatic experience. Thus, instead of crying at reality, one can laugh at the mangled interpretation. A rational description could only lead to despair, an absurd approach to "there is not much to write about" for an instant obscures reality, which could do nothing better than to lead to total dejection. Antirationalism is the only rational answer to the irrationality of events.

Yiddish theater also started to flourish near the end of the 19th century. Since the Russians banished Yiddish theater (1883) fearing that it would encourage revolutionary sentiment, it developed in other European countries, and later in the United States. Abraham *Goldfaden (1840–1908) is considered the father of the Yiddish theater. The first theatrical representation in Yiddish took place in Jassy, Romania, in October 1872 and met with immense success. His troupe, in which there were also actresses (a great innovation) toured Romania and Russia (until the ban). Then, Yiddish theater emigrated to Paris, London, and New York. Among his many plays, the most successful comedies were *Shmendrik* and *Kuni Lemel*. Both names became familiar terms and were integrated into the daily language. A *shmendrik* is gullible, not vicious or vengeful, well used to failure which he accepts with a smile; Kuni Lemel stutters, is lame, and is always in trouble, but never takes his fate tragically.

The great popularity of Mendele, Shalom Aleichem, and many other Yiddish writers of the period, influenced and was influenced by Jewish folklore. This rich folklore was an expression of a common faith in which witty anecdotes, jokes, and sayings were a sign of reciprocal recognition. Some examples of the irony and wit are still treasured by many Jews who are no longer familiar with Yiddish, but recognize in these sayings part of the Jewish heritage. Here are some of the more popular ones:

> God will provide, but if only He would provide until He provides.
> Dying while you are young is a great boon in your old age.
> If the rich could hire the poor to die for them, the poor would make a very good living.
> What God does is best – probably.
> Our rabbi is so poor that if he didn't fast every Monday and Thursday, he'd starve to death.
> When things don't get better, don't worry, they may get worse.
> If you can't help a friend with money, at least give a krekhts (sigh).
> If God lived on earth, people would knock out all His windows.
> The age of gold was the age when gold did not rule.
> Illusions are comforting; just don't act upon them.
> It's no disgrace to be poor – which is the only good thing you can say about it.

After the 1881 pogroms, the massive emigration of the Jews to America ended a chapter of Jewish humor. Until then this humor had been written only for Jews; the languages used, Hebrew and Yiddish, were not understood by others. In the new world as well as in Europe the language of the host country became the language of Jewish humor, strongly penetrating the dominant culture, especially in the United States.

Jewish Humor in the United States

The massive emigration from Eastern Europe to America brought the main stream of Jewish culture, traditions, and humor to the new land. Since English was not easy to learn, Yiddish continued to be the language used by the first generation and writing in Yiddish was popular for a certain time. Moshe *Nadir (1885–1943), the pen name of Isaac Reis, was a humorist "in the old tradition." He edited two humorous periodicals, *Der Groyser Kundes* and *Der Yidishe Gazlen*, which were very popular. He was considered the greatest Jewish humorist since Shalom Aleichem. Abraham Kotlier and Gerson Rosenzweig were other early satirists.

At a later date, the difficulties in learning English for a Jewish emigrant were humorously described by Leo *Rosten, whose *The Education of H*Y*M*A*N K*A*P*L*A*N* (1937) became a small classic. The chutzpah of Kaplan, a "know it all," sure of himself while making the funniest and most terrible mistakes in the mastering of language, was a great addition to the gallery of *schlemiels* in the New World. Rosten, very much under the influence of Yiddish, pointed out the richness of this language and how it influences English. He wrote about the "Yiddishization" of English, a phenomenon which can be easily observed in many American comedies. Not only

are many Yiddish words used in American comedies, but the intonation and the ironic inflections can be easily traced back to folk Yiddish humor.

As Jews started to improve their economic situation, they took time for vacations, a new habit for Jews. Hotels in the Catskills and Poconos around New York, known as "The Borscht Belt," became famous. Many great comedians, among them Mel Brooks, Sid Caesar, Moss Hart, Danny Kaye, and Phil Silvers started their careers there. The humor they created was aimed at the Jewish audience, with a lot of "inner cultural" jokes, in which Yiddish had a place of honor beside English. Yiddish theater also flourished, with many comedies which enjoyed a huge popularity.

Gradually more and more Jewish comedians and humorists started their career in English and their impact on American humor was, and still is, tremendous. Jewish humor had opened itself to the American public. The "crazy" humor of these newcomers on the American scene was best illustrated in the shows of the *Marx Brothers in which absurdity took over, destroying in an extremely funny way the laws of logic, lampooning the dominant culture. The films of the Marx Brothers, the Ritz Brothers, and the three Stooges were the expression of "gleeful nihilism," readily accepted and enjoyed by the American public. S.J. *Perelman, a star writer for the *New Yorker*, also wrote a few of the famous Marx Brothers movies. Any list of American humorists and comic actors is largely Jewish.

Research has shown that among the most famous nationally known humorists in America, 80% are Jewish, while Jews represent only 3% of the American population. This tremendous contribution is related to the fact that humor is a way of expression familiar to Jews and related to their heritage. In addition, many of the American Jewish humorists feel the anxieties of being part of a society which does not accept them totally. Wanting to be Americans and Jews at the same time is not always easy. There are no dangers of physical annihilation, but there are signs of cultural assimilation. As Mel Brooks expressed it, when asked about the sources of his comedy: "It comes from the feeling that, as a Jew and a person, you don't fit into the mainstream of American society. It comes from the realization that even if you are better and smarter, you'll never belong." Brooks is proud of his Jewishness and relates frequently to it. He had the "chutzpah" to put on the screen American Indians who talked Yiddish and to discover to his great surprise that the lines were received with great laughter even in middle America. His feelings towards Germans after the Holocaust are expressed in the many sadistic German characters which populate his movies. When asked in an interview if he hates Germans, he answered: "Me? Not like Germans? Why should I not like Germans? Just because they are arrogant and have fat necks and do anything they're told as long as it's cruel and killed millions of Jews in concentration camps and made soap out of their bodies and lamp shades out of their skins? Is that any reason to hate them?" This irony, the effort to express tragedy in a humorous way reminds us not only in content but also in the form of expression of the writings of Shalom Aleichem.

Woody Allen in his movies made the Jewish *schlemiel* a lovable character to many people around the world. His Jewish person is so unmistakable that even when the character he plays is not identified as such, one cannot miss his Jewishness. In one of his early monologues he tells us that "Mr. Berkowitz was shot, stuffed, and mounted in the New York Athletic Club. And the joke is on them, 'cause it's restricted." The American society refusing to accept Jews as they are is frequently made fun of, but so are the Jews themselves who forget their Jewishness. When a very assimilated rabbi is asked why Jewish people are not allowed to eat pork, he answers "We're not? Uh-oh." Then, comes the explanation that "some scholars believe that the Torah merely suggested not eating pork at certain restaurants." Even God is the object of ironic comment such as "Yom Kippur is the sacred Jewish holiday commemorating God's reneging on every promise." Allen's main theme is alienation, as a Jew, but also as a human being. His sadness and loneliness is expressed in a humorous way meeting tragedy with a continuous optimism and continuing the struggle without ever giving up, against all odds. Obviously, Allen enjoys being an outsider and he contributes towards making the Jewish condition of being an outsider in America a deep human experience understandable both for Jews and non-Jews.

The Jewish American writers who use humor, have also had a tremendous influence on American literature. They introduced the "laughter through tears" and the self-disparaging character of the *schlemiel* into many of their works. They use both the psychological mechanism of assimilation (adapting to one's environment) and of accommodation (modifying the environment to one's needs). Two of them even received the Nobel Prize for literature. One, the most famous Yiddish writer in the United States, is Isaac Bashevis *Singer. He wrote a story about an immortal *schlemiel*, "Gimpel the Fool," living in the legendary shtetl. Gimpel was the laughing stock of everybody in the shtetl because he was so naive that he believed everything people told him. But Gimpel was not as gullible as he seemed; as he himself said he did not really believe them but he thought that by making himself a believer in their stories, he would at least be liked. This is one of the additional main motives in the psychology of the *schlemiel* which appears so frequently in Jewish humor: make yourself a bit ridiculous and people will like you. This aspect of the *schlemiel* became more and more important in American Jewish humor.

The second Nobel Prize winner, using humor in the best Jewish tradition, is Saul Bellow. Many of his heroes remind us of characters in Shalom Aleichem. Of course they are more complex, richer in their struggle for self-understanding and search for meaning, but they are described with warm irony. In the way Moses Elchanan Herzog, one of the most classic *schlemiels* in American literature, describes his father, one recognizes a Menachem Mendel in the New World: "In 1913 he bought a piece of land near Valleyfield, Quebec, and failed as a farmer. Then he came into town and failed as a baker;

failed in the dry-goods business; failed as a jobber; failed as a sack manufacturer in the War, when no one else failed. He failed as a junk dealer. Then he became a marriage broker and failed – too short tempered and blunt. And now he was failing as a bootlegger, on the run from the Provincial Liquor Commission. Making a bit of a living."

Bellow in *Herzog* explains the influences of the Jewish family, the mother's use of love as a means of pushing and the inevitable emotional failure, because one never can be so marvelous as mother expects. And of course no one can be so much adored as a Jewish boy in his family.

The Jewish mother theme was humorously depicted many times by American Jewish writers, from Dan Greenburg's *How to be a Jewish Mother* to Philip Roth's *Portnoy's Complaint*. All these strong, loving, blackmailing ladies with exaggerated expectations are adored, feared, and seen either as great motivators for social success or as provoking emotional failure. Most Jewish American heroes in comedy are deeply human, complex, anti-heroes who win the readers' or spectators' love because of the emotions they express. They are not the tight-lipped, super-macho cowboys nor the tough-fighter, strong silent types, so familiar to American folklore. They are complex, recognizing their fragility, introspecting with great volubility, and above all striving to be a real *mentsh*. Probably their acceptance by the American public is due to their maturity and recognition that the strength of human beings does not lie only in showing how strong they are, but that there is also some strength in weakness, in accepting it as part of us and living with it, continuing to be optimistic even in the most difficult moments, and being able to laugh at ourselves. Bruce Jay Friedman's "Stern," Malamud's "Fiedelman," Joseph Heller's "Gold," and Mel Brooks's "Two-thousand-year-old Man," all have these characteristics, celebrated by Jewish humor.

Jewish Humor in Israel

There is no better proof concerning the classic question, "Does humor represent national characteristics?" than a comparison of the development of Jewish humor in Israel and the Diaspora. While Jewish humor in 19th-century Europe and 20th-century America became famous and is considered as one of the positive aspects of the Jewish stereotype, in Israel it changed rapidly. As Jews in Israel changed their ideals, behavior and self-perception, so did the famous Jewish humor. Israeli humor has little in common with Jewish humor of the Diaspora. Israeli character has seemed to change, and with it, the humor of the Israelis who are no longer so enchanted with themselves, and are even able to see the ridiculous in their life and behavior. A real "hero" cannot accept seeing himself as a *schlemiel* and fervent – almost fanatical – belief in the realization of a national ideal is not inducive to regarding oneself as funny. The extreme seriousness of the pioneers wanting to build not only a "new homeland" but also a "new Jew," did not leave much place for self-disparagement. But, still, it has proved not so easy to forget almost two millennia of cultural background in the Diaspora – as the founders of Modern Israel so desired. The relatively short history of Israel can be divided into four periods:

(1) Before Independence;
(2) From Independence to the Six-Day War (1948–1967);
(3) From the Six-Day War to the Lebanon war (1967–1982);
(4) After the Lebanon war.

BEFORE INDEPENDENCE. Between 1880 and World War I, a few thousand dreamers went to the Promised Land as idealistic pioneers. They wanted to build a Jewish homeland, but also to rebuild themselves, create a Jew as different as possible from the *galut* (Diaspora) type.

Jews from Europe brought with them their tradition of Jewish humor, and satirical theaters and humorous newspapers flourished. This is remarkable when one remembers that the papers were written in Hebrew, and the plays were interpreted by actors few of whom knew the language very well. Moreover, the Hebrew speaking population was a small minority.

Humorous newspapers in Hebrew appeared in the 1920s. The first satirical newsletter was published by Avigdor Hameiri, who also founded the first satirical theater in Palestine. Various such journals made their appearance, most of them shortlived. Cartoonists started to publish their work in these journals as well as in daily newspapers. The tendency to accept political cartoons, but not cartoons depicting or poking fun at life in general, is still very much alive in Israel today. Yoseph Bass, Aryeh Navon and Nardi were the best known cartoonists of the period before independence.

Satirical theater in Hebrew started in 1927 with the foundation of Ha-Kumkum ("The Kettle") intended to "scald the Yishuv, with the Kettle's steam." The second satirical theater, Ha-Matate ("The Broom") which started in 1928 was frequently used to mock the British, in spite of their censorship.

Israeli humor in this period followed the tradition of European Jewish humor. However one new form of humor was created by the new Israeli generation which was the backbone of the army. The Palmaḥ was considered the elite of the Haganah, Israel's unofficial army, and the humor created in its ranks reflected their life, gently making fun of the inner problems of the army and of course of the British. The jokes were of the tall story kind and rather long; tales in which popular figures, who later became legends, did their tricks. These stories, created in the 1940s, were published in the 1950s in *Yalkut ha-Kezavim*. In *Yalkut*, the heroes were manly, poking fun at everything, accomplishing fantastic, greatly exaggerated feats, and convinced that they were supermen representing the new Yishuv. Difficulties were easily solved by the naive know-all of the heroes. They were capable of besting the English troops who were dumb and credulous. The stories were not satire but kind humor, accepting and admiring the little foibles of the heroes. It was clear for the writers, that those Palmaḥ kids were the best, most noble, and true elite of the new Jewish society

in Palestine. The main characteristics of the story (the *chizbat*) were as follows: It was somewhat lengthy, told to a group around the fire, and contained a kernel of truth. Many Arabic words were used and almost no Yiddish or European languages. While the punch line was not very original, it created an atmosphere of group cohesiveness and a folklore of "private jokes" enjoyed by those who belonged. The heroes were often soldiers, *shomerim* (guards), and kibbutzniks. The main victim was the greenhorn, emphasizing probably the idea that the newcomers are not really "in." In a land based on immigration this kind of joking probably helped to create a kind of elite. This reflected a new way of life, a folklore of the army which was as unknown to the Jews as the army itself.

FROM INDEPENDENCE TO THE SIX-DAY WAR. The creation of the State of Israel was accompanied by the rise of a bureaucracy and a slow disappearance of the great idealistic ideas. Proud of their accomplishments, Israelis developed behavioral characteristics as different as possible from the *galut* image. Being tough, serious, proud of every bit of what was going on in Israel, was the order of the day. George Mikes expressed some astute observations about the Israelis in his book *Milk and Honey* (1950). Among them, one typical of Jewish irony was:

> If you want to get on with the Israelis, praise them. It is silly to praise people behind their backs. Not very manly either. Tell them openly to their faces that you think they are wonderful. Have the courage to insist that they are admirable, brave, brilliant, efficient, noble and inimitable. At first, I thought such statements might embarrass them. But not at all. They do not mind them. They can face the truth. They say it themselves.

An atmosphere of self-importance does not breed humor, but nevertheless, a kind of humor developed which was a stranger to East European humor. Its roots were mostly aggressive and new negative stereotypes were created with each wave of immigration. Romanians were the butts of jokes concerning their honesty, Moroccans for using knives too easily, Germans for being dense, and so on. This reflected the "scapegoat principle" according to which people need to consider others laughable in order to feel superior themselves. Jews who for generations had been the targets for the mockery of others had to find victims, and these they found among themselves.

Rapidly, the new bureaucrats and politicians became the favorite target. There was a gradual passage from great admiration for the leaders to a more critical view. For the young Israelis, the practical aspect of the realization of their ideals proved unpalatable. Pioneering asceticism was replaced by a desire for personal gains and luxuries. Egalitarian ideology was considered a thing of the past and instead of wanting to be an exemplary state, most Israelis – especially the young ones – wanted to be just normal, not better than others, and certainly not worse.

The 1956 Sinai Campaign with its quick military victory bolstered the Israelis' self-confidence – and their arrogance – even more. The tough guy, who never talks about emotions or weaknesses, was reinforced. Humor was rather pale and rare on Israeli radio (television was not yet introduced) and in the newspapers.

Haaretz published the daily column *Uzi ve-Shutafav* ("Uzi and his partners") written by Benjamin Tammuz and later by Amos Kenan. *Maariv* started *Ḥad Gadya* by Ephraim Kishon. The literary journal *Masa* started publishing installments of *Yalkut ha-Kezavim* by Haim Hefer and Dahn Ben-Amotz. The humor of this period was mostly the work of newcomers from Europe, notably Hungarians. Foremost among them was Ephraim Kishon, a well-known humorist in Hungary prior to his going to Israel. When he arrived in Israel he did not know a word of Hebrew. Within a short time his mastery of the language was such that he introduced into it many innovations which were rapidly picked up by his readers. His output was extraordinary. Not only did he have a daily column in the most popular daily in Israel, but he wrote successful theater comedies which were produced in Israel and many other countries, and wrote and directed outstanding film comedies which won him international recognition (*The Policeman* was nominated for an Oscar as best foreign movie). Kishon's satire was mild and loving, considering the people he attacked were more like *schlemiels* than cruel and bad people. Other Israelis of Hungarian origin who were noted humorists included the journalist Josef (Tomi) Lapid and the cartoonists Dosh (Katriel Gardosh), who created a popular little Israeli who became a national symbol, and Ze'ev (Ya'akov Farkas), a sharp political satirist. Since most humor of this period was created by newcomers from Eastern Europe who brought with them the humorous style prevalent there and who were enchanted with being in Israel, their work was gentle and beloved.

FROM THE SIX-DAY WAR TO THE LEBANON WAR. The Six-Day War changed the self-image of most Israelis and probably of many Jews around the world. Suddenly the little David slaughtered Goliath anew and started to believe in himself as some kind of superman. Israelis became conquerors, having acquired considerable territories, maintaining more than one million Arabs under military rule.

The general euphoria did not silence the dissidents who started asking questions about the morality of being a conqueror and often used the medium of a bitter humor. *Malkat ha-Ambatia* ("Queen of the Bath"), the first satirical play after the Six-Day War, vigorously attacked the Israeli political establishment and its policies concerning the occupied territories. Hanoch Levin, the author of the play, was at such odds with the general consensus that his play was performed only 19 times and abandoned due to the public outcry.

However, Levin's satire was followed by other humorous critical looks at Israeli realities. The new medium of television brought lively satire into everybody's home. The weekly program, entitled *Nikkui Rosh* ("Cleaning the Head"), was written by a new generation of humorists. Israel-born, they did not look at the country as a miracle but as a fact which can be criticized, a reality with good and bad aspects. Humor was

never accepted by Israeli politicians as a normal part of the country's life. This was because most Israeli humor during this period was political, the politicians appearing as liars, cheats, and desirous of holding on to power.

The new generation of humorists, B. Michael, Ephraim Sidon, Yonatan Gefen, all "sabras" (born in Israel), used virulent, savage satire against the government and its policies. The cabaret satire, presented on stage, became popular and what Levin dared to present in his first satirical plays was now accepted and enjoyed immense popularity. Some "old timers" from the Palmaḥ days like Dahn Ben-Amotz and Amos Kenan joined the ranks. Seeing themselves as keepers of the original idealistic views, destroyed by politicians from the political right as well as from the left, they helped keep up a constant satirical attack against the political establishment.

The Yom Kippur War was a hard shock for most Israelis and had a sobering effect on their self-image. Political humor and virulent satire were mobilized to attack those in power. Since power in 1977 moved to the right side of the political spectrum, most satire came from the left. Satirical plays now enjoyed a huge success. For the first time, Israel, its policies, the feeling of being right, were savagely satirized. Yehoshua Sobol, one of Israel's most prolific playwrights, wrote satirical reviews ferociously attacking the political leadership. Hanoch Levin continued his satirical work. Contrary to the older generation of humorists who saw in political and bureaucratic manipulations a kind of "schlemielish" way of dealing with Israel's realities, the new generation showed politicians as vicious liars, ready to cheat, and even start wars in order to gain or retain power.

However, this satirical overkill became boring in the long run, with the satirists repeating themselves. Some of them, such as B. Michael, Ephraim Sidon, Kobi Niv, and Dudu Geva, started writing absurd humor. This is possibly a renewal of the traditional Jewish humor: if you cannot fight a cruel reality, change it by distorting it. If you can laugh at it, this shows that it is not so terrible. Absurd and even sexual humor (a novelty in Israeli humor), a new modern style of cartoons, comic strips, brought a new wind into Israeli humor. However political satire was still dominant by far.

AFTER THE LEBANON WAR. This war, the first on which the Israeli consensus was broken, created an even stronger satirical outcry. But, since they were the same satirists, attacking the same targets, the public and finally the satirists themselves got somewhat tired. New forms of humor appeared on the Israeli scene, some of them relating to the more traditional themes of Jewish humor. In some sketches the *schlemiel* appeared; an Israeli soldier, a bit confused, doing his best to keep alive and get home in one piece, keeping up his morale by using self-disparaging humor. This was something new.

Some nostalgic looks towards Diaspora Jewish humor appeared. A new generation of Israeli humorists, in their twenties, started a new style of absurd humor which became a cult among youngsters. Satire, nonsense, and self-disparagement contributed to creating a healthy humorous atmosphere. Many daily newspapers started a weekly humor supplement, best-known being "Another Thing" (*Davar Aḥer*) in the Socialist party's daily *Davar*, which even made fun of the party's own historical slogans.

What is the future for the development of Israeli humor? A humorist explained: "Jewish humor developed in Eastern Europe as a defense mechanism. Jews were living in small shtetls, surrounded by a huge majority of Christians who hated them and tried many times to destroy them. Today everything has changed. Jews now live in a small state surrounded by a huge majority of Arabs who hate them and have tried many times to destroy them. So, don't worry, we still need Jewish humor for survival."

Jewish Theoretical Approaches to Humor

Jewish humor was one of the aspects of dealing with reality in difficult times. Humor in itself as a human phenomenon has been investigated by many writers and philosophers, and the three main theoretical approaches to the understanding of humor in the modern period were the products of Jewish minds.

The social theory of humor views laughter as a social punishment directed towards those who do not behave, feel, or think in socially accepted ways. Henri Bergson, the Nobel Prize-winning Jewish philosopher, exposed this theory in his book *Le Rire*, published in 1898. According to his view, laughter has an important corrective function in social life. As shown before, this function of laughter appeared already in the Bible.

The second theory of humor stresses the motivational and emotional factors in humor. It was first expounded by Sigmund *Freud in his book: *Wit and Its Relation to the Unconscious*, published in 1905. Dividing humor into tendentious and non-tendentious, Freud showed that most humor expresses in a socially acceptable way the strongest human impulses: sexuality and aggressiveness. By freeing the expression of these impulses, psychic energy is economized. In his book, Freud used many examples of Jewish humor: *shadkhans* (marriage brokers) and *shnorrers* (beggars) as well as all kinds of Jewish traditional figures abound in his jokes. It is in this book that Freud wrote: "I do not know whether there are many other instances of a people making fun to such a degree of its own character." In this sentence, Freud for the first time gave expression to one of the better known characteristics of Jewish humor: self-disparagement. In an article entitled "Humor," written in 1928, Freud pointed out how humor can be a helpful mechanism by obtaining victory in a symbolic manner when dealing with difficult situations.

The third main theory on humor was proposed by Arthur *Koestler in his book *The Art of Creation* published in 1964. Here, the cognitive aspect of humor is stressed. Introducing the concept of bisociation, which he defined as "perceiving a situation or idea in two self-consistent but habitually incompatible frames of references," Koestler demonstrated

that humor can be seen as a model for creativity. Creativity in sciences, as well as in arts, is based mainly on bisociation, and understanding humor can help better understand the concept of creativity.

These three approaches: social, emotional, and cognitive, constitute the theoretical basis for most modern research in the field of humor. The fact that all three theories were created by Jews is an additional factor strengthening the hypothesis of the special affinity between Jews and humor. In addition, the First International Academic Conference on Jewish Humor held in 1984 at Tel Aviv University, followed by the second one in New York in 1986, shows the interest of the scientific community – Jewish and non-Jewish – in Jewish humor. No such conferences on any other national humor have ever been organized.

Psycho-Social Roots of Jewish Humor

Although most researchers seem to agree that Jewish humor developed as a reaction to the difficult living conditions of a persecuted minority, some additional explanations are relevant. Language is the main vehicle of humor and Jewish history was always linked with language richness. Bilingualism – and at certain times trilingualism – was a characteristic of the Diaspora already from the times of the Babylonian exile. Most of the time, Jews knew three languages: Hebrew for sacred studies, Yiddish (or Ladino), and the language of the country they lived in. Introducing words from one language into another frequently produces humorous effects, and many Jewish writers used this technique. The "Yiddishization of English" provides material for American comedians, and few Americans are unfamiliar with such terms as *meshugas, gonif*, and *gevalt*.

Another factor related to language is the perpetual enrichment caused by cultural influences. Jews, a minority in many countries, were influenced by the literature, language, and culture of the host country. Minorities defend their own culture by adopting some aspect of the dominant one, thus contributing to their own enrichment.

Certainly the fact that learning was always highly valued by Jewish tradition has had an important influence in the development of Jewish humor. Most Jewish humor is verbal, and the habit of looking beyond the apparent meaning of the words, trying to turn them around as the *pilpul* tradition always taught, influenced the taste for playing with words in many ways, including the humorous one.

As a minority, Jews had to maintain their cohesiveness and those who did not follow the community rules were laughed at. The many inner jokes about those who converted or those who did not follow the traditional ways had an important function.

Finally, the need to see the absurdity in a world where Jews, the chosen people, were always persecuted, helped in no small way to develop humor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1958); D. Alexander, *The Jester and the King: Political Satire in Israel: A Temporary Summary 1948–1984* (1985); S. Altman, *The Comic Image of the Jew: Exploration of a Pop Culture Phenomenon* (1971); N. Ausubel, *Treasury of Jewish Folklore* (1948); C. Bloch, *Ostjüdischer Humor* (Berlin, 1920); idem, *Hersch Ostropoler* (1921); M. Buber, *Die Chassidischen Bücher* (1927; Eng. trans., 2 vol., 1947–48); Y. Friedlander, *Be-Misterei ha-Satirah: Hebrew Satire in Europe in the 19th century* (1984); E. Fuchs, *Die Juden in der Karikatur* (1921); B. Heinemann, *The Maggid of Dubno and His Parables* (1963); S. Halkin, *Modern Hebrew Literature* (1950); D. Jarden (ed.), *The Cantos of Immanuel of Rome* (*Maḥbarot Immanuel ha-Romi*; 1957); I. Knox, "The Traditional Roots of Jewish Humor," in: *Judaism*, 12 (1963), 327–37; J.P. Kohn, *Rabbinischer Humor aus alter und neuer Zeit* (1915); I. Kristol, "Is Jewish Humor Dead?" in: *Commentary* (Nov. 1951); S. Liptzin, *The Flowering of Yiddish Literature* (1963); idem, *A History of Yiddish Literature* (1971); L.I. Newman, *Maggidim and Hasidim: Their Wisdom* (1962); P. Schram, *The Wisdom of the Fool and the Maggid* (1984); J. Stora Sandor, *L'humour juif dans la literature: de Job à Woody Allen* (1984); R.R. Wisse, *The Schlemiel as Modern Hero* (1971); A. Ziv, *Jewish Humour* (1986). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** W. Novak and M. Waldoks (eds.), *The Big Book of Jewish Humor* (1981); R. Menchin, *Jewish Humor from Groucho Marx to Jerry Seinfeld* (1997); H. Spalding *Encyclopedia of Jewish Humor: From Biblical Times to the Modern Age* (2001); idem, *Classic Jewish Humor in America* (1995); S.B. Cohen (ed.), *Jewish Wry: Essays on Jewish Humor* (1990); J. Bloom, *Gravity Fails: The Comic Jewish Shaping of Modern America* (2003); L. Epstein, *The Haunted Smile: The Story of Jewish Comedians in America* (2001).

[Avner Ziv]

°**HUMPHREY, HUBERT H.** (1911–1978), U.S. Statesman; vice president of the United States. He was born in Wallace, South Dakota, where his father had a small drugstore. A self-made man, he supported himself during his studies at the University of Minnesota where he graduated Phi Beta Kappa, but during the Great Depression returned to his home town, working in his father's store for six years to support his family.

Rejected for military service in World War II on medical grounds, Humphrey was appointed director of the Minnesota War Productions Board. He entered politics in 1945 when he was elected Mayor of Minneapolis and established a reputation as a tough fighter in cleaning up the city. It was during this period that he formed his first intimate contacts with the Jewish community.

Elected to the U.S. Senate in 1949, he was chosen by President Johnson as his nominee for the vice presidency in 1964, and in 1968 was the Democratic candidate for the presidency, failing to gain election by only a small margin. Reelected to the Senate he became a member of the important Foreign Relations Committee and chairman of the subcommittee on foreign aid.

Throughout his political career Humphrey remained a staunch friend and defender of Judaism, deepening his knowledge by study and frequent visits to Israel. He believed firmly in the importance of the state as a bastion of democracy and the most important ally of the free world in the Middle East. "The noblest of U.S. aspirations bear a striking kinship to the vision of the prophets of ancient Israel" was his constant theme.

After the Six-Day War and the three "noes" of the Arab Khartoum Conference, he was instrumental in obtaining more Phantom planes for Israel. In 1968 he published his Six Point Plan for a permanent peace in the Middle East, calling – *inter alia* – for the recognition of Israel by the Arab countries, secure borders, free navigation and a solution to the Arab refugee problem.

After the Yom Kippur War he was instrumental in obtaining vast military and economic aid for Israel, and was responsible for the introduction of an amendment to the bill which enabled the U.S. administration to waive up to $1.5b. for military equipment sent to Israel. He vigorously opposed the secret negotiations on the part of the United States with the PLO and President Ford's reassessment policy towards Israel.

Humphrey also took a prominent part in the struggle on behalf of the rights of Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel, and took up the cudgels on their behalf in personal interviews with Leonid Brezhnev in 1973 and 1974.

Among the many various distinctions granted to him for his unsparing and untiring efforts on behalf of Israel were doctorates *honoris causa* from Yeshiva University and the Weizmann Institute, and the opening of the School of Medicine of Ben-Gurion University in November 1974. In October 1977 he received the first Gold Medal Human Rights Award of the Pioneer Women's Organization.

Humphrey died on Jan. 13, 1978, shortly after he was visited by the prime minister of Israel during the latter's stay in Washington.

In Jan. 1979 the Hubert H. Humphrey Parkway was dedicated in Jerusalem.

[Alexander Zvielli (2nd ed.)]

ḤUMRA (Aramaic חֻמְרָא "severity or sternness"), a legal term in talmudic and halakhic literature applied to the stricter and more severe of two possible rulings in doubtful cases of ritual law and observance. The opposite of *ḥumra* is *kulla* (קֻלָּא), meaning the more lenient and permissive approach. In tractate *Eduyyot*, chapters 4 and 5, the Talmud gives a complete list of the *ḥumrot* and *kullot*, i.e., the more restrictive and the more lenient decisions of the academies of *Hillel and *Shammai. In doubts regarding biblical law the stricter ruling should be followed, whereas in matters of rabbinic laws and ordinances the more lenient solution may be adopted. In later usage, the term also referred to the restrictions that pious individuals voluntarily imposed upon themselves in ritual observance which was over and above the requirements of the law.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisenstein, Yisrael, 5 (1911), 272–3.

HUNA (Ḥuna), a name very common among the *amoraim*, especially those of Babylon. (Palestinian *amoraim* of that name also came from Babylon; see *Huna b. Avin.) In the Babylonian Talmud there are no less than 60, and it occurs among the heads of the academies of Sura and Pumbedita in the geonic period (see **Gaon*). Apart from the outstanding *amora* (see below no. 2) of that name who is always referred to without his patronymic, the father's name is always given – with two or three possible exceptions. This name was also common in the family of the exilarchs from the end of the tannaitic to the end of the amoraic era, and several exilarchs were called Rav Huna or Mar Huna. The following (without patronymics) are worthy of note:

(1) Rav Huna Resh Galuta (end of second century), Babylonian exilarch at the close of the tannaitic era mentioned by Judah ha-Nasi, his contemporary (Gen. R. 33:3; TJ, Ket. 12:3, 35a). Huna died during Judah's lifetime and his remains were taken to Ereẓ Israel for burial (TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32b, Gen. R. 33:3), probably to *Bet She'arim, where Judah dwelt. In subsequent generations it became customary for the remains of Jews who died in the Diaspora to be taken to Bet She'arim for burial. Rav Huna is, however, the first known talmudic sage to be buried in Ereẓ Israel.

(2) R. Huna (second half of the third century), one of the leaders of the second generation of Babylonian *amoraim* and a pillar of the Babylonian Talmud. Huna is mentioned hundreds of times in the Babylonian and frequently in the Jerusalem Talmud (also by the name Ḥuna). His great influence can be seen not only in the many halakhic and aggadic dicta transmitted in his name, but also from the many details given about his life and habits, as well as of his death and burial. According to the letter of Sherira Gaon, he died in 296 C.E. and the Talmud (MK 28a) testifies that he was an octogenarian. From one passage in the Talmud (Pes. 107a) it would appear that he was already known as a scholar in the time of Judah ha-Nasi. Huna belonged to the family of the exilarch (Letter of Sherira Gaon) and came from the town Drukeret near Sura (Ta'an. 21b). Nevertheless, in his youth he was extremely poor (Meg. 27b), worked with cattle (TJ, Sanh. 1:1, 18b), and was a farm laborer, and when he was called to give evidence or act as a judge, he had to request that a substitute be provided for him for his work (Ket. 105a; et al.). Toward the end of his life, however, he became very wealthy and the *aggadah* tells of his great philanthropy (Ta'an. 20b).

Huna was the outstanding disciple of Rav (Shab. 128a; Beẓah 40a; BK 115a; et al.) and was largely instrumental in the decision that the *halakhah* follows Rav in matters of ritual law (Nid. 24b; et al.). He transmits traditions in Rav's name, and according to the Talmud statements given anonymously in the name of "the school of Rav" are to be attributed to Huna (Sanh. 17b and Tos. s.v. *Ella Rav Hamnuna*). Rav's great influence is also discernible in Huna's style and language. Nevertheless, he is also mentioned as "sitting at the feet" of Rav's contemporary, Samuel, and transmits statements in his name (Suk. 32b; Ar. 16b). After the deaths of Rav and Samuel, Huna was appointed head of the Sura Academy, over which he presided for more than 40 years, but apparently his *bet midrash* in his native Drukeret continued to function (Letter of Sherira). Many *aggadot* speak of the extent to which he disseminated Torah in eulogistic terms and give superlative descriptions of the vast numbers of his disciples (see, e.g., Ket. 106a). Almost

all the *amoraim* of the generation after him transmit his teachings, and even his contemporaries, the pupils of Rav, regarded him as an authority, asking his advice and accepting his decision (Kid. 70a; Nid. 28a; et al.). He was similarly esteemed in Ereẓ Israel (TJ, Hag. 1:8, 76c), and the religious leaders of Tiberias, Ammi and Assi, accepted his authority (Git. 59b). There are many references to his saintliness, the many fasts which he imposed upon himself (MK 25a) and the manner in which he dispensed his hospitality to the poor (Ta'an. 20b), etc. He and his colleague Ḥisda were called "the pious ones of Babylon" (Ta'an. 23b). It is stated that when he died the sages wished to place a *Sefer Torah* on his bier but refrained from doing so when Ḥisda informed them that Huna did not approve of such action. In his eulogy, Abba said: "Our teacher merited that the Divine presence (Shekhinah) rest upon him; that it did not was the fault of Babylon" (MK 25a). After this, the Talmud goes on to state that Rav Huna's remains – like the remains of Rav Huna the exilarch – were taken to Ereẓ Israel for burial, and Ammi and Assi, the heads of the school of Tiberias, went to meet the bier; he was buried in the cave of *Ḥiyya (MK 25a; TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32b). However, it seems that this tradition in the Bavli has no historical basis, but rather is a reworking of the earlier tradition concerning Rav Huna the exilarch, which was appended to the original Babylonian tradition concerning the death of our Rav Huna by later editors (Friedman). Of Huna's sons, the *amora* Rabbah b. Huna is known (Meg. 27b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor; Bacher, Bab Amor, 52ff.; Hyman, Toledot, 336ff; S. Friedman, in: Saul Lieberman Memorial Volume (Hebrew) (1993), 146–163.

[Shmuel Safrai]

HUNA (Huna, Hunya, Nehunya) BEN AVIN HA-KOHEN (mid-fourth century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. His full name appears in the *Pesikta Rabbati* (5:15b et al.). Huna was born in Babylon, where he studied under R. Joseph, but immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, and he gives a personal account of this immigration (TJ, RH 2:2, 58a). He is seldom mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud, but very frequently in the Jerusalem Talmud and Palestinian Midrashim, both in *halakhah* and *aggadah*. He transmits in the names of Babylonian scholars, particularly Joseph and also generally, referring to them as "the rabbis there" (TJ, Yoma 3:6, 40c; Suk. 1:1, 52b). In Ereẓ Israel he sat before R. Jeremiah and was regarded as his pupil (Zev. 75b). In *aggadah* he frequently transmits in the name of Aḥa (TJ, Ber. 9:3, 13d, and in the Midrashim). It appears that Huna took an active and prominent part in communal affairs of Ereẓ Israel, and was one of its leaders, both in the academic and the daily life of the community (see TJ, Suk. 2:5, 53a; Pe'ah 3:9, 17d; et al.) and was accepted as an authority in practical *halakhah* (TJ, Shev. 6:1, 36d; MK 1:2, 80b; BB 52b, 55a; et al.).

Several of Huna's sayings reflect the events of the revolt against Gallus (in 351; see, e.g., TJ, Pes. 1:1, 27a; Gen. R. 31:11). It would appear that the decision which he sent to Babylonia informing them that they should fix the leap year themselves (RH 21a), is connected with these persecutions, since it was difficult for the Sanhedrin in Ereẓ Israel to do so. Similarly the letter sent to Babylon from Ereẓ Israel which tells in cryptic language of the intercalation of the year despite interferences by "that Edomite" (Sanh. 12a) was probably sent by Huna. His statements in the *aggadah* are frequent, and they embrace many aspects of Jewish thought. They are expressed in the form of expositions of Scripture, homilies, parables, proems to homilies, etc. In them too can be detected an echo of the difficult situation in his time – statements warning against forcing the end (of the exile), and the failures of the various attempts to do so (Song R. 2:2 no. 5; et al.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 357.

[Shmuel Safrai]

HUNA BEN (Bereih de-Rav) JOSHUA (fourth century C.E.), Babylonian *amora*. R. Huna, together with R. *Papa, was a pupil of *Abbaye (Pes. 111b) and of *Rava (BB 22a). Rava held them in great esteem, saying of them "Happy are the righteous" (Hor. 10b; Kid. 32b), but he was also censorious of them, calling them "Ye white geese that strip people of their cloaks" (Ket. 85a). Huna testified of himself that he never walked four cubits bareheaded (Shab. 118b). His long life is attributed to the fact that he never stood upon his rights (RH 17a). The Talmud (BB 130b) cites the directives given by Rava to Huna and Papa, on how to deal with legal decisions both during his lifetime and after his death. After Rava's death, R. Papa founded a yeshivah in Naresh and Huna became "head of the **kallah*" (Ber. 57a, according to another reading he became head of his group) and in several places the Talmud cites the decisions Huna gave there (Yoma 69a, et al.). Huna and Papa are frequently mentioned together in the Talmud. Although they occupied themselves mainly with *halakhah*, aggadic statements of theirs occur (Shab. 89a). They engaged in business too (Git. 73a) and were of substantial means (see BB 26a; Hor. 10b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; S.W. Rabinowitz, *Sha'arei Torat Bavel* (1961), 379–80.

[Zvi Kaplan]

HUNA BEN NATHAN (fourth–beginning of fifth century), Babylonian *amora*. Huna was also *exilarch (*Iggeret Sherira Ga'on*, ed. Levin p. 91). Though indeed "scholarship and high office were combined in him" he subordinated himself to R. *Ashi (Git. 59a). According to a tradition cited in *Mo'ed Katan* (28a; see the Munich Mss. *ibid.*) he succeeded Ashi on the latter's death. He was held in high esteem by Yezdegerd I, the Persian king (Zev. 19a). His halakhic sayings are frequently quoted in the Talmud (Shab. 116b, et al.), and he had halakhic discussions with *Rava, whose sayings he transmitted (Ned. 12a, et al.). He was also associated with *Naḥman b. Isaac, R. *Papa, and with Ameimar in Nehardea, who permitted him to marry a wife from Be-Ḥozai (Pes. 86b; Ber. 42a; Kid. 72b. et al.). Such was his fame that his father used to be referred to as "Nathan, the father of Huna b. Nathan" (Pes. 117b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 431–2.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

HUNA OF SEPPHORIS (end of the third and beginning of the fourth centuries C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. R. Huna was a pupil of R. Johanan whose sayings he transmitted (RH 34b). Halakhic and aggadic statements of his are transmitted by various scholars in both the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds, as well as in the Midrash (Yoma 77b; TJ, Ta'an. 2:2, 65c; Kid. 1:1, 58c; Ex. R. 3:6). He was the author of the prayer "*raḥem*" (or "*naḥem*") recited during the afternoon service on the Ninth of Av (see TJ, Ta'an. 2:2, 65c).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mevo, 74a; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 233.

[Zvi Kaplan]

HUNCOVCE (Ger. **Hunsdorf**; Hg. **Hunfalu**), village in N.E. Slovakia; until 1992 Czechoslovak Republic, since then Slovak Republic, seat of a famous yeshivah. It is located in the region of Spiš (Ger. Zips, Hg. Szepes), settled densely by Germans (Schwabes). The inhabitants were hostile to Jews and would not permit them to live in the region's towns. Huncovce, a village, served as a ghetto, where Jews would return in the evenings when the city gates closed. The first Jews must have settled in Huncovce in the 17th century, and there is evidence of their presence in the 18th century. The first rabbi, Benjamin Sinai, died in 1708. From the outset, Huncovce suffered from internal migration, so when *Liptovský Mikuláš was settled by Jews at the beginning of the 18th century, 22 families moved there from Huncovce. When Jews received freedom of settlement in Hungary in 1840, they moved to neighboring towns. This repeated itself after 1867, when Jews gained equality in the country. In the Czechoslovak Republic, migration spelled disaster to the community.

According to the census of 1725/28, two Jewish families lived in Huncovce. In 1785/87 there were 563 Jews, and in 1830/35 their number reached 928 (943.1% of all inhabitants). In 1880 there were 364 Jews (27.7%); in 1910 there were 420 (33.2%); and in 1919 there were 275. In 1930 their number decreased to 194, and in 1940 on the eve of deportations, only 75 Jews remained.

The community was organized in the 1760s. It had a wooden synagogue, a *ḥevra kaddisha*, a cemetery (old and new), and a *mikveh*. During that period, a major fire destroyed all the community's buildings, including the archive. In 1821 a beautiful new synagogue was built. All its contents were stolen or destroyed during the Holocaust.

Huncovce was the site of a well-known yeshivah, second only to that of Pressburg. At the beginning of the 19th century, there were three yeshivot in Huncovce, as well as a dormitory and a dining hall. The one that survived in the shrinking community was reorganized by Samuel (Šandor) Rosenberg (1842–1919). It attracted many students from abroad (there were 300 students in 1910 and 130 in 1927), but it closed down when the last principal, Joseph Horowitz, was called to Frankfurt on Main in 1931.

During the Hungarian Revolution in 1848/49, many volunteered for the Magyar army. During the 19th century the community was rather affluent, but it later quickly deteriorated. The elementary school, established in 1844, closed in 1933. Huncovce was the mother-congregation of several smaller congregations in the area, including tourist resorts in the Tatra mountains. During the existence of the Fascist Slovak state, all Jews, including the last rabbi, Solomon Horowitz, and his family, were sent to the concentration point in Poprad in May 1942, and from there to extermination camps in Poland.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EJ, 8 (1931), 284–5; Y.Y. Gruenwald, *Mekorot le-Korot Yisrael* (1934), 1–16; A. Schnitzer, *Juedische Kulturbilder* (1904), 5–15, 76–84; F. Gottlieb, in: *Židovská ročenka* (1964/65), 121–5; M. Lányi and B.H. Propperné, *Szlovenzkoi zsidó hitközségek története* (1933), 269–71. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E. Bàrkàny and L. Dojč, *Židovské náboženské obce na Slovensku*, (1991), 316–21.

[Meir Lamed / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

°**HUNDT-RADOWSKY, JOACHIM HARTWIG** (1759–1835), German political writer and journalist. Hundt-Radowsky was a radical nationalist and rabid antisemite whose works were frequently banned by post–1815 conservative regimes. He came to identify these regimes with the Jews as enemies of the people. In the year of the *Hep! Hep! disturbances (1819) his popular *Judenspiegel, ein Schandund Sittengemaelde alter und neuer Zeit* (1821) opened with the words: "Of all nations none has so thoroughly distinguished itself through vindictiveness, cowardice, arrogance, superstition, usury, deceit, and thievery like the Jews." Continuing in the same vicious vein, he accused the Jews of being parasitic and scheming for world domination, advocating that they be enslaved and castrated. Three weeks after publication, more than 10,000 copies of the *Judenspiegel* were sold. Another work, *Die Judenschule* (3 vols., 1822–23), was sarcastically dedicated to the Rothschilds, "supporters of legitimacy in Europe." Two volumes depicted the standard antisemitic picture of Judaism, while the third accused the oppressive regimes of being thoroughly infiltrated and controlled by converts, half-Jews, and bastard "sons of Keturah." In a third work, *Neuer Judenspiegel, oder Apologie der Kinder Israel* (1828), he executed a complete about-face, acknowledging the moral and social perfectability of Jews through reeducation (after repudiating their religion), and recognized the responsibility of Christian states for what he saw as the Jews' present state of corruption. This apology did not achieve the popularity of his other works.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. Hagemann, "*Mannlicher Muth und teutsche Ehre.*" *Nation, Militaer und Geschlecht in der Zeit der antinapoleonischen Kriege Preussens* (2002); S. Rohrbacher, *Gewalt im Biedermeier. Antijuedische Ausschreitungen im Vormaerz und Revolution 1815–49* (1993).

HUNGARIAN LITERATURE. This article is arranged according to the following outline:

Biblical and Hebraic Influences

The author of the earliest extant document in the Hungarian language, Magyar, a funeral oration called *Halotti beszéd* (c. 1200), based his text on the biblical account of the fall of man, and some of the earliest Hungarian poetry was interwoven with biblical imagery and diction. Later in the Middle Ages, Latin chroniclers such as Simon Kézai (c. 1280) and Mark Kálti (c. 1360) used the biblical stories of the Flood, Nimrod, and the Israelite heroes as source material for their reconstruction of Magyar history.

THE REFORMATION AND ITS AFTERMATH. The Reformation made rapid headway in Hungary, where the Bible was first translated by Hussite preachers of the 15th century, whose versions of the Psalms and the Prophets are still available. During the 16th century, Hungarian Calvinists were particularly active as Bible translators: Gáspár Heltai produced a version of the Pentateuch and Gáspár Károli translated the entire Bible in 1590. Károli's was a notable achievement, comparable to the Authorized Version of the Bible in English. In the Hebrews of the Old Testament Protestant writers saw a prefiguration of the Hungarian nation, its national resurgence, and its tribulations at the hands of feudal overlords, the Roman Catholic Church and Turkish invaders. In his poem, *Cantilena* (c. 1523), Ferenc Apáti made dramatic use of the figure of Samson to symbolize the Hungarian peasant revolt, while András Farkas drew a parallel between "God's two chosen peoples" in *Az zsidó és a magyar nemzetről* ("On the Jewish and Hungarian Nations," Cracow, 1538). Bálint Balassa, the first major Hungarian poet, also expressed himself in the language of the Psalms, some of which he translated into Magyar, as did András Szkhárosi Horvát, who used the chastisement of Lev. 26 to scourge his own people in *Az átokról* ("The Curse," 1547). Another 16th-century translator of the Psalms was Mihály Sztárai.

Following the Turkish victory at Mohács in 1526, the words of Jeremiah were often quoted to describe the sad condition into which Hungary was then plunged. Reformation epics drew their inspiration from biblical characters or episodes. Some notable examples are found in the works of András Batizi (Isaac and Gideon), Péter Kákonyi (Samson). András Dézsi (Abraham and the hosts of Moses and Joshua), and Mihály Sztárai (Ahab and Elijah). Miklós Sztárai wrote a verse adaptation of the story of the Flood. Sebestyén Tinódi not only described the battle between David and Goliath and versified the story of Jonah, but in his poetic account of Noah the husbandman, *Sokféle részögösről* ("Many Kinds of Drunkard," 1548), even used material from the *aggadah*. Other Hungarian Protestants favored themes such as the destruction of Jerusalem and the heroism of the Maccabees. By the end of the 16th century Catholic writers of the Counter-Reformation were in their turn exploiting the Bible. György Káldi, a Jesuit, was responsible for the first Hungarian Bible under Catholic auspices (Vienna, 1626). Hungary's desolation was attributed to the evil effects of Calvinism, and contemporary polemical writings made extensive use of biblical citation. In 17th-century Hungarian literature the Bible and secular poetry find a remarkable fusion in the works of Miklós Zriny, who wrote the baroque epic *Obsidio Szigetiana*, its Hungarian title *Szigeti veszedelem* ("The Siege of Szigetvár," Vienna, 1651). In this heroic and nationalistic work the hero is motivated by scriptural morality, and his military science owes much to biblical history. During the 18th century, Kelemen Mikes injected a biblical tone into his fictional *Törökországi levelek* ("Letters from Turkey," Szombathely, 1794). The main stress in this period, however, was on drama, and the biblical plays include *Izsák és Rebekka* (1704) by Ferenc Pápai Páriz and *Joas* (1770) by Bernát Benyák, as well as two anonymous ones about Esther.

19TH- AND 20TH-CENTURY LITERATURE. With the revival of Magyar nationalism in the 19th century there came a literary revival of biblical themes and expression. Ferenc Kölcsey, a Protestant nobleman, made patriotism a religious *leitmotiv* of his writing; his *Hymnus* (1823), textually related to Jer. 32:21–29, became the Hungarian national anthem. Biblical phrases and characters recur frequently in the works of János Arany. *Rachel* (1851) allegorized Hungary's fate in biblical terms, and his fragmentary *Proféta-lomb* ("Prophet Bough"), begun in 1877, was inspired by the story of Jonah. Mihály Tompa, a Calvinist pastor, not unnaturally turned to the Bible in poetical works such as *Sámson* (1863), while Imre Madách found the framework for his *Az ember tragédiája* ("The Tragedy of Man," 1862) in the Creation story and the Book of Job. Another of Madách's dramas, *Mózes* (1860), describes the Magyar battle for freedom in terms of the Exodus from Egypt. Biblical elements are also much in evidence in the novels of two prominent liberal writers, Mór Jókai and Kálmán Mikszáth.

Among 20th-century writers, the revolutionary poet Endre Ady, who like many Hungarian liberals had a Calvinist background and education, drew spiritual and linguistic inspiration from the Scriptures, which had an immense impact on his style and religious expression. Jewish fellow-writers and critics were among his most ardent supporters. Gyula Juhász made use of biblical metaphor, and Jewish legendary material appeared in some of the mystical poems of Attila József. Toward the end of his life Mihály Babits in *Jónás könyve* ("The

Book of Jonah," 1938) reassessed his negative view of the Bible, claiming that the man who remains silent in the face of evil is himself an accomplice.

Rather surprisingly, works of biblical inspiration were not common among Hungarian Jewish writers, even in the case of so Jewish a poet as József *Kiss. Emil *Makai paraphrased the Song of Songs (*Énekek éneke*, 1893), wrote the drama *Absolon* (1891), and translated Abraham *Goldfaden's plays about Shulamit and Bar Kokhba. Lajos *Palágyi wrote poems on biblical themes, and Henrik Lenkei wrote some about Cain (*Kain halála*, 1899), David and Job. Géza *Szilágyi, who often quoted the Bible in his works, dealt with Delilah (1910) and other figures, and he was followed by several minor Jewish poets. Lajos *Szabolcsi wrote a historical novel about Bar Kokhba (*Acsillag fia*, 1918) and a play about Josephus (1922); Illés *Kaczér published several biblical and Jewish historical works; and valuable literary studies of Jeremiah (1932) and Isaiah (1935) were written by a leading Reform (Neolog) rabbi, Lipót Kecskeméti (1865–1936). Under the shadow of Hitlerism, many Jewish writers sought comfort in the Bible, and for a time, biblical dramas were staged by the OMIKE (Hungarian Jewish Cultural Association). These include *Támár* (1942) by Lajos Bálint; and *Batséba* (1940) and *Mózes* (1942) by Károly *Pap.

After World War II, a few writers again turned to the Bible. Among them were Géza Hegedüs, whose novel *A Bálványrombolók* ("The Iconoclasts," 1945) dealt with Deborah and Barak: János Kodolányi, whose *Az égő csipkebokor* ("The Burning Bush," 1957) has Moses as its hero; László Németh (Sámson, 1958); and József Fodor, whose *A tékoai pásztor* ("The Shepherd of Tekoa," 1958) was a dramatic poem about the prophet Amos.

[Alexander Scheiber]

The Figure of the Jew in Hungarian Literature

Although in 18th-century Hungarian fiction Jews were often stereotyped as moneylenders, Vitéz Milhály Csokonai created a realistic Jewish figure with Marsalik, the self-respecting jack-of-all-trades of his humorous epic, *Dorottya* (1799). During the 1830s and 1840s the struggle for Jewish emancipation produced some hostile portrayals of Jews as criminals, and exploiters and enemies of the Hungarian people; but these were more than offset by the sympathetic approach of Mihály Táncsics (*Pazardi*, 1836), András Fáy (*Salamon*, 1838), Ede Szigligeti (*A zsidó*, 1844) and József Eötvös (*A Falu jegyzője*, 1845). Other writers of the era who expressed sympathy for the Jews were János Arany and the great lyric poet Sándor Petőfi.

Hungarian Jewry's enthusiastic support for Louis Kossuth's revolutionary campaign of 1848–49 inspired episodes in a number of historical novels, including *A kőszivű ember fiai* ("The Sons of the Stonyhearted Man," 1869) by Mór Jókai. In 1867 emancipation became a reality, but the results were largely negative: antisemitism revived, and assimilation and intermarriage increased. The author, politician, and lawyer Károly Eötvös, who was one of the leaders of the Kossuth party, defended the accused at the Tisza-Eszlar blood libel trial of 1882–83. These events he later described in the novel *A nagy per* ("The Great Trial," 3 vols., 1904). Hungarian Jews nevertheless played a prominent role in the country's development as bankers and industrialists, and these found their way into contemporary literature. In the latter half of the 19th century the Jewish peddler or storekeeper entered Hungarian folklore and, through the poems of József Kiss, began to figure in the Hungarian ballad. Kálmán Mikszáth also depicted the Jews of the Hungarian countryside in some of his humorous novels, but his short stories dealt with urban Jews.

From the middle of the 19th century onward, Jewish writers contributed their own pictures of Jewish types. Bertalan *Ormódy portrayed Jewish peasants with realism and sympathy, and Sándor *Bródy wrote a pioneering study of the Jewish worker in his novella, *Nyomor* ("Misery," 1884).

Ordinary Jews – from clerks to woodcutters – also made their appearance in works by Béla *Révész, Péter *Ujvári, and Béla Illés. Tamás *Kóbor devoted his novel *Ki a gettóból* ("Out of the Ghetto," 1911) to the life of the Jewish artisan.

Between the world wars, the problem of the Jew in Hungary attracted the attention of the writers Dezsö Szabó and László Németh, but the issue of antisemitism was primarily the concern of Jewish writers. In the view of Lajos *Biró and András *Komor, hatred of the Jew assisted his survival. Biró published a powerful story, *A Bazini zsidók* ("The Jews of Bazin," 1921), about the horrifying outcome of a 16th-century *blood libel near Bratislava, which dramatized his view of Jewry's long and tragic exile. Nor was he alone in seeing the success of Béla Kun's counterrevolutionary opponents as the death-blow to Hungarian-Jewish assimilation. Most of Gyula Csermely's plays, novels, and stories emphasize the bad effects of Jewish assimilation, while Béla *Zsolt, though critical of the Jewish bourgeoisie in his fiction, was long preoccupied with Jewish-Christian relations and distinguished himself as an outspoken opponent of Hungarian antisemitism. On the other hand, the assimilationist viewpoint was expressed by Lajos *Hatvany, a convert. Hatvany's *Urak es emberek* ("Noblemen and Gentiles," 1927), which tells the story of a Hungarian-Jewish family at the turn of the century, clearly reflects the author's own internal conflict. The same dilemma beset Károly Pap (*Azarel*, 1937) and Andor Endre *Gelléri. On an entirely different plane was Demeter Szeö's presentation of the *Wandering Jew theme in *Zsidó vagyok* ("I Am a Jew," 1933).

LITERATURE OF THE HOLOCAUST. From the late 1930s Hungary's best writers refused to lend themselves to their government's antisemitic campaign, notably Sándor Márai. Among those who declared their sympathy for Jewish suffering were Gyula Illyés, Lajos Kassák, and Attila József, in his poem, *Smá Jiszróel* (1941). Jewish reactions to the Holocaust were movingly conveyed in the poems of Miklós *Radnóti. After World War II Hungarian literature documented the Nazi war crimes and the anti-Jewish terror of the fascist Arrow-Cross Party. Those writers who dealt with the fate of the Jews include Lajos Nagy, Tibor *Déry, and Ernö *Szép. Various novels described

the confinement of Jews to separate houses, how some went into hiding while others sought refuge in foreign embassies, Nazi massacres, and the final demolition of the ghetto walls. Béla Illés and especially Imre Keszi (*Elysium*, 1958) were prominent exponents of this type of work. Some writers, such as Erzsébet Rab, Kálmán Sándor, and Zimra Harsányi, painted scenes of the death camps, while others tried to express feelings of vengeance or remorse. György Rónay's *Esti gyors* ("Evening Express," 1963) is the story of a pharmacist's assistant who eventually commits suicide after following the *Eichmann Trial in Israel.

Of the other writers of the period, József *Patai, whose biography of Theodor *Herzl appeared in 1932, wrote two accounts of Zionist colonization in Ereẓ Israel: *A föltámadó Szentföld* ("The Holy Land Restored," 1926) and *Új Palesztina útjain* ("On the Pathways of the New Palestine," 1938). He and his wife Edith (Ehrenfeld) Patai, who wrote Zionist verse and prose, settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1940. Erzsi *Szenes, who settled in the country nine years later, wrote mainly on Jewish themes and in 1956 published *Van hazám* ("I have a Homeland").

[Jeno Zsoldos]

The Jewish Contribution to Hungarian Literature

The first Jewish writers only emerged in the mid-19th century. During the Enlightenment an élite was steeped in Hebrew culture; but Jewish writers wrote German and Hungarian. From the middle of the 19th century the emerging Jewish writers increasingly identified themselves with Magyar aspirations and wrote in Hungarian.

RADICAL IDEALISM. In 1840 Jews were accorded the right to live where they pleased and to follow whatever occupation they wished. An anonymous Jewish poet expressed his gratitude in Hungarian verse and promised the nation that had granted these rights his absolute devotion. The earliest Hungarian Jewish writers, intoxicated with new theories, were extremely radical and believed in outright assimilation. During the 1840s there were two prominent Jewish authors: the playwright Károly Hugó (Philip Bernstein); and the turncoat Gusztáv Zerffi (?1820–?), a fierce opponent of the poet Sándor Petőfi and a reactionary, who became a revolutionary extremist. Both Hugó and Zerffi were in the vanguard of conversion to Christianity, which rapidly affected almost all their generation. More interesting and more positive from a Jewish viewpoint was the poet Michael (Mihály) *Heilprin. Heilprin came from Russian Poland but quickly developed an excellent command of Hungarian. In 1856 he finally settled in the U.S. where he became a leading abolitionist.

The first representative of complete alienation – and even of self-hatred – among Hungarian Jewish intellectuals of the period was Moritz Rosenthal (1833–1889), who wrote in 1841 that it was proper that the Hungarian Jew should enjoy fewer civil rights than the foreign non-Jew in the country, since the law was bound to protect the predominant religion. Both Rosenthal and the philologist Móritz (Bloch) *Ballagi, a former yeshivah student, became pillars of the Calvinist church. In the 1840s, however, Ballagi was still campaigning for a rabbinical seminary in which the language of instruction would be Hungarian, and preparing a Hungarian translation of the Bible.

Another typical product of the times was Ignác *Einhorn (Eduard Horn), an early advocate of Jewish religious reform. During the years of oppression that followed the failure of the 1848 revolution (in which many Jews had been active), Hungarian Jewish literary activity was negligible. Many Jewish writers emigrated, and of the few who remained two of the most important – the playwright Lajos *Dóczy and the author Miksa *Falk – were converts to Christianity.

THE FIRST JEWISH REVIVAL. The year 1867, which marked the granting of Hungary's constitution, also brought new legislation designed for the emancipation of the Jews. This resulted in far-reaching economic and cultural development, although Hungarian social life was still closed to them. They were welcomed as scientists and scholars, not least by the liberal statesman József Eötvös, who as minister of education prepared the way for young Jewish savants such as József *Bánóczi, Bernhard Alexander and Ignace *Goldziher. Jewish writers, on the other hand, lacked the encouragement of a substantial readership. József Kiss trained a whole new literary generation. While most Jewish authors of his era turned their backs on Judaism, Kiss himself was a loyal Jew. The fact that he and his followers were Jewish subjected them to attack from some of their rivals, although a large proportion of the conservative population was not in the least antisemitic.

Among important writers of the late 19th century was Jenő *Heltai, a baptized cousin of Theodor Herzl. Heltai, like many other Jewish writers of his time, never wrote on any specifically Jewish subject. On the other hand, one of Kiss's disciples, Emil Makai, wrote some outstanding religious verse. The celebrated playwright Ferenc *Molnár did not choose Jewish themes for his plays, but most of his characters are Jews, and in his prose he dealt with Jewish problems. Géza Szilágyi, who wrote important Hungarian love poems, devoted much attention to Jewish themes in his work.

THE CRISIS OF IDENTITY. The question of the ordinary Jew's integration into Hungarian society preoccupied Tamás Kóbor. Though sympathetic to the Jew who would not deny his origin, Kóbor was typical of his time in advocating assimilation. Dezső *Szomory was another writer who dealt with aspects of Jewish life, and the crisis in traditional Jewish society greatly preoccupied Sándor Brody, as in his play, *Timár Liza* (1914), which satirizes a renegade Jewish parvenu. This period also marked the literary beginnings of Péter *Ujvári, the "Hungarian *Shalom Aleichem." While many of his contemporaries had to write about Jewish life because they were excluded from any other, Ujvári wrote on Jewish subjects from choice. He is best remembered as the editor of the *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon* (1929), Hungarian Jewry's own encyclopedia.

Although Hugó *Ignotus was one of the writers who could not forget that he was a Jew, his reaction to the Jewish question underwent several changes. He was one of the founders of the modernist periodical *Nyugat* ("West"), which supported the revolutionary attitudes of men like the poet Endre Ady. Jews – not only Jewish writers, but Jewish readers as well – unhesitatingly joined the camp of *Nyugat*, in whose name many saw great significance. Others associated with the magazine included two of Ady's principal supporters, Ernő *Osvát and Lajos Hatvany, who used his wealth to promote aspiring talents.

Apart from the poet Ady and the prose writer Zsigmond Móricz, most of the authors and editors in the *Nyugat* group were Jews. Although some Jewish writers in Hungary were in the conservative literary camp, almost all the leading figures in spheres connected with *Nyugat* – and radical-socialist politics, art, and theater – were Jews. One by-product was the witty political and literary cabaret founded and managed by the baptized writer Endre *Nagy. His theater, though it mocked antisemitism, helped to alienate Jews and did much to blacken the Jewish image.

POST-WORLD WAR I REACTIONS. After the failure of Béla Kun's revolution (1919), the new régime imposed its mark on literary life. Sensitive to the image of Ady, who had died in 1919, it suppressed the fact that he had had Jewish sponsors and a Jewish circle. *Nyugat* continued to be a forum for Jewish writers and was in fact almost their only platform, apart from the liberal press, which was entirely in Jewish hands. The period of the "White Terror" and the more subtle persecution which followed persuaded Jewish writers that there was no longer any point in evading the question of the Jewish position in Hungarian society, and this was now discussed quite openly. In this spiritual conflict, Lajos Biró was especially prominent. His ties with Judaism were strong and constant, and were revealed even more clearly after his emigration in 1919. Béla Zsolt went deeply into the Jewish problems of his time especially as they affected intellectuals. His work thus has an unusual documentary value. The Jewish question also preoccupied other writers of the period, such as Hatvany, Ferenc *Körmendi and Mihály Földi.

The post-World War I generation reached more decisive conclusions in regard both to itself and to its writing.

Some authors, notably Antal *Szerb, Miklós *Radnóti, and György Sárközi (1899–1945), abandoned Judaism, seeking an escape in neo-Catholicism. Their motives derived less from an aversion to Judaism than from their fear of joining some new movement which – like the radicalism of 20 years before – would be regarded as entirely Jewish, and thus be doomed to failure from the beginning. However, the renewed and intensified persecutions of the 1930s threw all three of them into the vortex of Jewish suffering. They reacted in different ways. Szerb, during the Holocaust, accepted his fate with pride. Radnóti and Sárközi, who died in Hungarian labor camps, never reidentified themselves with Jewry, but it is certainly no coincidence that Radnóti, in his last poems, returned to the prophetic style.

THE SECOND JEWISH REVIVAL. Károly Pap exposed the sham of Hungarian Jewish "emancipation" and advocated the acceptance of minority status. Few Jewish writers in Hungary were as uncomprisingly Jewish in their outlook and loyalty as he. Two of his contemporaries who bore witness to the Jewish people's capacity for continued survival were Akos Molnár and András Komor. The return to Judaism was the major poetic theme of Aladar *Komlós, an authority on Hungarian Jewish literature, while the bitter fate of the Jew was expressed in the poems of László Fenyő and in the prose works of Andor Endre *Gelléri.

LAST ECHOES. After the Holocaust, the handful of surviving Jewish writers in Hungary who again turned to Jewish themes only wrote about the "Final Solution." Outstanding among them was Tibor *Déry, whose powerful descriptive talent enabled him to present both Jewish and non-Jewish characters with great realism. Jewish emotion characterizes the stories of Sándor Sásdi (1899–?), who mourns the disappearance of the Jewish family. The conscious avoidance of the Jewish theme was characteristic of Jewish writers under the new Communist regime, especially after 1948. Several non-Jewish writers dealt with the Jewish question, and particularly with the Holocaust, and subsequently even dealt with contemporary Jewish questions.

[Baruch Yaron]

DEVELOPMENTS FROM THE 1970S. While in the first two decades of the Communist regime hardly any books were published on Jewish subjects by Jewish authors, the 1970s witnessed a sudden emergence of Holocaust literature. Mostly autobiographical novels, they differ widely in literary value, yet they all have some significant common characteristics. The central figure is usually a young boy through whose eyes the last years of the war are seen. The scene is either war-torn Budapest – as in Gy. Moldov's *Szent Imre Induló* ("The March of St. Emeric," 1975) – or Strasshof, a concentration camp in Austria where families were allowed to stay together – as in *Az elsöévtized* ("The First Decade," 1975) by P. Bardos and *Hajtükanyar* ("Hairpin Bend," 1974, 1977) by Maria Ember. In the latter work the text is accompanied by several documents. Among other authors with novels on the Holocaust are Agnes Gergely, I. *Kertész (Nobel Prize 2002), Gy. Gera, and a non-Jew, Gy. Fekete.

Other works on Jewish subjects range from scholarly studies to very light fiction. Thus, A. Scheiber published a book on biblical themes and a biography of the Hungarian-Jewish poet József *Kiss. Monographs of Hungarian Jewish communities also appeared. O. Major's *Három apokrif* ("Three Apocrypha," 1975) deals with the era of Herod and Justus of Tiberias. A non-Jewish journalist, Gy. Szaraz, published a survey of the history of antisemitism in Hungary *Egy elööitélet nyomabán* ("In the Wake of a Prejudice," 1975).

In the realm of fiction Gy. Kardos was the first to come out with a novel on a Jewish subject; his *Abrahám Bogatir*

hét napja, centering on a kibbutz, appeared in 1968 (English *Abraham's Good Week*, 1975). The background of his second novel *Hová tüntek a katonak* (1971) is also Palestine during the period of the British Mandate, but the main characters are Polish soldiers of General Ander's army. Jewish displaced persons' camps in Austria and Germany form the unusual setting of the thriller *Szerelemröl bolond sjszakán* ("About Love on a Crazy Night," 1975) by E. Fejes.

Works on Zionism or on present-day Israel were conspicuously absent. In spite of being officially banned, the Hungarian version of the book on the Entebbe rescue operation (published in Israel) found its way to Hungarian readers and gained considerable popularity.

In the 1980s works dealing with Jewish subjects continued to be diverse in character and quality. The outstanding publication of the beginning of the 1980s was *A Maimuni Kódex* (1980), a facsimile edition of the most beautiful pages of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, originally illuminated by Nathan ben Simeon ha-Levi at the end of the 13th century. The book was prepared under the guidance of Professor A. *Scheiber. He also edited the series *A magyarországi zsidó hitközségek monográfiái*, sponsored by the American Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture. Besides monographs on Jewish *kehillot*, published in this series were a survey dealing with the recently excavated ancient synagogue in Sopron (Oedenburg), and a treatise on Hungarian-Jewish family names prior to the name-giving edict of Joseph II.

Widely differing subjects, such as the Warsaw Ghetto revolt of 1943 (Katalin Szokolay, *És a varsói getto felkelt*, 1983), the *Tiszaeszlar blood-libel case of 1882 (I. Sándor, *A vizsgálat iratai*, 1983), and the Transylvanian Sabbatarians (A. Kovács, *Vallomás a székely szombatosok perében*, 1983) were included in the programs of different publishing houses. Two Jewish painters, B. Pór and B. *Czobel, were remembered in illustrated monographs, published in 1980 and 1983, respectively.

A. Rózsa's *Nürnbergi lágernapló* ("*Nuremberg diary*," 1978) will help researchers of the Holocaust. Two authors, Gy. Moldova and P. Bárdos, continued their Holocaust novels with post-war accounts. An older author, I. Magyar, preferred to remember his happy childhood in *A század gyermeke* ("The Child of the Century," 1980), while G. Hegedüs starts the saga of his large and well-to-do family already in the 18th century in *Elöjátekok egy önéletrajzhoz*, ("Preludes to an Autobiography," 1982). In sharp contrast to the above, in *Fekete karácsony* ("Black Christmas," 1982), M. Zalka describes desperately poor, politically alert, anti-religious Jews in the inter-war period. Again another type, the Jewish artist-intellectual, is portrayed in Gy. S. Gál's posthumously published *Atlantisz harangjai* ("The Bells of Atlantis." 1982). Giving a frightful picture of Jewish forced-labor in war-torn Budapest of 1944–45, the book also contains new information on Jewish musicians, writers, and also on Jewish publishers.

Among several translated works the bitter-humorous, almost burlesque, *Amikor nagyapám átsielt Finnországba* ("When Grandpa was skiing over Finland," 1979, second edition 1983) by D. Katz stands out with its originality. It is a saga of a Russian Jewish family living in Finland from the beginning of the 1900s. The book was translated from the Finnish.

The poet, A. Mezei, reported his visit to Israel in 1982 in the literary weekly *Élet és Irodalom*, giving lyrical descriptions of the Israeli landscape. His Holocaust novel *A csodatevö* ("The Miracle-maker") was translated into Polish in 1979.

Cooperation between Israeli authors and artists and Hungarian publishers is not entirely absent. Gideon Hausner's book dealing with the 1961 Eichmann Trial in Jerusalem appeared in a Hungarian translation: L. Rapesányi's *Jeruzsálem, legenda és törtenelem* ("Jerusalem, Legend and History," 1984) was illustrated by Israeli artist Yossi Stern.

While works on Jewish subjects are an important part of today's literary scene in Hungary, the most significant book to date on the fate of Hungary's Jews during the Holocaust was published neither in Hungary, nor in the Hungarian language. The thoroughly comprehensive two-volume *The Politics of Genocide* (1981) of the American historian R.L. Braham still awaits Hungarian translation.

Around 1990 the flow of Holocaust literature slowed down and publishers turned to other subjects, among them to works of contemporary Israeli authors. Novels by Amos Oz, Aharon *Appelfeld, Ephraim *Kishon, and poems by Itamar Yaoz-Kest were translated into Hungarian and A.B. *Yehoshua's *Szerelmesek* ("Lovers"; *Ha-Me'ahev* (1976)) was the best seller of 1988.

A facsimile edition-de-luxe of an 18th-century Scroll of Esther (1988) produced originally in Italy, merited understandable appreciation. Another, more modest but long-awaited, well-researched illustrated publication, *Magyarországi zsinagógák* ("Synagogues in Hungary"), edited by L. Gerö, appeared in 1989.

Zsidókérdés, asszimiláció, antiszemitizmus ("The Jewish Question, Assimilation, Anti-Semitism," 1984), edited by P. Hanák, was the forerunner among several soul-searching, identity-seeking studies, such as *Röpirat a zsidókérdésröl* ("Pamphlet about the Jewish Question," 1989) by P. Kende and *Kiválasztottak és elvegyülök* ("The Chosen and the Intermingling") by L. Márton. The study *Zsidóság az 1945 utáni Magyarországon* ("Jews in Hungary after 1945," 1984) was the unique work of the non-Jewish sociologist V. Karády and appeared in a Paris-based emigré serial. T. Zinners's *Az ébredök fénykora 1919–1923* ("The Golden Years of the Ébredök, 1919–1923," 1989) recalled the years of the beginnings of Hungarian ultranationalism and antisemitism.

Assimilation is a recurring theme in Hungarian Jewish literature and is prominent both in the autobiographical novel by A. Linksz, *Harc a harmadik halállal* ("Fighting the Third Death," 1990), and in *Otto* (1990), a fictionalized story based on the Viennese philosopher Otto *Weininger, by M. Hernádi. The latter was the editor of *Szombat* ("Shabbat"), an ambitious, but infrequently appearing, new periodical. An anthology, *Mult és Jövö* ("Past and Future"), edited by J.

Köbànyai, strives to reach the high standards of the prewar Zionist weekly of the same name.

In the realm of light literature the novels of René Erdös, a baptized woman writer, which were popular in the 1920s, were reissued as were the adventure stories of J. Rejtö, whose popularity never ceased.

[Eva Kondor]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Herzog, *A Biblia befolyása a magyar irodalomra a xvi és xvii században* (1885); J. Zsoldos, *Magyar irodalom és zsidóság* (1943); idem, in: *Libanon*, 2 (1937), 63–65; A. Kecskeméti, *A Zsidó a magyar népköltészetben és szinmü irodalomban* (1896); M. Grünwald, *Zsidó biedermeier* (1937); A. Komlós, in: *Libanon*, 1 (1936); *Magyar Zsidó lexikon* (1929).; *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, 64 (1976), 138–50.

HUNGARY, state in S.E. Central Europe.

Middle Ages to the Ottoman Conquest

Archaeological evidence indicates the existence of Jews in Pannonia and Dacia, who came there in the wake of the Roman legions. Jewish historical tradition, however, only mentions the Jews in Hungary from the second half of the 11th century, when Jews from Germany, Bohemia, and Moravia settled there. In 1092, at the council of Szabolcs, the Church prohibited marriages between Jews and Christians, work on Christian festivals, and the purchase of slaves. King Koloman protected the Jews in his territory at the end of the 11th century, when the remnants of the crusader armies attempted to attack them (see *Crusades). Jews resided only in towns ruled by the bishops where important communities developed: in Buda (see *Budapest; 12th century), Pressburg (*Bratislava, Hung. Pozsony; first mentioned in 1251), Tyrnau (*Trnava, Hung. Nagyszombat), and *Esztergom (by the middle of the 11th century). During the 12th century the Jews of Hungary occupied important positions in economic life. The nobles felt it necessary to curb this development, and in the "Golden Bull" (1222) an article was included which prohibited the Jews from holding certain offices and from receiving titles of nobility. The legal status of the Jews was settled by King Béla IV in a privilege of 1251, which follows the pattern of similar documents in neighboring countries. As a result of the Church Council of Buda in 1279, Jews were forbidden to lease land and compelled to wear the *Jewish badge. In practice, these decrees were not applied strictly because of the king's objection.

During the reign of Louis the Great (1342–82), the hostile influence of the Church in Jewish affairs again predominated. The *Black Death led to the first expulsion of the Jews from Hungary in 1349. A general expulsion was decreed in 1360, but in about 1364 their return was authorized though they were subjected to restrictions. In 1365 the king instituted the office of "judge of the Jews," chosen from among the magnates, who was in charge of affairs concerning Jewish property, the imposition and collection of taxes, representation of the Jews before the government, and the protection of their rights. The reign of Matthias Corvinus (1458–90) marked a change in favor of the status of the Jews, despite his support of the towns, whose inhabitants, the overwhelming majority of whom were Germans, were inimical to the Jews as dangerous rivals.

In 1494 there was a *blood libel in Tyrnau and 16 Jews were burned at the stake. In its wake, anti-Jewish riots broke out in the town; these were repeated at the beginning of the 16th century in Pressburg, Buda, and other towns. The economic situation of the Jews was also aggravated: King Ladislas VI (1490–1516) canceled all debts owing to the Jews. In 1515, however, the Jews were placed under the direct protection of Emperor Maximilian I (the pretender to the crown of Hungary). During this period, a degrading form of Jewish *oath before the tribunals was introduced; it remained in force until the middle of the 19th century. During the reign of Louis II (1516–26) hatred of the Jews intensified as a result of the activities of Isaac of Kaschau, the director of the royal mint, and the apostate Imre (Emerich) Szerencsés (Latin: Fortunatus), the royal treasurer who devalued the currency and raised the taxes in order to provide funds for the war against the Turks.

During the middle of the 14th century the most important Hungarian community was that of *Szekesfehervar (Ger. Stuhlweissenburg), whose *parnasim* also directed the general affairs of the Jews of the country. During the 15th century the community of Buda gained in importance as Jews expelled from other countries also settled there. Little information is available on the spiritual life of Hungarian Jewry during the Middle Ages. Apparently it was poor in comparison to that in neighboring countries because of the dispersion of the communities and the small number of their members. The first rabbi whose reputation spread beyond Hungary was Isaac *Tyrnau (late 14th–early 15th century); in the introduction to his *Sefer ha-Minhagim* ("Book of Customs") he describes the poor condition of Torah study in Hungary.

Period of the Ottoman Conquest

The first, temporary Ottoman conquest of Buda in 1526 caused many of the Jewish inhabitants to join the retreating Turks. As a result of this movement, congregations of Hungarian Jews formed within the important communities of the Balkans. After central Hungary was incorporated within the Ottoman Empire in 1541, the Jewish status was relatively satisfactory. Jewish settlement in Buda was renewed, and Sephardim of Asia Minor and Balkan origin also settled there. During the 17th century Buda was one of the most important communities of the *Ottoman Empire. This was largely due to the authority of its rabbi, *Ephraim b. Jacob ha-Kohen, author of *Sha'ar Efrayim* (1688).

In the Hapsburg dominions of Hungary in this period hatred toward the Jews increased. In 1529, following a blood libel in Bazin, 30 Jews were burned at the stake and the others were expelled from the town. The Jews were also expelled from Pressburg, Oedenburg (*Sopron), and Tyrnau. However, the magnates of western Hungary accorded their protection to the Jews expelled from the towns. The Jews expelled from Vienna found refuge on the estate of Count Esterhazy in *Eisenstadt

and six small neighboring towns in 1670. It was the oldest of the "Seven Communities" of *Burgenland, granted autonomy in a privilege issued in 1690. In *Transylvania, under the rule of Gabriel Bethlen (1613–29), the status of the Jews was stabilized by a privilege granted in 1623. The favorable attitude toward the Jews there stemmed from *Reformation influences in Transylvania (see also Simon *Péchi).

18th to 19th Centuries (Until 1867)

By the beginning of the 18th century, when most of Hungary came under Hapsburg rule, only a few remnants of the ancient Jewish settlement were to be found there. At this time, however, a movement of Jewish migration began, marking the formation of Hungarian Jewry of the modern era. The census of 1735 enumerated 11,600 Jews (in reality, their numbers were far greater) of whom only a few were born in Hungary, while the majority had come from Moravia and the minority from Poland. Most of the Jews were peddlers and small tradesmen. Because of the hostility of the townsmen, most of them lived in the villages. During the reign of *Maria Theresa (1740–80) the situation of the Jews deteriorated. In 1744 an annual "tolerance tax" of 20,000 guilders was levied on them. It was gradually increased, until it amounted to an annual sum of 160,000 guilders at the beginning of the 19th century. The reign of *Joseph II brought some improvements. In 1783 Jews were authorized to settle in the royal cities. There were 81,000 Jews in Hungary in 1787.

During the "period of reform" in Hungary in the 1830s and 1840s, the Jewish question was discussed in the legislative institutions, in literature, and in the periodicals and press. In general there was a marked tendency in favor of granting civic rights to the Jews, but on the whole society took a critical view of the Jews and assumed an attitude of reservation toward them, demanding religious and social reforms (see *Emancipation). The suppression of the revolution of 1848–49 also affected the status of the Jews. Because many of them were active in the revolution, the Austrian military government imposed a collective fine of 2,300,000 guilders on the communities; it was later reduced to 1,000,000 (in 1856, the sum was reimbursed in the form of a fund for educational and relief institutions). During the 1850s, the Jews were still subjected to judicial and economic restrictions (the Jewish oath; the need for a marriage permit; the prohibition on acquiring real estate; and others). Most of the restrictions were abolished in 1859–60; the Jews were authorized to engage in all professions and to settle in all localities. The first political leaders of the new Hungary, including Count Gyula Andrássy, Ferencz *Deák, and Kálmán Tisza, expressed their approval in the granting of civic and political equality to the Jews, and after the Compromise with Austria, the bill on Jewish emancipation was passed in Parliament without considerable opposition (Dec. 20, 1867). During the same period there was a rapid growth of the Jewish population of Hungary, due both to natural increase and immigration from neighboring regions, especially Galicia. The number of Jews had risen to 340,000 by 1850, and in the first population census held in modern Hungary (1869), 542,000 Jews were enumerated.

The Emancipation Period, 1867–1914

During this period Hungarian Jewry consolidated from the political, economic, and cultural aspects and succeeded in establishing a strong position in the life of the country. Jews played a considerable role in the development of the capitalistic economy of Hungary, and from the 1880s large numbers entered the liberal professions, and also contributed to literary life, in particular in journalism. In economic activity Jews in Hungary were especially prominent from the mid-19th century in the marketing and the export of agricultural produce. Emancipation offered a wide scope for Jewish economic initiative in the establishment of banks and other financial enterprises. Jewish capital contributed significantly to the financing of heavy industry at the close of the 19th century. The role of the Jews in agriculture was also considerable, as owners of estates and in particular as contractors in agricultural management and marketing. Before World War I, 55–60% of the total number of merchants were Jews, approximately 13% of the independent craftsmen, 13% of owners of large and medium-sized estates, and 45% of the contractors. Of those professionally engaged in literature and the arts, 26% were Jews (of the journalists, 42%), in law, 45%, and in medicine, 49%. On the other hand, only a small number of Jews were employed in public administration. The Jewish population numbered 910,000 in 1910. The identification of the Jews with the Magyar element in the Hungarian kingdom was an important factor in determining the general political attitude toward them. In 1895 the Jewish religion was officially recognized as one of the religions accepted in the state, and accorded rights enjoyed by the Catholic and Protestant religions. The law was enacted despite vigorous objection from the Catholic Church and its allies the magnates, who succeeded in delaying its ratification on three occasions.

From the mid-1870s political antisemitism emerged as an ideological trend, subsequently to become a political force, led by a member of Parliament, Győző Istóczy. The driving forces behind it were the resentment felt by those classes which were dispossessed by the capitalistic economy and the effects of recent social changes. Thus the main bearers of antisemitism were the gentry. German examples also played some part in Hungarian antisemitism. At the beginning of the 1880s anti-Jewish propaganda intensified and reached a climax with the blood libel of *Tiszaeszlar in 1882, which aroused much emotion and was the cause of severe anti-Jewish disturbances in several towns. The acquittal of the accused and the condemnation of the libel by many gentile leaders did not calm feelings. In 1884 an antisemitic faction of 17 members of parliament was organized but it did not wield much influence there, owing to internal dissension. Jewish defense against antisemitism took the form of apologetic and polemic literature. In face of the emphatic attitude of the government and the main political parties against antisemitism, it was deemed unnecessary to initiate any organized action. At the turn of the

century the Catholic People's Party became the main bearer of antisemitism. It regarded it as its main task to combat alleged anti-Christian and destructive ideas, especially Liberalism and Socialism, which according to clerical presentation was closely associated with the Jews. Jewish intellectuals and their allegedly harmful influence were a particular target for unrestricted attack. Jewish reaction to clerical antisemitism was stronger, more pronounced and more courageous than to the antisemitism in the 1880s, which seemed to be less menacing. Many of the tenets of antisemitism in this era became cornerstones of the anti-Jewish ideology in the inter-war period. Antisemitism was also widespread among the national minorities, especially the Slovaks, principally kindled because the Jews tended to identify themselves with the nationalist policy of the Magyars.

During World War I the Jews suffered losses in life (about 10,000 Jews fell on the battlefield) and property. At the same time, anti-Jewish feeling was strong having increased because of the presence of numerous Jewish refugees from Galicia, which had been occupied by the Russians, and through the activities of Jews in the war economy.

Internal Life during the 19th Century

In origin, spoken language, and cultural tradition and customs, Hungarian Jewry was divided into three sections: the Jews of the northwestern districts (Oberland) of Austrian and Moravian origin, who spoke German or a western dialect of Yiddish; the Jews of the northeastern districts (Unterland) mostly of Galician origin, who spoke an eastern dialect of Yiddish; and the Jews of central Hungary, the overwhelming majority of whom spoke Hungarian. In the classification of the inhabitants according to nationality, the overwhelming majority of the Jews in Hungary declared themselves members of the Hungarian nation; Jewish nationality was not officially recognized and the Jews thus became a party in the struggle between the ruling Magyar nation and the national minorities of Hungary. The internal life of the Jews of Hungary during the 19th century was marked by polemics between the Orthodox on the one hand and those advocating modern culture, integration, and *assimilation on the other. At the beginning of the century, a strict Orthodox trend was established in Hungary under the leadership of Moses *Sofer of Pressburg. This town became a spiritual center for the Orthodox Jews of Hungary, and its yeshivah the most important in central Europe; it exerted much influence over the Hungarian communities and even beyond them.

From the 1830s, Haskalah made its appearance in Hungary, and the movement of religious *Reform, whose leading spokesmen there were Aaron *Chorin and Leopold *Loew, spread to several communities. Extreme Reform did not strike roots in Hungary, but the wish to introduce reforms in education and religious life made progress and aroused violent opposition from the Orthodox. The polemics between the Orthodox and the reformers (who in Hungary were referred to as *Neologists gained in intensity to become a central issue at the General Jewish Congress convened by the government in 1868.

The Congress was called in order to define the basis for autonomous organization of the Jewish community. It was attended by 220 delegates (126 Neologists, and 94 Orthodox). The conflict between the factions was aggravated when the majority refused to accept the demands of the Orthodox on the validity of the laws of the Shulḥan Arukh in the regulations of the communities. A section of the Orthodox opposition left the Congress, which continued with its task and established regulations for the organization of the communities and Jewish education. The organizational structure was to be based on the existence of local communities, on regional unions of communities, and on a central office which was to be responsible for relations between the authorities and the communities. The Orthodox did not accept these regulations, and particularly opposed those concerning the existence of a single community in every place. They appealed to Parliament to exempt them from the authority of these regulations. Parliament consented to their demands (1870) and the Orthodox began to organize themselves within separate communities. There were also communities which did not join any side and retained their pre-Congress status (the *status quo communities). The threefold split left its imprint on the internal organization and life of Hungarian Jewry until the Holocaust.

Moses Sofer and his school decisively influenced the development of Orthodox Jewry in western and central Hungary. Torah study became widespread among large sections of Orthodox Jewry, and yeshivot were established in every large community. The most renowned of these, besides that of Pressburg, were those of *Galanta, Eisenstadt, *Papa, Huszt (*Khust), and Szatmar (*Satu-Mare). During the 19th century the Hungarian rabbinate was of a high standard and produced halakhists, authors of religious works, and community leaders, such as Sofer's son Abraham Samuel Benjamin *Sofer and grandson Simḥah Bunem *Sofer, Moses Schick, and Judah Aszód (1794–1866) in Szerdahely (Mercurea), Aaron David Deutsch (1812–78) in Balassagyarmat, Solomon *Ganzfried, and others. Torah literature underwent a considerable development, and a place of importance was held by learned periodicals in this sphere.

*Ḥasidism spread in the northeastern regions of Hungary, where it did not encounter violent opposition from the rabbis. Isaac Taub is regarded as having introduced Ḥasidism into Hungary; after his death the Ḥasidim there gathered around Moses *Teitelbaum in Satoraljaujhely. He founded a ḥasidic-rabbinical dynasty which was active in Maramarossziget (Sighet) and its surroundings. Another center of Ḥasidim was Munkacs (*Mukachevo), in Carpathian Russia, where Isaac Elimelech Shapira settled. In addition, the dynasties of the *ẓaddikim* of *Belz, Zanz, and *Vizhnitz had considerable influence in Hungary. Ḥasidism left its imprint on the Jews of the northeastern regions, and differences in customs and way of life arose between the Ḥasidim in Hungary and the section influenced by Pressburg and its school.



Jewish communities in Hungary, 1910 and 1946. Based on R. L. Braham (ed.), Hungarian Jewish Studies, *New York, 1966.*

From the close of the 19th century, assimilation became widespread within Hungarian Jewry and there was an increase in apostasy especially among the upper classes. Mixed marriage became a common occurrence, particularly in the capital.

Attachment to Ereẓ Israel was already ingrained within Hungarian Jewry from the period of Sofer, upon whose recommendation some of his distinguished disciples had emigrated to Ereẓ Israel where they ranked among the leaders of the Ashkenazi *yishuv* during the middle of the 19th century. During the *Ḥibbat Zion period, Josef *Natonek was active in Hungary, and some believe that this activity influenced Theodor *Herzl, who was born in Budapest and spent his childhood and youth in Hungary. The nationalist ideal and political Zionism, however, only seriously attracted a limited circle of the academic youth, the intellectuals, and a minority of Orthodox Jewry, while assimilationist circles and the overwhelming majority of the Orthodox were sharply and firmly opposed to them. The Kolel Ungarn (Hungarian Community) in Jerusalem (see *Ḥalukkah) was a center of extremist opposition to Zionism in Ereẓ Israel, and the *Neturei Karta faction later developed from it.

1919 to 1939

The Communist regime which came to power in Hungary after its defeat in World War I included a considerable number of Jews in the upper ranks of the government led by Béla *Kun. After the Communist revolution had been suppressed, the establishment of the new regime was accompanied by riots and acts of violence against the Jews – "The White Terror" – the number of whose victims has been estimated at 3,000 dead.

With the stabilization of the political situation, the acts of violence abated, but the declared policy of the government remained antisemitic. In 1920, a *numerus clausus bill was passed, restricting the number of Jews in the higher institutions of learning to 5%. The situation improved while Stephen Bethlen was prime minister (1921–31), and the negative reactions aroused by the anti-Jewish policy weakened this tendency, even though widespread antisemitic activity was uninterruptedly carried on. In 1928 an amendment was introduced to the numerus clausus act, but the restrictions were not entirely abolished.

Another act of the same year granted the Jews the same right of representation in the Upper House of Parliament as the other religious communities. Rabbis Immanuel *Loew for the Neologists and Koppel *Reich for the Orthodox were elected to sit there. During the first few years after World War I, Zionist activity was brought to a halt by the government, but in 1927 the regulations of the Zionist Organization were again ratified and it was authorized to renew its organizational and propaganda activities.

The relative tranquilization in the situation of the Jews in Hungary also continued after the resignation of Bethlen and the rise to power of the Right. A sharp anti-Jewish turn took place during the late 1930s as a result of the strengthening of the Rightist circles and growing German-Nazi influence. In 1938 the "First Jewish Law" was presented to Parliament; it restricted the number of Jews in the liberal professions, in the administration, and in commercial and industrial enterprises to 20%. The term "Jew" included not only members of the Jewish religion, but also those who became apostates after 1919 or who had been born of Jewish parents after that date. The bill aroused objections from the opposition parties, but it was ratified by both Houses of Parliament. In 1939 the "Second Jewish Law" was passed; it extended the application of the term "Jew" on a racial basis and came to include some 100,000 Christians (apostates or their children) and also reduced the number of Jews in economic activity, fixing it at 5%; the political rights of the Jews were also restricted. As a result of these laws, the sources of livelihood of 250,000 Hungarian Jews were closed for them.

One reaction of the Jews to the anti-Jewish legislation was expressed by their emphasis on their patriotic attachment to Hungary, voiced by their official representatives; the Jews generally believed that the anti-Jewish current was only a fleeting phenomenon. Jewish communal organizations, led by the community of Budapest, began to develop ramified social aid activities to assist those ousted from economic life. Within certain sections of the community conversions increased; there were up to 5,000 apostates after the enactment of the First Jewish Law. However, wide circles of the Jewish public reacted by a return to Judaism, through fostering Jewish values, literature, and religious education. Zionism was strengthened and *aliyah* from Hungary to Ereẓ Israel increased.

Hungarian Jewry in the interwar period underwent great changes. Following the dismemberment of the country after World War I, the number of Jews was reduced by about a half (473,000 in 1920). Their number further declined during the 1920s and 1930s. The demographic decline of Hungarian Jewry in this period is evident by the sharp decline in the younger age groups (0–20) and increase in the older age groups. There was a marked tendency in the interwar years to concentrate in towns, especially in the capital. Over half of Hungary's Jewish population lived in Greater Budapest. The Neolog communities had 65% of the Jews, as against 29% Orthodox, and 5% status quo. This distribution was due to the fact that the great Orthodox centers of prewar times were ceded to the successor states.

[Nathaniel Katzburg]

Holocaust Period

The history of the destruction of Hungarian Jewry encompasses the Jewish population of the enlarged state of Hungary. In 1930, 444,567 Jews had lived in Hungary within the boundaries fixed in 1920. An additional 78,000 Jews came under Hungarian rule when southern Slovakia (Felvidék) was annexed by Hungary (Nov. 2, 1938). The 72,000 Jews who lived in the Czechoslovak province of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia came under Hungarian jurisdiction when Hungary moved in on March 15–16, 1939. The Jewish population of the formerly Romanian northern Transylvania (awarded to Hungary on Aug. 30, 1940) numbered 149,000. According to the Jan. 31, 1941 census, out of a total population of 14,683,323 the Jews numbered 725,007 (184,453 of them in Budapest). In April 1941 there were about 20,000 Jews in the former Yugoslav territory (Bácska), occupied in the course of joint German-Hungarian military operations.

In conformity with the "Third Jewish Law" (1941), which defined the term "Jew" on more radical racial principles, 58,320 persons not belonging to the Jewish faith were considered Jewish. Thus the total number of persons officially registered as Jews in mid-1941 was over 803,000. According to a generally accepted estimate, the actual number of Christians of Jewish origin exceeded by far the officially recorded 58,320. Consequently, the total number of persons liable to racial discrimination in mid-1941 may be put at a minimum of 850,000.

The Third Jewish Law, based on the *Nuremberg laws, prohibited intermarriage. By mid-1941 the anti-Jewish measures had placed Hungarian Jewry in a most disadvantageous position in every sphere of political, economic, cultural, and social life. The government party, Magyar Élet Pártja (MEP, "Party of Hungarian Life"), pursued a pro-Nazi, antisemitic policy, while various national-socialist groupings and the *Arrow-Cross Party exerted increasing pressure upon the government to stiffen radically its anti-Jewish policy.

The decimation of the Jewish population began in the fall of 1940, shortly after the incorporation of northern Transylvania, from where thousands of Jews whose citizenship was in question were forcibly expelled, mainly to *Romania. The first large-scale loss of life among Hungarian Jewry occurred in July 1941, when the Office for Aliens' Control expelled to German-held Galicia about 20,000 Jews, whose Hungarian citizenship was in doubt (mostly inhabitants of the areas annexed from *Czechoslovakia), as well as refugees from neighboring countries. They were mostly concentrated in Kamenets-Podolski and murdered in the autumn of 1941 by *SS men, assisted by Hungarian troops. The second great loss occurred in January 1942, when 1,000 Jews were massacred by gendarmes and soldiers in Bácska, mainly in Novi-Sad. In May 1940, special forced labor units had already been set up for enlisting Jews, who were excluded from army service. When Hungary joined the war against the Soviet Union, the labor units were sent with the troops. At that time there were 10 to 12 labor battalions comprising about 14,000 men, but later the number of Jews on the eastern front reached 50,000. After the great breakthrough of the advancing Soviet army near the River Don (January 1943) the Second Hungarian Army disintegrated and fled in panic. It is estimated that of the 50,000 Jews, 40,000–43,000 died during the retreat.

The position of the labor units which remained in Hungary was much better, especially when on March 10, 1942, the extreme antisemitic prime minister László Bárdossy was succeeded by the moderate, conservative Miklós Kállay. Nevertheless, that month Kállay announced the draft law for expropriation of Jewish property and envisaged clearing the countryside of Jews. He successively announced measures to be taken to eliminate Jews from economic and cultural life. In April 1942 Kállay pledged the "resettlement" of 800,000 Jews – as a "final solution of the Jewish question," pointing out, however, that this could be implemented only after the war. Presumably, these extreme anti-Jewish plans were meant to curry favor with the Germans, but in fact Kállay, in an agreement with the regent Nicolas Horthy, refrained from drastic steps and resisted pressure from the German government. Dissatisfied with Kállay's halfhearted measures, Germany exerted greater pressure upon Hungary from October 1942 for legislation for the complete elimination of the Jews from economic and cultural life, for compulsory wearing of the yellow *badge, and finally, their evacuation to the east. Similar interventions went on early in 1943. The Kállay government rejected the German requests for deportation mainly on economic grounds, arguing that deportation would ruin Hungary's economy and would harm Germany as well.

In April 1943 Hitler conferred with Horthy and condemned Hungary's handling of the "Jewish question" as irresolute and ineffective. Again the Hungarians rejected the German demands for the deportations, pointing out the necessity of waiting for favorable circumstances. By 1943 the Kállay government completed the program of eliminating the Jews from public and cultural life, while a numerus clausus was applied in economic life to restrict the position of the Jews according to their percentage in the total population (about 6%). The Jewish agricultural holdings were almost entirely liquidated, while the "race-protective" legislation segregated Jews from Hungarian society. However, in the course of 1943 and beginning of 1944 the Kállay government secretly conferred with the Western Allies in preparation for Hungary's extrication from the war. Under these circumstances the Nazi-style handling of the "Jewish question" hardly suited the country's interests. In December 1943, military court procedure was initiated against the criminals involved in the anti-Serbian and anti-Jewish massacres in Bácska (January 1942). The Germans regarded the prosecution of the murderers of Jews as an attempt to gain footing with the Jews and the Allies, and the incident contributed to aggravate the tension between Berlin and Budapest.

GERMAN OCCUPATION. By the beginning of March 1944 the occupation of Hungary was decided upon in Berlin. One of the German arguments for this step was the alleged sabotage committed by the Hungarian government against the "final solution of the Jewish question." Kállay's rejection of the German demands for deportation was considered as evidence of Hungary's determination to join forces with the Western Allies. Operation Margaret, that is, the occupation of Hungary, took place on March 19, 1944. By the time of the German occupation, close to 63,000 Jews (8% of the Jewish population) had already fallen victim to the persecution. Prior to the occupation, on March 12, 1944, Adolf *Eichmann, at the head of SS officers of the *RSHA (Reich Security Main Office) began preparations in Mauthausen, Austria, for setting up the Sondereinsatzkommando (Special Task Force) destined to direct the liquidation of Hungarian Jewry. Most of the Sonderkommando members, among them Hermann Krumey and Dieter *Wisliceny, arrived in Budapest on the day of the occupation, while Eichmann arrived on March 21. On the German side special responsibility for Jewish affairs was assigned to Edmund Veesenmayer, the newly appointed minister and Reich plenipotentiary, and to Otto Winkelmann, higher SS and police leader and Himmler's representative in Hungary.

On March 22 a new government was set up under the premiership of the former Hungarian minister in Berlin, Döme Sztójay. The government consisted of extreme pro-Nazi elements, willing collaborators with Germany in the accomplishment of the "Final Solution." The new regime's minister of the interior Andor Jaross was in charge of Jewish affairs; however, actual execution of the anti-Jewish measures was directed by László *Endre and László *Baky, state secretaries of the Ministry of the Interior. Immediately after the entry of German troops into Hungary, hundreds of prominent Jews were arrested in Budapest and several other cities. Over 3,000 were detained by the end of March, increasing to 8,000 by mid-April. A great number of provincial Jews were rounded up, mainly at the Budapest railway stations, on the very evening of the occupation. They were interned at Kistarcsa and other concentration camps.

The Jewish organizations were dissolved throughout the country, and on March 20 a Jewish council (Zsidó Tanács) with eight members was set up in Budapest upon orders from the Germans, to act as the head of the Jewish communities. The Germans aimed at manipulating this authorized Jewish body to execute their measures without resistance and avoid an atmosphere of panic. By the end of March, similar Jewish councils were constituted in several larger provincial towns. However, unlike the Budapest Jewish Council, their activity was minimal and their existence short-lived. From the first days of the occupation, Eichmann and his collaborators endeavored to persuade the members of the central Jewish council that deportations were not intended and that Hungarian Jewry would not undergo brutal treatment. They assured them that no harm would befall the Jews, on condition that they obediently carry out the directives regarding their segregation and their new economic status.

The "Provisional Executive Committee of the Jewish Federation of Hungary," appointed by the Hungarian government on May 6, likewise aimed at ensuring complete observance of the anti-Jewish directives. By the time this body was set up, the Jews of the provinces had already been concentrated in ghettos, and Jewish community life had ceased to

exist, so that the "Executive Committee" was a mere fiction, devised with the additional aim of lending a semblance of legality to the government's measures. Another task imposed on the Jewish bodies established after the occupation was to assure the complete and unhindered transfer of Jewish assets and valuables. Simultaneously with the German actions, the Sztójay government enacted intensive anti-Jewish legislation. Numerous anti-Jewish decrees aimed at the total exclusion of Jews from economic, cultural, and public life. Jews were dismissed from all public services and excluded from the professions; their businesses were closed down and any assets over 3,000 pengö (about $300) confiscated, as well as their cars, bicycles, radios, and telephones.

On March 31, 1944, Jews were ordered to wear the yellow badge. Actually, in a few places (e.g., Munkacs), the local authorities issued this order earlier. On April 7, the decision was taken to concentrate the Jews in ghettos and afterwards to deport them. The ghettoization process was entrusted to the Hungarian gendarmerie in collaboration with the local administration. By mid-April an agreement was reached between the Hungarian government and the Germans stipulating the delivery of 100,000 able-bodied Jews to German factories in the course of April and May. By the end of April the Germans modified this plan by dismissing any criteria on ability to work and demanded the deportation of the entire Jewish population to concentration camps in the eastern territories. However, at the end of April, several groups of able-bodied Jews were transported from the outskirts of Budapest to Germany (1,800 persons on April 28, and a smaller group from the Topolya concentration camp on April 30).

GHETTOIZATION AND DEPORTATION. The ghettoization was started in the provinces. The Jews of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia were evacuated to ghettos on April 16–19; up to April 23, about 150,000 Jews were concentrated on the northeastern areas of Hungary, pending their deportation to *Auschwitz, which started on May 15, with daily transports of 2,000–3,000. At the same time as the Carpatho-Ruthenian action, some ghettos were set up sporadically in different parts of the country, arbitrarily initiated by local authorities (e.g., the Nagykanizsa Jews were forced into a ghetto on April 19; a number of the Jews of the Veszprem county were crammed into improvised concentration camps as early as the last days of March). North Transylvanian Jewry was evacuated to ghettos in the first days of May, when the process of ghettoization had already been concluded in northeastern Hungary. The ghettoization in the rest of the country, except for the capital, was completed simultaneously. The Jews were driven out of their homes in the night, allowed to pack only a minimal supply of food and some strictly necessary personal belongings, and then assembled at temporary collection points. The provisional ghettos were set up in school buildings, synagogues, or factories outside the towns. In the large Jewish population centers, ghettos were established in the vicinity of the towns, mainly in brickyards, barracks, or out in the open.

Jews in Ghettos, Hungary

Concentration of Jews in Central Ghettos, Hungary, 1944/45

Area	No. of ghettos	No. of persons
Northeastern Hungary	17	144,000
Transdanubia	7	36,000
Tisza Region	4	65,000
Northern District	5	69,000
Transylvania (excepting Maramaros and Szatmar counties)	7	97,000
Total	40	411,000

Ghettoization was immediately followed by an inventory of the movable property and the sealing of the houses that had belonged to Jews. The Jews were permitted to add a few items of food and clothing to their scanty baggage during the inventory, which in most cases was accompanied by gendarme brutality and looting by the civilian auxiliary personnel. In this first phase of the ghettoization, the Jews in the villages were evacuated to temporary ghettos (collection points) set up exclusively in, or outside towns (from two to four collection ghettos per county). The second phase consisted of the evacuation from the collection ghettos to the larger, central ghettos. The concentration of Jews in the central ghettos is given in the Table: Jews in Central Ghettos.

About 8,000 detainees were interned in a number of concentration camps (e.g., Kistarcsa, Sarvar). The inmates were partly political prisoners and partly Jews from the provinces rounded up in Budapest. They also faced deportation along with the Jews of the ghettos. The living conditions of over 400,000 Jews forced into makeshift ghettos were characterized by overcrowding and lack of elementary hygienic facilities. Some of the inmates had no roof over their heads, and some ghettos were erected entirely outdoors. During the short period that ghettos existed in the provinces, inhuman conditions and torture claimed a number of victims and there were also numerous cases of suicide. When the next phase of the deportation began, the majority of the Jewish population was already in a state of physical and mental exhaustion.

The deportations, which started on May 14, were jointly organized by the Hungarian and the German authorities; but the Hungarian government was solely in charge of the Jews' transportation up to the northern border. Between May 14–15 and June 7, about 290,000 persons were evacuated from Zone I (Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia) and Zone II (northern Transylvania). More than 50,000 Jews of northwestern Hungary and those north of Budapest constituting Zone III were deported by June 30. Zone IV (southern Hungary, east of the Danube), with about 41,000 persons, was also evacuated by the end of June. The last phase was concluded by July 9 with the deportation of more that 55,000 Jews from Zone V, comprising Transdanubia and the outskirts of Budapest. According to Veesenmayer's reports, a total of 437,402 Jews were deported from the five zones. (There appears a slight difference, within a few thousand, between Veesenmayer's figures and other

sources.) The bulk of the transports reached Auschwitz via central Slovakia by freight train. Each freight car was to carry about 45 persons, but actually in most cases 80–100 persons were crammed in under hardly bearable conditions. Thousands of sick, elderly people, and babies died in the trains during the three to five days of the journey, due to lack of water and ventilation.

The ghettoization and deportation were not condemned by Hungarian public opinion; instances of overt sympathy and willingness to help and rescue were an exception to the rule. Noteworthy among the few protests was the outspoken plea of Áron Márton, the Catholic bishop of Alba-Iulia. Hungarian authorities expelled him from Kolozsvar (now Cluj) in May 1944 for preaching in defense of the Jews. Attempts were made throughout the country to evade deportation, but only in northern Transylvania were most of them successful, due to its common border with Romania. The number of Jews who managed to cross the south Transylvanian border and escape to Romania in April–June may be put at about 2,000–2,500. In addition, a few hundred Jews went into hiding in the countryside, especially in northern Transylvania. Likewise some hundreds of Jews were spared deportation, when exempted by the authorities on grounds of military or other merit. A few thousand provincial Jews managed to evade deportation by either hiding in Budapest, or living in the Budapest ghettos alongside the bulk of the capital's Jewish population. About 95% of the deportees were directed to Auschwitz, where, under camp commander Rudolf *Hoess, large-scale preparations had been made for their mass murder. The able-bodied were dispersed to 386 camps throughout the German-held Eastern territories and in the Reich. A small percentage of provincial Jewry managed to evade deportation to Auschwitz. In the framework of a deal made by Rezsö *Kasztner with Eichmann (see below), some transports totaling several thousand (mostly from Debrecen, Szeged, and Szolnok) were directed to Austria. This group was spared selections, families remained united, and the majority survived.

In January 1943 a Zionist relief and rescue committee was formed in Budapest to help Jews in the neighboring countries. Otto *Komoly was president of the committee, Kasztner its vice president, and Joel *Brand was responsible for the underground rescue from Poland. Shortly after the German occupation, Kasztner and Brand established contact with Eichmann. Their names, especially that of Kasztner, became linked with the transaction known as *Blut fuer Ware* ("Blood for Goods"). Brand was sent to Istanbul to mediate between the Allies and the Germans for war materials, particularly trucks, in exchange for Hungarian Jewish lives, a mission doomed to failure. Kasztner went to Switzerland several times to meet with representatives of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, *Jewish Agency, and *War Refugee Board to work out a rescue plan and arrange its financing by Jewish organizations. Kasztner succeeded in concluding a deal with Eichmann, which resulted in the transport on June 30, 1944, of 1,658 Jews from Hungary to Switzerland at the fixed price of $1,000 per head and two further transports on August 18 and December 6, consisting of 318 and 1,368 Jews respectively, most of whom were of Hungarian and Transylvanian origin. The first group was first detained at *Bergen-Belsen, but, as a result of *Himmler's intervention, finally reached Switzerland by the end of December.

After deportations from the provinces were completed, preparations went under way for the deportation of Budapest Jews. The timing of the Budapest deportation to follow the completion of the "*Entjudung*" ("ridding of Jews") of the provinces, was set for technical, economic, and tactical reasons. On June 15, 1944, the Ministry of the Interior ordered the concentration of the Budapest Jews in some 2,000 houses marked with a yellow star and designated to enclose about 220,000 Jews. On June 25 a curfew was ordered for the capital's Jews, who from this date led the life of prisoners in utter destitution. The series of foreign interventions in May increased in June, taking on a more organized form and exerting a favorable influence upon the fate of Budapest Jewry.

In June the Swiss press, and subsequently the press in other neutral states and in the Allied countries, published details about the fate of Hungarian Jewry. The press campaign and the activity of Jewish leaders in Switzerland brought about a series of interventions with Horthy. Among others, the king of Sweden, the *Vatican, and the International Red Cross intervened. Among the Hungarian personalities who interceded with Horthy for the cessation of the deportations were Protestant bishops and Prince-Primate Justinianus Serédi. These interventions, along with the concealed intention of the Hungarian government to create favorable conditions in case of a separate armistice treaty with the Allies, brought a halt to further deportations on July 8. At the same time Baky and Endre, the chief Hungarian organizers of the "*Entjudung*," were dismissed. At the end of July, Himmler also gave his approval to the suspension of the deportations. Meanwhile, as many Jews as possible were successfully placed under the protection of some neutral states (e.g., Sweden, Switzerland, Portugal).

In August a turning point was reached when Horthy and his supporters dismissed the Sztójay government. A new government less servile to the Germans was formed under General Géza Lakatos, with the aim of preparing the armistice with the Allies. Throughout July and August the situation of the Budapest Jews and of the labor conscripts appeared more hopeful. However, on September 4, the Lakatos government declared war against Romania, which had joined the Allies (August 23). Hungarian units crossed the south Transylvanian border and perpetrated acts of savagery against the Jewish residents in the strip occupied up to the beginning of October. They massacred the whole Jewish population of Sărmaș and Sărmășel (126 persons), committed murders at Ludus and Arad, and made preparations for the introduction of anti-Jewish measures in the temporarily occupied territories.

On October 15, the fate of the Budapest Jews took a dramatic turn for the worse. After Horthy's unsuccessful attempt

to extricate Hungary from the war, the Germans activated the Arrow-Cross Party of Ferenc *Szálasi, which immediately initiated an unprecedented reign of anti-Jewish terror. Eichmann, who had been obliged to leave Hungary on August 24 (after succeeding in deporting the inmates of the Kistarcsa and Sarvar camps, against Horthy's orders), returned to Budapest on October 17 and resumed his activity for deporting the capital's Jews. After October 15, the Budapest Jews were divided into two groups: The majority were enclosed in a central ghetto, while the smaller segment lived in the blocks and quarters "protected" by various neutral states (e.g., by Switzerland and Sweden). As a preliminary step in the deportations, the Jewish male population aged 16 to 60 was ordered out to work in fortifications. In accordance with the deportation plans, two transports of about 50,000 each were to leave in November for Austria and the Reich. However, these plans were thwarted by the military situation on the Eastern front. On November 2, Soviet troops reached the outskirts of Budapest. Under these circumstances the labor battalions were driven toward western Hungary, and on November 8, a group of about 25,000 Budapest Jews were directed on foot toward Hegyeshalom at the Austrian border. They were later followed by other contingents of up to 60,000. A high percentage of persons on this "death march" perished on the way. From the Arrow-Cross seizure of power until the Soviet occupation of Budapest (Jan. 18, 1945), about 98,000 of the capital's Jews lost their lives in further marches and in train transports, as well as through Arrow-Cross extermination squads, starvation, disease, and cases of suicide. Some of the victims were shot and thrown into the Danube.

RESISTANCE AND RESCUE. Organized resistance among Budapest Jews made itself felt only in the autumn months, but it failed to develop on a large scale. A few small, armed groups were active in Budapest, attacking Arrow-Cross men and performing rescue operations. In several cases, armed Jewish youths, disguised as Arrow-Cross men or as soldiers, prevented executions and killed Szálasi's men. One form of resistance was the Zionist *ḥalutz* movement rescue activities, which consisted of forging identity cards, supplying money, food, and clothing, and facilitating escape or hiding. An attempt by the *Haganah to activate the rescue work by sending Hungarian-born Jews from Palestine failed in the summer of 1944. A few members of the Haganah were parachuted by the British into Yugoslav territory, from where they crossed into Hungary, but were captured. Two of them were executed (Perez Goldstein and Hannah *Szenes). The rescue operation by some neutral states proved to be efficient. Up to the end of October 1944, more than 1,600 Jews in Budapest were provided with San Salvador documents. By the end of the year, the number of Jews enjoying the protection of neutral states and of the International Red Cross in the "protected houses" rose to 33,000. The Arrow-Cross authorities recognized, among others, 7,800 Swiss and 4,500 Swedish safe-conduct passes. Prominent figures in this rescue work were Charles Lutz, a Swiss diplomat, and Raoul *Wallenberg, secretary of the Swedish Legation in Budapest.

By September–October 1944, northern Transylvania was occupied by the Soviet armies, followed by Hungary's eastern, southern, and northeastern strip. The Soviet forces occupied Budapest on Jan. 18, 1945, and by early April all "Trianon" Hungary. The Soviet occupation of Hungary brought freedom to the Budapest ghettos and to those labor conscripts who were within the borders.

DEMOGRAPHIC TOTAL. Statistical data on the destruction of Hungarian Jewry show that about 69,000 Jews were saved in Budapest's Central Ghetto and 25,000 in the "Protected Ghetto." In addition to these two categories, which also include persons safeguarded in the buildings of some neutral diplomatic missions, about 25,000 Jews came out of hiding in Budapest. A few thousand survived in Red Cross children's homes. An exact assessment of the number of Jews who returned to Hungary is rendered difficult by the fact that northern Transylvania, Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, Felvidék, and Bácska were once again detached from it.

Throughout the first postwar months there was a large-scale fluctuation of population between "Trianon" Hungary and the so-called "succession states." The number of Jewish forced laborers who returned to Hungary or were liberated there, including those who later returned from Soviet captivity, may be estimated at 20,000. By the end of 1945 some 70,000 deportees had returned. The number of Jews saved in all these categories in postwar Hungary totaled 200,000. The losses of Hungarian Jewry from the Trianon territories was 300,000. A relatively high proportion of the survivors were non-Jews, who were, however, considered Jews according to the racial laws.

A total number of about 25,000–40,000 Jews who were saved returned to northern Transylvania; some 15,000 to Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia and about 10,000 to Felvidék, reattached to Czechoslovakia. The number of Jews who returned to Bácska is estimated at a few thousand. The relatively small number of survivors outside Hungary, who failed to return in 1945 to their former homes, cannot be assessed.

Of the 825,000 persons considered Jews in the 1941–45 period in greater Hungary, about 565,000 perished, and about 260,000 survived the Holocaust.

[Bela Adalbert Vago]

Postwar Period

As a result of the Holocaust, the demographic composition and geographical distribution of Hungarian Jewry had radically changed after the war. When the survivors of the death camps and forced labor returned to Hungary, a few took up residence in their previous homes, and 266 communities were reestablished (out of 473). In the following years, however, most left the provincial towns, and the Jewish communities there ceased to exist.

The postwar Hungarian regime abolished the anti-Jewish legislation enacted by its predecessor. The men who had

governed during the war and many who had been directly responsible for the deportation and destruction of Jews were brought to trial and sentenced to death, and thousands of other war criminals were imprisoned. On the other hand, no comprehensive law was passed for the restitution of Jewish property that had been confiscated or forcibly sold, and the existing regulations and ordinances did not provide a solution for this vital problem. Although antisemitism was officially banned, there were strong anti-Jewish sentiments among the population, which blamed the Jews for the country's postwar economic plight. This was felt particularly in the provincial towns, whose inhabitants resented the return of the surviving Jewish deportees. In May 1946 there was a pogrom in Kunmadaras, and in July another took place in Miskolc, in which five Jews were killed and many injured. Antisemitic feelings were also voiced in the political literature of this period, in which the Jews were warned "not to try to capitalize on their sufferings during the war." The pogroms ceased at the end of 1946, when the economy was stabilized, but popular antisemitism continued to exist and found expression in such acts as the desecration of cemeteries. Recurrent antisemitism strengthened the desire of the Jews to emigrate.

The central Jewish institutions reconstituted after the war were the central office of the Neolog communities (which also included the "status quo" communities) and the central office of the Orthodox communities. Whereas before the war the Jewish leadership was composed of the Jewish financial aristocracy, the postwar leadership had a broad popular base, with Zionists playing a prominent role.

In December 1948, an agreement was reached between the government and the Jewish community, similar to agreements with other religious denominations, whereby the Jewish community was accorded official recognition, guaranteed freedom of religious practice, and assured of financial support. This agreement was renewed in 1968. In 1950, at the urging of the government the three religious trends – Neolog, Orthodox, and status quo – united into a single community organization. The Orthodox, who had voiced strong opposition to the forced unification, were granted a large measure of autonomy within the unified organization. Leadership of the community was under the direction of the Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete ("National Representation of Hungarian Israelites"), while religious affairs were handled by two rabbinical committees – one Neolog and one Orthodox; the chairman of each committee was recognized as chief rabbi of the respective religious trend. A Jewish periodical, *Uj Élet* ("New Life"), was founded as a biweekly, in November 1945.

After the liberation of the country, Hungarian Jewry entered upon a new era of public activities. The Zionist Movement, including its various subdivisions and youth movements, was greatly strengthened and became very active in the field of education. It established a network of schools, in which Hebrew was the medium of instruction, as well as other youth institutions. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) played an important role in the rehabilitation of the impoverished community, spending as much as $52 million on food, welfare, and education, during the period 1946–52.

The transformation of Hungary into a people's republic under Communist rule in 1949 was a fateful turning point for the country's Jews. The effects of this move were felt in the economic situation of the Jews, in their public life, and in their educational activities. The nationalization of the means of production, agencies, and services deprived large sections of the Jewish population of their means of livelihood. The new regime adopted a hostile attitude to the Jewish national movement, and Zionist activities were severely curtailed and eventually outlawed. The Zionist organization was disbanded in March 1949, and its leaders were sentenced to prison terms. Contacts between Hungarian Jews and world Jewry were restricted. Due to the strained relations with the United States, the work of the JDC was at first curtailed, and in the beginning of 1953 brought to a complete stop. Jewish educational institutions were absorbed by the general school system (a step which had far-reaching negative effects upon the education of Hungarian Jewish youth).

The growing severity of the Communist regime and the struggle it carried on against opposition resulted in large-scale expulsions from the cities to the provinces in 1951. An estimated 20,000 Jews were affected by this campaign, most of whom were driven out of Budapest. In 1953, when a more liberal policy was adopted, the situation of the Jews underwent some improvement, and many of those who had been expelled were permitted to return to their homes.

The 1956 uprising also had its effects upon the Jews. As a result of the emigration of rabbis and other Jewish leaders, organized Jewish life was disrupted. Some 20,000 Jews are believed to have left Hungary during this period. The report that antisemitic right-wing elements became active during the rebellion seems to be well founded in fact.

The period of liberalization that began at the end of the 1950s was beneficial to the Jews, and their communal religious and cultural life made some progress. The regime, however, frowned upon identification with any factor other than the socialist state, and an individual who sought to preserve his Jewish identity and engage in religious activities encountered difficulties in his economic and social advancement. This situation resulted in the further estrangement of young Jews from their Jewish heritage. The ties between Hungarian and world Jewry fluctuated over the course of the years. In the early postwar period, the ties were very close: Hungarian Jewry was affiliated to the *World Jewish Congress and sent representatives to international Jewish conferences. After the Communist take-over, the contacts with world Jewry declined, but they were revived in the 1960s, and representatives of Hungarian Jews again took part in meetings of the World Jewish Congress and other international Jewish conferences. Hungarian Jews also maintain links with Jewish communities in other East European countries and with the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, which supports Jewish cultural and scientific institutions in Hungary.

In 1967 the Jewish population of Hungary was estimated at 80–90,000, including some 10,000 who did not take part in religious or communal life. The largest and most important community was in Budapest, where all the central Jewish institutions were located, and then numbered 60–70,000 persons. About 20 synagogues existed, and the community provided religious, welfare, and educational services, maintaining a Jewish high school and a rabbinical seminary. The latter was headed by the well-known scholar, Alexander *Scheiber, and was the only institution of its kind in Eastern Europe. It also served as the center of scientific work, especially the publication of source material on the history of the Jews in Hungary (*Monumenta Hungariae Judaica* (MHJ), vols. 6–11, 1959–68). Other Jewish communities existed in the large provincial centers – Miskolc, Pécs, Debrecen, and Szeged.

[Nathaniel Katzburg]

During the 1970s the Jewish community in Hungary numbered some 60,000, of whom 50,000 resided in Budapest, which was thus the second or third largest in Eastern Europe; second only to that of the Soviet Union, and about the same, or slightly smaller, than that of Romania. About 60% were above the age of 50. Conservatism, as a tendency rather than ideology, characterized all aspects of the life of this closed community, and a goodly number of the Jews of Hungary belonged to the Reform (Neolog) stream of Judaism.

The communities were organized in the Association of Communities, a religious body recognized by the authorities, which operated the community's institutions: the Hungarian language publication *Uj Elet* ("New Life"), a Rabbinical Seminary, a Jewish gymnasium, museum, orphanage, old-age home, hospital, kosher meat shops and religious schools. There were 15 rabbis and 30 synagogues, of which six were in outlying cities.

The community received financial aid from the American Joint. On Dec. 6, 1977, the centenary of the Rabbinical Seminary in Budapest was celebrated, at which delegations from other Eastern European communities, including the Soviet Union, participated, as did Dr. Nahum *Goldmann, then president of the World Jewish Congress, Philip Klutznick, and graduates of the Seminary now active in the West. Graduates serving as rabbis in Israel were not invited.

Apart from this, the authorities continued to maintain the strict wall of isolation, severing the community from contact with communities in the West and in Israel.

In February 1980 an agreement was reached between the Joint Distribution Committee and the Hungarian government whereby the JDC would provide welfare services for Hungarian Jews.

In April 1980 the "Order of the Republic," one of its highest awards, was bestowed by the government on Rabbi Laszlo Salgo for his efforts in strengthening relations between the State and the Jewish community, and in May the government completed a memorial and permanent exhibition at the site of Auschwitz, in memory of the 435,000 Hungarian Jews deported to the death camp during World War II, 400,000 of whom were murdered by the Nazis. Among the exhibits are documents detailing the history of Hungarian antisemitism since 1919. A memorial pillar bears the names of 30,000 of the victims.

[Eliezer Palmor]

Post-Communist Period

In the course of the 1980s a revolution of sorts occurred within the Jewish community in Hungary, with repercussions on its existence and development. This change can be defined as mainly one of quality but also one of quantity: There were now many more Hungarian Jews than there were a decade or two previously, that is, many more people of Jewish origin were now willing to identify themselves as Jews and no longer felt or saw a need to hide their Jewishness.

The freedom which returned to Hungary with the fall of communism in Eastern Europe also gave back to its Jews, who had suffered greatly, a sense of being free to be Jews, to maintain a natural link to the State of Israel, and to try to give Jewish education to their children. At the same time, antisemitism reappeared, and the Jews now faced the same choices as their brethren in the West: identification with Zionism and possible *aliyah*, or accelerated assimilation, or carefully walking the tightrope between the two.

ASSIMILATION, ZIONISM, ALIYAH. Assimilation continued apace among the Jews of Hungary. The problem of intermarriage made itself felt in almost every Jewish family in Hungary.

As soon as it was legally possible, a Zionist Federation was founded in Hungary, led by psychologist Dr. Tibor (Samuel) Englander, but it had little influence and only a tiny fraction of Hungarian Jews were active in it. In 1992 no more than 100 Jews emigrated to Israel.

An impartial observer received the impression that he was seeing vibrant Jewish life. Dozens of organizations – B'nai B'rith, WIZO, Na'amat, the Jewish Culture Organization, Zionist youth movements from Bnei Akiva to Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, Chabad, and so on – carried on feverish activity which, however, touched only a small part of the Jewish population. Though the Jewish population of Hungary was estimated to be as high as 100,000 in 2005, with 80–90% living in Budapest, only around 6,000 were formally registered with the community and only 20,000 had contact with Jewish organizations.

ANTISEMITISM. Paradoxically, Jews seem to have been goaded into "Jewish life" by the antisemitism which reasserted itself under the new rule. Although it was still illegal, the police in a liberal regime were unable – and the government apparently did not care – to enforce this law. The result was a great spurt in antisemitic journalism and hateful antisemitic remarks by a few of the elected representatives of the Democratic Forum (MDF), the ruling party. The most prominent of the antisemitic papers were the *Magyar Forum*, under the editorship of the author Istvan Csurka, and *Szent Korona* ("The Holy Crown"), edited by Laszlo Romhany. Romhany

was convicted of incitement to murder. In 1992 and early 1993 there were many incidents of attacks on foreign students as well as against gypsies and Jews by young persons called "nationalists," who identified themselves with the skinheads, and in the Hungarian Parliament they had a patron in the person of Isabella B. Kiraly (MDF). At a large demonstration in front of the Parliament in October 1992, groups of young people showed up in Nazi uniforms and the writer Csurka accused the president of Hungary, the liberal Arpad Gonz of having "the agents who pull the strings in New York, Paris, and Tel Aviv, guide his path in Hungarian politics," which according to Csurka was still ruled by the Jews as were the communications media.

In spring 1993 antisemitic feelings were aroused by an interview given by the head of the Jewish community, Gusztav Zoltai, and the chief rabbi of Budapest, Georg Landesman, to a Catholic weekly. The rabbi made a few lame statements which were seen as contemptuous of Hungarian culture. The rabbi apologized, but his opponents in the community used the ensuing storm of public opinion to call for his resignation. The Hungarian prime minister, Jozef Antal, addressed himself – in an unprecedented step – not to the board of the Jewish community, but to the Israel ambassador in Budapest, David Kraus, and demanded the dismissal of the rabbi, whose remarks were, as stated in Antal's letter, "false, shocking, detrimental to the Hungarian people, and likely to cause an outbreak of antisemitism." The ambassador rejected the letter's contents, but the Hungarian minister of the interior ordered that an investigation be opened to see whether there was any basis for accusing the rabbi of "causing hatred of Jews." After Rabbi Landesman apologized, but refused to resign, the community board canceled the position of chief rabbi and its duties were divided among the other rabbis. Landesman did stay on as the rabbi of the Great Synagogue on Dohany Street.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE. At the head of organized Hungarian Jewry stands Mazsihisz, the Alliance of Jewish Communities, which unites the organized Jewish Neolog communities. After a 50-year break, during which the Jewish leaders were appointed by the Communist regime, elections were held in 1990 and since then an elected directorate has been in operation. Among all Jewish organizations listed above, the largest and strongest is the culture organization, Mazsike, and even its membership does not exceed a few hundred. The Alliance publishes a biweekly called *Uj Elet* ("New Life"). The Orthodox congregation, operating four synagogues, a *mikveh*, and kosher food stores, is organized as the Autonomous Orthodox Community, and a small Reform congregation, Sim Shalom, is also in operation.

JEWISH EDUCATION. In addition to kindergartens, three Jewish day schools serving 1,800 children were in operation through the 1990s and the early 2000s. These were the American Foundation School founded by the Canadian Reichmann family; it had 12 grades and maintained a moderate religious atmosphere; the Yavneh School (founded by the Lauder Foundation), defining itself as a "secular Jewish school"; and the Anne Frank Gymnasium, the oldest of the three, which was the only Jewish school not closed by the Communist regime, although it was severely limited by it, so much so that by the end of the 1970s only 15 pupils were enrolled in its four classes. In addition, the famous Rabbinical Seminary, founded nearly 120 years ago and headed by Chief Rabbi Dr. Schweitzer Jozsef in the early 2000s, was now part of the Yahalom Jewish College, which also included a teachers' training college preparing young people for teaching in the Jewish schools.

[Naftali Kraus]

Relations with Israel

From the liberation to 1949, there was substantial migration of Jews from Hungary to Israel, and during Israel's *War of Independence, the Hungarian government supported Israel. The Communist regime, however, opposing Zionism, prohibited large-scale emigration, and apart from an agreement made in 1949, under which 3,000 Jews were allowed to settle in Israel, there has been only a small trickle of Hungarian Jews moving to Israel. Contrary to the policies adopted by most other Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, the Hungarian government persisted in its restrictive attitude to *aliyah*. In conformity with the attitude of the government, the official relationship of Hungarian Jewry to Israel remained restrained. The Jewish institutions were warned against identifying with Israel. In fact, there does exist great interest in Israel, which is strengthened by the many family ties. Diplomatic relations between Hungary and Israel were established as early as 1948, and there has been a continuous rise in trade relations. The scope of trade reached $26,000,000. In June 1967, in the wake of the *Six-Day War, Hungary followed the Soviet Union's lead in breaking off diplomatic relations with Israel, but the rupture of diplomatic relations did not reflect upon trade relations.

[Nathaniel Katzburg]

The government of Hungary instituted an internal policy which was among the most liberal in Eastern Europe, and in this respect, it deviated from the line dictated by Moscow. That, however, did not apply to foreign policy, in which – and especially with regard to the Middle East conflict, with the exception of commercial ties – Hungary was in every respect a Soviet satellite.

Commercial ties between Israel and Hungary continued after diplomatic ties were severed in 1967, and in 1980 Israel exports to Hungary amounted to $2.7 million and imports to $11.0 million.

After the resumption of diplomatic relations in 1989, bilateral trade jumped, reaching $154 million in 2001. Of this, $78 million were exports from Israel (including telecommunication equipment) and $76 million were imports from Hungary (nearly half chemical products). Israelis have also invested $1.5 billion in Hungary, two-thirds of it in real estate. In addition, over 100,000 Israeli tourists visit Hungary annually, though Hungarian tourism to Israel dropped because of the Intifada, from 16,000 in 2000 to 5,400 in 2002.

With the resumption of diplomatic relations, visitors to Israel included President Arpad Gonz, Prime Minister Jozef Antall, and Foreign Minister Geza Jeszensky between 1990 and 1992. President Chaim Herzog of Israel visited Budapest (amid rumors that Arabs tried to assassinate him while there). Hungary was of great assistance to Israel in the transit of immigrants from the Soviet Union to Israel when they passed through the Budapest transit center. In 1992 terrorists attacked a busload of Soviet Jewish immigrants; although they were not hurt, two Hungarian policemen were wounded. In addition to the increased tourism, relations between cities and increased cooperation at international forums are developing.

[Naftali Kraus]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Katzburg, in: *Sinai*, 31 (1952), 339–52, incl. bibl.; J. Bergel, *Geschichte der ungarischen Juden* (1879); *Magyar Zsidó Szemle*, (1884) 1–65 (1948); IMIT; MHJ; Zs. Groszman, *A magyar zsidók a xix. század közepén, 1849–1870* (1917); L. Venetianer, *A magyar zsidóság története a honfoglalástól a világháború kitöréséig* (1922), incl. bibl.; J. Eisner (comp.), *Az Izraelita hitfelekezet és hitközségeket érintö torvények és rendeletek gyüjteménye* (1925); S. Stern, *Die politischen und kulturellen Kaempfe der Juden in Ungarn vom Jahre 1848–1871* (thesis, Vienna, 1932), incl. bibl.; N. László, *Die geistige und soziale Entwicklung der Juden in Ungarn in der ersten Haelfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (thesis, Berlin, 1934); J. Zsoldos (ed.), *1848–1849 a magyar zsidóság életében* (1948); S. Roth, *Juden im ungarischen Kulturleben in der zweiten Haelfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (1934), incl. bibl.; N. Katzburg, *Antishemiyyut be-Hungaryah* (1969), incl. bibl.; R.A. Kann, in: JSOS, 7 (1945), 357–86. BIBLIOGRAPHY AND COLLECTIONS OF DOCUMENTS: M. Kolosváry-Borcsa, *A zsidókérdés magyarországi irodalma* (c. 1943); N. Katzburg, in: *Sinai*, 40 (1957), 113–26; 164–76; 248–55; 303–20; MHJ, 1–12 (1903–69); B. Wachstein, *Die Grabschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Eisenstadt* (1922); idem, *Urkunden und Akten zur Geschichte der Juden in Eisenstadt und den Siebengemeinden* (1926). LEGAL STATUS: R. Hajnóczi (comp.), *A magyar zsidók közjoga… törvények és rendeletek gyüjteménye* (1925); Stein, *A zsidók* (1909); J. Eisner (comp.), *Az israelita hitfelekezet és hitközégeket erintö törvények és rendeletek gyüjteménye* (1925); Stein, *A zsidók köz és magánjoga Magyarországon* (n.d.). GENERAL WORKS: J. Bergl, *Geschichte der ungarischen Juden* (1879); L. Venetianer, *A magyar zsidóság története* (1922; incl. bibl.); J.J. (L.) Greenwald (Grunwald), *Toysnt Yor Yidish Lebn in Ungarn* (1945). ROMAN PERIOD AND MIDDLE AGES: A. Scheiber, *Corpus Inscriptionum Hungariae Judaicarum* (1960); idem, *Hebraeische Kodexueberreste in ungarlaendischen Einbandstafeln* (1969); idem, in: HJ, 14 (1952), 145–58; F. Fülep, in: *Acta Archaelogica*, 18 (1966), 93–98; S. Kóhn, *A zsidók története Magyarországon* (1884); L. Zolnay, in: *New Hungarian Quarterly*, 7 (1966); A. Büchler, in: *Bernard Heller Jubilee Volume* (1941). TURKISH PERIOD: F. Grünwald, in: *Bernard Heller Jubilee Volume* (1941); N. Katzburg, in: *Sinai*, 31 (1952), 339–52; A. Scheiber, in: *Acta Orientalia*, 12 (1961), 107–38 (Ger.). MODERN TIMES: B. Bernstein, in: *David Kaufmann Memorial Volume* (1900); A. Sas, in: *Juedisches Archiv*, 1 (1928), 1–6, 33–39; 2 (1929), 34–44; Zs. Groszman, *A magyar zsidók V. Ferdinánd alatt* (1916); idem, *Amagyar zsidok a XIX. század közepén* (1917); J. Zsoldos (ed.), *1848–49 a magyar zsidóság életeben* (1948); J. Eötvös, *"A zsidók emancipatiója,"* in: *Budapesti Szemle* (1840), and other editions; S. Stern, *Die politischen und kulturellen Kaempfe der Juden in Ungarn vom Jahre 1848–1871* (thesis, Vienna, 1932), incl. bibl.; R. Kann, in: JSOS, 7 (1945), 357–86; N. Katzburg, *Antishemiyuth b'Hungaria 1867–1914* (1969), incl. bibl.; idem, in: *Zion*, 22 (1957), 119–48; idem, in: *Bar-Ilan… Sefer ha-Shanah*, 3 (1965), 225–51; 4–5 (1967), 270–88; 7–8 (1970), 303–43; B. Klein, in: JSOS, 28 (1966), 79–98; J. Halmi, *Das schwarze Buch ueber Kecskemét* (1921); Joint Foreign Committee, *The Jewish Minority in Hungary* (1926). TRANSYLVANIA: *Transylvania, Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia:* Z.Y. Abraham, *Le-Korot ha-Yehudim be-Transylvania* (1951); M. Weinberger, in: *Jewish Studies in Memory of Michael Guttmann* (1946); EG, 7 (1959), vol. on *Karpatorus.* INTERNAL LIFE: Y. Ben-David, in: *Zion*, 17 (1952), 101–28; N. Katzburg, in: *Bar-Ilan… Sefer ha-Shanah*, 2 (1964), 163–77; M. Eliav, in: *Sinai*, 51 (1962), 127–42; idem, in: *Zion*, 27 (1962), 59–86; M.Z. Kaddari, in: *Sinai*, 59 (1966), 185–90; J.J. (L.) Greenwald (Grunwald), *Toledot Mishpaḥat Rosenthal* (1921); idem, *Le-Toledot ha-Reformazyon ha-Datit be-Germanyah u-ve-Ungaryah* (1948); N. László, *Die geistige und soziale Entwicklung der Juden in Ungarn in der ersten Haelfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (thesis, Berlin, 1934); S. Roth, *Juden im ungarischen Kulturleben in der zweiten Haelfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (1934), incl. bibl.; M. Grünwald, *Zsidó Biedermeyer* (1937); M. Pelli, in: HUCA, 39 (1968), 63–79 (Heb.); A. Hochmuth, *Leopold Löew als Theologe, Historiker und Publizist* (1871); W.N. Löw, *Leopold Löew. A Biography* (1912); M.J. Burak, *The Ḥatam Sofer* (1967), incl. bibl; J. Katz, in: *Studies… in Honour of Gershom Sholem* (1968); L. Löew, *Der juedische Kongress in Ungarn* (1871); N. Katzburg, in: *Aresheth*, 4 (1966), 322–67, incl. bibl.; idem, in: *Divrei ha-Congress ha-Olami ha-Revi'i le-Madda'ei ha-Yahadut*, 2 (1968), 173–5 (Heb. sect.; Eng. summary, 191–2). EDUCATION: J. Barna and F. Csukási (eds.), *A magyar zsidó felekezet… iskoláinak monográfiája*, 1–2 (1896); B. Mandl, *Das juedische Schulwesen in Ungarn unter Josef II (1780–1790)* (1903); A. Moskovits, *Jewish Education in Hungary (1848–1948)* (1964). SPIRITUAL TRENDS: L. Löw, in: *Gesammelte Schriften*, 4 (1898); J.J.(L.) Greenwald (Grunwald), in: *Ha-Ẓofeh me-Ereẓ Hagar*, 2 (1912); idem, in: *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael* 5 (1921); S. Kohn, *Die Sabbatharier in Siebenbüergen* (1894); *Simon Péchi Szombatos imádságos könyve* (1914); N. Ben-Menachem, in: *Israel Elfenbein Jubilee Volume* (1963); idem, *Mi-Safrut Yisrael be-Hungaryah* (1958). ZIONISM: S. Hakohen Weingarten, *Ha-Ḥatam Sofer ve-Talmidav* (1945); Y.Z. Zehav i, *Me-ha-Ḥatam Sofer ve-ad Herzl* (1967). PERIODICALS: Magyar Zsidó Szemle, 1 (1884)–65 (1948); *Izraelita Magyar Irodalmi Társulat Evkönyve* 1895–1918; 1929–1943; 1948; *Ha-Ẓofeh me-Ereẓ Hagar*, 1 (1911)–4 (1915); continued as *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael*, 5 (1921)–15 (1931); continued as *Ha-Soker*, 1 (1933)–5 (1938); *Magyar Rabbik*, 1905–08 HOLOCAUST PERIOD: R.L. Braham (ed.), *The Hungarian Jewish Catastrophe: a Selected and Annotated Bibliography* (1962); idem (ed.), *Hungarian-Jewish Studies*, 2 vols. (1966–69); idem, *The Destruction of Hungarian Jewry: a Documentary Account*, 2 vols. (1963); idem, *Eichmann and the Destruction of Hungarian Jewry* (1961); Institute of Jewish Affairs, New York, *European Jewry Ten Years after the War* (1956), 60–81; J. Lévai (comp.), *Black Book of the Martyrdom of Hungarian Jewry* (1948); idem (ed.), *Eichmann in Hungary: Documents* (1961); idem, in: *Yad Vashem Studies*, 5 (1963), 69–103; L. Rothkirchen, *ibid.*, 7 (1968), 127–46; I. Benoschofsky and E. Karsai, *Vádirat a nácizmus ellen*, 3 vols. (1958–67), index; E. Landau (ed.), *Der Kastner Bericht…* (1961); M. Sandberg, *My Longest Year* (1968); *Ha-Yo'eẓ ha-Mishpati la-Memshalah Neged Adolf Eichmann. Eduyyot*, 2 (1963), 830–975. S. Rozman, *Zikhron Kedoshim li-Yhudei Carpatoruss-Marmarosh* (Yid., 1968), 214–327. CONTEMPORARY PERIOD: P. Meyer et al., Satellites (1953), 373–489; American Jewish Congress, *Jewish Communities of Eastern Europe* (1967), 30–37; Kovács, in: JSOS, 8 (1946), 147–60; Kutas, in: *Journal of Central European Affairs*, 8 (1949), 377–89; AJYB (1945–); R.L. Braham and M.H. Hauer, *Jews in the Communist World: a Bibliography* (1963), 25–29; P. Lendvai, *Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe* (1972), 301–25.

HUNTING (Heb. צוד, "hunt"; צַיִד, "hunting, game"; צַיָּד, "hunter"; מְצוֹדָה, מָצוֹד, "hunting implement, net").

Biblical Period

In the earliest periods of human history, hunting was an essential means of procuring food, clothing, and tools. In biblical times hunting continued on a smaller scale. Lev. 17:13 takes for granted the hunting of birds and beasts permitted for Israelite consumption (see below). For aristocrats and royalty who did not lack for food, hunting was a sport, as is attested in works of art from Mesopotamia, Phoenicia, and Egypt (cf. Pritchard, Pictures, 56–60). There are numerous portrayals of Assyrian kings hunting the lion as a means of expressing their manly prowess and demonstrating their right to the title "mighty man." Several Ugaritic texts portray the goddess Anat as a hunter. In the Ugaritic myth of Aqhat, Anat has Aqhat murdered in order to obtain the hunting bow made for him by the craftsman god Kothar-wa-Hasis.

Two great hunters are named in the Bible: *Nimrod (Gen. 10:9) and *Esau (Gen. 25:27).

Bows, spears, traps, lassoes, nets, and deadfalls were usual hunting weapons. Shepherds carried clubs and slings to protect their flocks (I Sam. 17:34–37, 40). The Egyptian "Tale of Sinuhe," from the 20th century B.C.E., mentions hunting with hounds (Pritchard, Texts, 20).

Hunting on horseback was well known in the Near East and served as an artistic theme. The earliest depictions are of the royal hunt in Assyrian reliefs whence it spread to Iran. There are no certain references in the Bible but Job 39:18 has been suggested.

Two bird traps are frequently mentioned in the Bible: מוֹקֵשׁ(*mokesh*) and פַּח (*paḥ*). Both terms are often used side by side (Josh. 23:13; Isa. 8:14, et al.). *Mokesh* is derived from the root יקשׁ; it is also a fowling term (Ps. 124:7). The Syriac form (*negash*) is used of "clapping of hands and knocking of the teeth." *Mokesh* is probably a trapping device similar to an Egyptian bird trap, known from graphic representations (see Gerleman, in bibl.), composed of two frames covered with a net. The frames close together and capture the prey when the fowler pulls a cord at the right moment (cf. Jer. 5:26). The etymology of *paḥ* is obscure. This term is used with the verb יקשׁ, and it seems to be an automatic device (Amos. 3:5; cf. Ps. 69:23; Hos. 9:8).

As for big game, pictures show that in Egypt and Mesopotamia a method of hunting similar to the battue (driving of game by hounds or beaters to closed places, pits, or traps, set in advance) was common. Expressions and comparisons frequent in the Bible attest the fact that this method was known in Israel as well (Jer. 16:16; Ezek. 19:8; cf. Ps. 140:6; Isa. 24:17–18). Mention is often made, especially in metaphorical expressions, of traps consisting of camouflaged pits (*shuḥah, shaḥat*, and *bor*, e.g., Ps. 7:16; 35:7; Prov. 22:14; 26:77).

Among game animals listed in the Bible, the daman, the hare, and the wild pig are unclean, i.e., may not be eaten (Lev. 11:5–6), while the deer, gazelle, roebuck, wild goat, ibex, antelope, and mountain sheep are clean, i.e., may be eaten (Deut. 14:4–5). Leviticus 17:13 provides that "if any Israelite or any stranger who resides among them hunts down an animal or a bird that may be eaten, he shall pour out its blood and cover it with earth." If he does not comply with this ruling and eats from this game, he incurs the penalty of *karet (17:14b).

[Laurentino José Alfonso / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

Post-Biblical Views

The rabbis looked askance at hunting as a sport and strongly disapproved of it. Their objection to hunting on moral grounds is all the more significant in that the only legal prohibition is on hunting on the Sabbath (Shab. 13:2; TB, Shab. 106b, 107a; cf. Isserles OH 316:2) and Festivals (Bez. 3:1, 2). Without exception, all the references in the Mishnah to the *ẓeid* of animals, birds, and fish (e.g., Beẓ. 3:2, 3; Shev. 7:4) refer not to hunting for sport but to trapping with nets for the utilitarian purposes of food, as is clear from *Beẓah* 3:2 and *Shabbat* 1:6; or for commercial purposes (Shev. 7:4); or for the destruction of animal pests (MK 1:4; Eduy. 2:5); or for domestication (Shab. 13:8). Even a reference to catching a lion on the Sabbath states that the huntsman is not culpable "unless he entices it into a cage" (Shab. 107a).

The only reference to hunting during the period of the Second Temple is to Herod, who was greatly addicted to it (Jos., Wars, 1:429; Ant., 15:244) and followed the chase on horseback, spearing the animals (Ant., 16:315). The two famous hunters in the Bible, Nimrod and Esau, were regarded in a derogatory light, as "rebels against God" and as the very antithesis of the spirit of Judaism respectively. In one passage the Talmud asks ironically, "Was Moses then a hunter?" (Ḥul. 60b) and Simeon b. Pazzi interpreted the first verse of Psalms, "Happy is the man that hath not… stood in the way of sinners" to apply to those who do not attend gladiatorial contests between wild beasts, or, as Rashi interprets it, "Hunting with dogs for sport and entertainment." Rashi, of course, reflects the hunting of his days and all references to it in medieval Jewish literature are condemnatory. R. Meir of Rothenberg (Resp. 27) points out that according to Rashi (Shab. 51b) the statement of Mishnah *Shabbat* 5:1 permitting "chain-wearing animals to go out with their chains or be led by their chains" on the Sabbath refers to hunting dogs, which would appear to permit hunting (cf. also Yad, Hilkhot Shabbat 10:22), and he adds, "But I, the author, declare that whosoever hunts animals with dogs, as do the gentiles, will not be vouchsafed to partake of the feast of the *leviathan [in the world to come]." The passage is supplemented by Isaac of Vienna (*Or Zaru'a*, II 17 p. 37b) by a quotation from Leviticus Rabbah 13:3 "*Behemoth and the Leviathan are the *kenigin* ['hunt' so the *Or Zaru'a*; the printed text and Meir of Rothenberg read *kinyanin*, 'the possessions'] of the righteous, and he who does not witness the *kenigin* of the idolators in this world will be vouchsafed to see it in the world to come" (cf. BB 75a).

There is a story of the Jews in Colchester in England participating in the hunt of a doe, but it was a spontaneous participation when the doe, startled by the dogs of the knights,

ran into the city (Jacobs, *Jewish Ideals*, p. 226), and one or two other instances are quoted (see Abrahams, *Jewish Life*). In a lengthy and interesting responsum S. Morpurgo (1681–1740) (*Shemesh Ẓedakah* no. 57) forbade hunting with weapons, both as a profession and for sport. With regard to the latter he states emphatically that those who do so "have taken hold of the occupation of Esau the wicked, and are guilty of cruelty in putting to death God's creatures for no reason. It is a doubled and redoubled duty upon man to engage in matters which make for civilization, and not in the destruction of creation for sport and entertainment" (cf. *Darkhei Teshuvah* to YD 117, sub-section 44). He even prohibits hunting with firearms for trade since, as an animal so killed is forbidden for food, it constitutes trading in forbidden things.

Isaac Lampronti (*Paḥad Yiẓḥak*, s.v. *Ẓeidah*) has a responsa on the subject of the permissibility of hunting "animals or birds with weapons for the sole purpose of sport and entertainment, thus rendering the dead animal *nevelah*." He forbids it completely as prohibited wanton destruction, though the killing of animals other than for food, i.e., to use their blood or hides, is permitted, and he applies to it the verse, "As a madman who casteth firebrands, arrows, and death… and sayeth 'Am I not a sport'" (Prov. 26:18). It is clear from Maimonides (Yad, Melakhim 6:10) that "He who hunts birds transgresses the law: 'thou shall not destroy'" and he concludes "Moreover, since the gentiles and idolators are accustomed to indulge in hunting animals and birds with weapons for mere sport, the prohibition of 'ye shall not walk in their statutes' [Lev. 18:3] applies. Thus a person who indulges in this sport is unworthy of the name of Jew." A query was addressed to R. Ezekiel *Landau by a man who had acquired a large estate which included forests and fields as to whether he could indulge in hunting with firearms. In his reply, Landau pointed out that from the strictly legal point of view there was no prohibition, but "the only hunters we find are Nimrod and Esau, and this is not the way of the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob"; unless one is forced to do it for one's livelihood "it is an unworthy practice, i.e., it partakes of cruelty, it is strictly forbidden" (YD Second Series 10). For further details of the rabbinic attitude see *Darkhei Teshuvah* to YD 28:6 (131). The German Jewish statesman Walter Rathenau is reported to have said "When a Jew says that he is going hunting to amuse himself, he lies" (Albert Einstein, *The World as I See It* (1935), 95).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BIBLE: F. von Oppenheim, *Der Tell Halaf* (1931), 133–8; G. Gerleman, in: *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* (1945–46), 79–90. POST-BIBLICAL VIEWS: I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1932^2), 399–40; *Paḥad Yiẓḥak*, s.v. *ẓeidah*. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** P. Day, in: DDD, 39–40; B. Marshak and V. Raspopova, in: *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, N.S. 4 (1990), 77.

ḤUNYA (Neḥunya, Ḥanina) OF BETH-HORON (Brat Hauran), Palestinian *amora* of the early third century who lived in Hauran in Transjordan (S. Klein, *Ever ha-Yarden ha-Yehudi* (1925), 57f.), whence he would periodically visit Tiberias. It is said that when he crossed the Jordan it parted for him (TJ, Av. Zar. 3:1, 42c). Virtually nothing is known of his life, but he is quoted by R. Johanan (Suk. 44a), R. Abba Zavda (TJ, Suk. 4:1, 54b), and R. Joshua b. Levi (TJ, Nid. 3:4, 50d; cf. TB, Nid. 25b). Living as he did in Transjordan, he interested himself in the eastern borders of Palestine (TJ, Shev. 6:1, 36c; Klein, *ibid.*, 54). He left a learned son, Uzziel (TJ, Shab. 1:7, 4a), who also transmitted traditions in his father's name (TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 5:1, 55d, et al.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor, 3 (1899), 272–302; B. Ratner, *Ahavat Ẓiyyon vi-Yrushalayim, Shevi'it* (1905), 53; Heilprin, Dorot, 2 (1905), 127; Hyman, Toledot, 413f.; Frankel, Mevo, 80b; Halevy, Dorot, 2 (1923), 60–63; Margalioth, Ḥakhmei, 280f.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 164f.

[Daniel Sperber]

°**HUPFELD, HERMANN CHRISTIAN KARL** (1796–1866), German Bible critic. In 1825 he was appointed professor of Old Testament exegesis at Marburg, publishing in the same year in Leipzig *Exercitationes Aethiopicae*, a pioneering classic in the field of Ethiopic philology. He succeeded *Gesenius at Halle University in 1843, and wrote there his most fruitful work, *Die Quellen der Genesis und die Art ihrer Zusammensetzung von neuem untersucht* ("The Sources of Genesis and the Way in Which They were Combined Newly Examined," 1853), an enquiry into the sources of Genesis. With this work he established a new documentary hypothesis, maintaining that there were three independent narratives underlying Genesis: the basic Elohistic document (now known as P), a second Elohistic work (E), and a Yahwist strand (J). These narratives were combined by a later redactor into a single organic whole. Hupfeld's work determined the course of subsequent critical research. His Bible introduction (*Ueber Begriff und Methode der sogenannten biblischen Einleitung*, "On the Concept and Method of So-Called 'Biblical Introduction,'" 1844), which defines the scope of biblical research as the study of the origin and historical development of the Scriptures, is an example of his cautious and indefatigable research. Hupfeld also wrote a four-volume commentary on Psalms (1855–61).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T.K. Cheyne, *Founders of Old Testament Criticism* (1893), 149–55; Hupfeld, in: *Neue Zeitschrift für Systematische Theologie*, 5 (1963), 54–96; *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 5 (1953), 413 (incl. bibl.). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R. Smend, in: DBI, 1:529–30.

[Zev Garber / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

HUR (Heb. חוּר).

(1) Grandfather of the master craftsman *Bezalel of the tribe of Judah (Ex. 31:2; 35:30; I Chron. 2:20, 50; II Chron. 1:5); son of *Caleb and Ephrath (I Chron. 2:19). Another tradition seems to make him the son of Carmi, and describes him as "the first-born of Ephrath, the father of Beth-Lehem" (I Chron. 4:1, 4). He is probably identical with the Hur who, together with Aaron, assisted Moses both at the battle against *Amalek (Ex. 17:10, 12) and at the covenant at Sinai, when he was placed in charge of judicial matters during Moses' absence on

the mount (Ex. 24:14). Josephus lists him as the husband of Miriam, Moses' sister (Ant. 3:54; cf. 3:105). The name is probably connected with the Egyptian god Horus.

[Nahum M. Sarna / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

The Midrash, identifying Ephrath in I Chronicles 2:19 with Miriam, makes Hur the son of Caleb and Miriam. The mysterious disappearance of Hur from the biblical record after he seemed obviously to be groomed as Moses' successor (cf. Ex. 24:14) is explained by the rabbis to the effect that he was murdered by the people for courageously opposing their demand to make the golden calf (Ex. R. 48:3, Sanh. 7a). As a reward he became the ancestor both of Bezalel, the architect of the sanctuary (cf. Ex. 31:2), and of Solomon, builder of the Temple (Tanḥ. B., Ex. 121, and Sot. 11b). He ranks among the martyred prophets of Israel (Mid. Ag. to Num. 30:15) and the seven righteous men in the world (*Targum Sheni* to Esth. 1:2).

(2) One of the five kings of Midian slain by the Israelites in the time of Moses (Num. 31:8; Josh. 13:21).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ginzberg, Legends, 3 (1911), 121ff., 154f. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E.A. Knauf, in: ABD, 3:334.

ḤURFAYSH, Druze village in Upper Galilee, Israel, on the Nahariyyah-Sasa road. In 1967 Hurfaysh received municipal status. Its area is 1.5 sq. mi. (4 sq. km.), and its population rose from 1,510 in 1968 to 4,480 in 2002. A center of the Galilean Druze community, Ḥurfaysh lies at the foot of Mt. Sabalān where the sanctuary al-Nabī Sabalān is located. Al-Nabī Sabalān is identified with Zebulun, son of Jacob, according to Druze and Muslim tradition. Ḥurfaysh's economy is based on hill farming, mainly tobacco and deciduous fruit orchards.

[Efraim Orni]

HUROK, SOLOMON (**Sol**; 1888–1974), U.S. impresario. Born in Pogar, Russia, Hurok went to the U.S. in 1906 and four years later began his managerial activities by organizing concerts in a Brooklyn community center. In 1916 he was introduced to ballerina Anna Pavlova, who became the first of the many dance artists he would manage, and who inspired his love of ballet. In his first commercial venture he rented the New York Hippodrome for a series of Sunday night celebrity concerts. The venture proved a success, and during the years that followed he directed a brilliant array of classical singers, musicians, dancers, and ballet companies. He estimated that he presented more than 4,000 artists and companies, among them Isadora Duncan, Martha Graham, Artur Rubinstein, Marian Anderson, Andrés Segovia, the Sadler's Wells Ballet, the Royal Ballet, the Bolshoi Ballet, the Kirov and the Moiseyev, and Inbal from Israel. Some of his productions on Broadway include *Petrouchka* (1935), *The Three-Cornered Hat* (1935), *Firebird* (1935), *Tropical Revue* (1943), The Azuma Kabuki Dancers and Musicians (1954), *Romeo and Juliet* (1956), *Intermezzo* (1957), *Volpone* (1957), Ballet Espanol (1959), *As You Like It* (1974), and Nureyev and Friends (1974).

Hurok was also responsible for the telecasts of *The Sleeping Beauty* (1955) and *Cinderella*, both danced by the Sadler's Wells Company. He took part in the discussions in Washington and Moscow that led to an agreement between the Soviet Union and the U.S. on cultural exchanges.

Called "America's impresario No. 1," Hurok was renowned for his flair and flamboyance. He loved talented artists and opening-night extravaganzas, and he promoted his attractions with unbridled fanfare. Practicing what he preached, one of Hurok's mottos was "Get pleasure out of life … as much as you can. Nobody ever died from pleasure."

His memoirs were published as *Impresario* (written in collaboration with Ruth Goode, 1946), and *S. Hurok Presents* (1953). The 1953 musical film *Tonight We Sing*, written by Hurok and Ruth Goode, is based on his life and career.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Robinson, *The Last Impresario: The Life, Times, and Legacy of Sol Hurok* (1994)

[Anatole Chujoy / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HURRIAN. The term Hurrian denotes a language of the ancient Near East and the people who spoke it. The core area inhabited by Hurrian-speaking people was the region of the upper Ñabur and Tigris Rivers, together with the piedmont beyond, extending into the eastern Taurus and northwestern Zagros Mountains. The Hurrian language belongs to neither the Semitic nor the Indo-European language family, nor is it related to Sumerian or Elamite, other important isolated languages of the ancient Near East. It is related to only one other known ancient language, that of Urartu, the kingdom that flourished in the montane regions surrounding Lakes Van, Urmia, and Sevan during the early first millennium B.C.E.; whether Hurrian and Urartian are related to any living languages remains uncertain (see further below). Hurrian and Hurrians are attested to in and around Mesopotamia beginning in the late third millennium B.C.E., whereafter evidence of their presence increases (along with the quantity and geographical range of textual records) until reaching a climax in the 15th–14th centuries, with the floruit of the predominantly Hurrian kingdom of Mittanni. After Mittanni was eclipsed by Ñatti and Assyria, Hurrian language and culture lived on in the Assyrian and especially the Hittite kingdoms, eventually dwindling to the vanishing point in the early first millennium B.C.E. The designation Hurrian appears in the Hebrew Bible as the gentilic *ìôrï*, "Horite," which denotes a people who dwelt in Canaan and Transjordan before the emergence of Israel.

Rediscovery and Research

The existence of a language and people called Hurrian first came to light with the discovery of the Amarna tablets, in the late 19th century C.E., and the Hittite royal archives at Boghazköy, in the early 20th century.

The Amarna tablets are the archive of Egypt's international correspondence in cuneiform, which was found at Tell el-Amarna, the site of Akhetaten, and dates to the mid-14th century B.C.E. This archive of about 400 cuneiform tablets

included several letters from Tuåratta, king of Mittanni, to the king of Egypt (and one to the queen-mother). Most of Tuåratta's letters were written in Akkadian, then the common language of international relations in the Near East, but one very long letter was written in a language that was entirely unknown at the time of its discovery; only the standard address and salutation formulae were composed in Akkadian as usual. Within this letter (EA 24), which has come to be known as the Mittanni Letter, Tuåratta refers to himself as "the Hurrian king" and to his country as "the Hurrian land." These designations, however, could not immediately be read and understood accurately. In the meantime, it was observed that the names of Tuåratta and most of his relatives could be analyzed as Indo-Aryan. But the language of the Mittanni Letter was clearly not Indo-European, therefore presumably it could not be "Aryan," and for the time being it was simply called Mittannian.

Not long after the Amarna tablets were discovered, excavations commenced at Boghazköy, the site of Ñattusa, which was the capital of the Hittite kingdom during most of its existence from roughly 1600 to 1200 B.C.E. These excavations began to yield great numbers of cuneiform tablets, some written in Hittite (also an unknown language at the time of discovery), some in Akkadian, and some in the same language as that of the Mittanni Letter. In the Boghazköy tablets this language is referred to by the Hittite adverb *ñurlili*, "(in) Hurrian," from *ñurla*, Hittite for "(a) Hurrian." Other tablets from the Hittite royal archives make reference to the "land of Ñurri" and the "people of Ñurri(-land)," as well as to the kingdom of Mittanni.

Initially, the designation Ñurri was read "Ñarri," since the most common cuneiform spelling left the medial vowel indeterminate, and "Ñarri" was interpreted as "Aryan." This reading and interpretation were corrected soon enough based on cuneiform spellings that specified the vowel, and on the observation that the language denoted Hurrian was not Indo-European. But the association between Mittanni and (Indo-)Aryans was reinforced by other evidence. A treaty between Ñatti and Mittanni, redacted in Akkadian, was found in the Boghazköy archives, and among the divine witnesses overseeing this treaty on the Mittannian side, the names of a few Indian deities were quickly recognized: Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and the Nasatya twins, well known from the Vedas. Another Boghazköy tablet, written in Hittite, proved to be a sort of instruction manual for training horses for the chariotry, in which the technical terminology is of Indo-Aryan derivation and the author, Kikkuli, is identified as a "horse-trainer from Mittanni." Further, various additional terms and names that appeared in connection with Mittanni, in sources then newly coming to light, were identified as Indo-Aryan in origin; the most prominent of these is *maryanni*, a term denoting the nobility who used horse-drawn chariots in warfare (discussed further below). But the relationship between Mittanni(an) and Ñurri(an) remained unclear. Additional evidence added to the issue's complexity.

Egyptian texts of the New Kingdom period (1532–1070 B.C.E.), broadly contemporaneous with the Boghazköy archives, refer to the region of Syria by the designation Ñor, evidently identical with Ñurri(-land), while they usually call Mittanni by the name Nañarina, "River-land." In Akkadian-language sources there appears yet another name, Ñanigalbat (var. Ñaligalbat), referring to a land within that of Mittanni, or of Ñurri. Meanwhile, already before the Amarna Letters became known, Mesopotamian lexical texts had been discovered that listed words described as "Subarian," that is, pertaining to a land called Subir in Sumerian and Subartu in Akkadian. Some of these Subarian words were now found to belong to the same language as that in which the Mittanni Letter was written, the language called Hurrian by the Hittites.

This embarrassment of designations and entities fueled a debate concerning which term stood for what, and the nature of their referents. What were the relationships among the various designations for lands, polities, people(s), and their language(s)? Should the language be called Hurrian, Mittannian, or Subarian? How was Ñurri-land (Egyptian Ñor) related to Mittanni (Egyptian Nañarina), and what was the status of Ñanigalbat? Were the Hurrians the same as the people of Subir/Subartu? When did Hurrians or Subarians arrive in the Near East? When and how did Mittanni come into existence? And were the Bronze Age Hurrians to be identified with the Horites of the Bible? Some saw either the Subarians or the Hurrians, a.k.a. Horites, as the aboriginal population of the Near East or part thereof. Others pointed to the absence of onomastic or other linguistic evidence for Hurrian presence before the period of the Akkad Dynasty (ca. 23rd–22nd century B.C.E.), and concluded that Hurrians were relative latecomers to the area, probably having come from a more northerly "homeland." While some readily equated Hurrian with Subarian, Ignace Gelb (1944) argued forcefully in favor of a sharp distinction between Subarian(s) and Hurrian(s), observing, for instance, that only part of the linguistic material designated Subarian in Mesopotamian sources is Hurrian. The whole matter was further complicated by the issue of Indo-Aryan presence in Mittanni, or among the Hurrians. Some imagined – and even today, some still do – that only with the arrival of Aryans, sometime during the "dark age" that followed the fall of Babylon, was the Hurrian population infused with the capacity to form a coherent state (Mittanni) that possessed military potency and imperial ambition; according to this view, Mittanni would have been an Aryan-dominated kingdom with a predominantly Hurrian population, an admixture which soon diluted its dynasty's power.

By now the accumulation of evidence, together with the maturation of the concepts with which we interpret it, suffices to push the major pieces of this puzzle into place, though many questions cannot yet be answered and there remain great gaps in the evidence so far available. The most significant gap is that we still largely lack indigenous Hurrian, Subarian, or Mittannian textual sources; notably, no actual Mittannian archives have been found, and the site of Waååukanni, Mittanni's capi-

tal city (where such archives would be expected), has yet to be located. Most texts in the Hurrian language have been found at sites outside the "land of Ḫurri" – at Amarna, Boghazköy, and elsewhere – while virtually all references to Mittanni, its rulers, and its affairs occur in sources found outside Mittanni itself. The case is similar for Subarian(s) and Subartu, except there is even less to go on. As regards material evidence, although abundant archaeological finds from the pertinent areas and periods are known, no specific element of material culture can be identified as Hurrian, Subarian, or Mittannian, because there is no means whereby any of these designations may be linked exclusively and definitively to a particular type of artifact or stylistic feature. The people to whom these designations pertained, regardless of whether they were indigenous to the lands they inhabited, participated in the broader culture of those lands, so that it is difficult to identify them by means of tangible cultural markers. Notwithstanding such gaps and uncertainties, the general picture sketched in what follows is probably reliable.

It should be noted, before proceeding, that scholarship on this and similar subjects has often been marred by a tendency to automatically equate language with ethnicity and both with cultures, political formations, or territories (including "homelands"), even ones whose existence is only a postulate. In the same way, the mere existence of a designation that may be applied to persons has often too readily been assumed to imply the existence of a "people" – an ethnic group or race – bearing that designation, and even to imply a state, with delimited territory, controlled by the hypothetical ethnic group. At the price of simplicity of expression, such automatic equations and assumptions are avoided here, to the extent this is possible without unduly burdening the discussion with roundabout phraseology; the content and application of each term must be the subject of inquiry.

Ḫurri and Hurrian

In ancient Near Eastern sources, the designation Ḫurri and its derivatives (e.g., Hittite *ḫurla-*, *ḫurlili*) are applied to a land, its people, and their language, principally during the 16th–12th centuries B.C.E. The "land(s) of Ḫurri" and the "people of Ḫurri" are first attested to in texts from the Hittite Old Kingdom (ca. 16th century B.C.E.); the latest attestations would be the biblical passages mentioning Horites, which were redacted in their present form centuries later but refer vaguely to the period before the transition from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age (ca. 12th century B.C.E.).

The self-designation of Tušratta, king of Mittanni, as "the Hurrian king," in his Hurrian-language letter to Pharaoh (EA 24), warrants the inference that, at least during the period of Mittanni's existence, there was such a thing as Hurrian identity; further, as other sources also indicate, this identity could be borne by the people and land of Mittanni as well as the language. But how far to extend this inference is uncertain. In particular, since the kingdom of Mittanni acquired an empire whose size fluctuated, embracing more or fewer vassal kingdoms at any particular time, it would be absurd to suppose that the designation Hurrian would have applied to all lands and people coming under (temporary) Mittannian hegemony. Meanwhile, there were plenty of Hurrians, or speakers of Hurrian, dwelling outside Mittanni, as is evident from the heavy incidence of Hurrian or Hurrianized personal names, place names, and vocabulary throughout much of the Near East during this period. But many who spoke Hurrian would also have spoken a Semitic language, or Hittite, or something else, and many who bore Hurrian names had relatives who bore names in other languages – or else their names were, say, half Hurrian and half Semitic – so the Hurrian language cannot serve as a marker of "ethnic" identity. Therefore neither can the characterization Hurrian be linked exclusively to the Mittannian polity, nor does the evidence suggest that it denoted an ethnic group. Tušratta was "the Hurrian king" because he ruled the land and people of Ḫurri, as much as because he himself was "Hurrian." On present evidence it seems probable that Ḫurri was originally the designation borne by a group of people, which was then applied to the land they inhabited and later to the language they spoke; but that land was not delimited by specific boundaries, and the people were not defined by putative genealogical or political affinity. Only the Hurrian language, which of course anyone could acquire, was a distinct as well as relatively constant feature.

Language is, naturally, the easiest cultural characteristic to trace in textual sources, and the language that came to be called Hurrian is attested much earlier than the designation itself is. Hurrian personal names and place names are attested in Syro-Mesopotamian sources beginning with the period of the Akkad Dynasty, in the last quarter of the third millennium B.C.E. The earliest ruler bearing a Hurrian name who is thus far attested is probably Tašiš-atili, whose capture in the city of Azuḫinum (location uncertain) was commemorated by Naram-Sïn, king of Akkad (ca. 2200 B.C.E.), in connection with his campaign against the land of Subartu. The earliest known text written in the Hurrian language is the foundation inscription of Tiš-atal, lord of Urkeš, a city recently found at the site of Tell Mozan (on which see further below); Tiš-atal probably ruled during the Ur III period, toward the end of the third millennium B.C.E. But Hurrian words appear in texts that predate Tiš-atal's inscription. Indeed, the earliest-attested Hurrian word may be one that entered the Sumerian language as a loanword: Sumerian *tabira*, "coppersmith," probably derives from Hurrian *tabiri*, "one who casts (copper)." The time for borrowing such a term into Sumerian would likely be the time when copper metallurgy was introduced into Mesopotamia, in the fourth millennium B.C.E. This would suggest that speakers of Hurrian were present in the Near East as early as any other linguistically identifiable inhabitants of the region, rather than arriving there from elsewhere. In that case, the fact that textual records do not otherwise attest their presence until the Akkad period should be attributed to the limited purview of earlier records, rather than to the absence of Hurrian(s). The geographical origin of the Hurrian language and those who

spoke it should not be sought beyond the Near East, but in the principal areas known to have been inhabited in historical times by speakers of Hurrian and its sibling tongue Urartian: the regions of the upper Ñabur and Tigris, and the mountainous lands between there and the Caucasus.

If we use the term "Hurrian" as a linguistic designation, it may be applied to people and places bearing Hurrian names, as well as to Hurrian vocabulary and texts, throughout the periods when these are attested to. In what follows, people may be spoken of as Hurrians on the understanding that they are so designated according to the criterion of language, not necessarily ethnicity or any other kind of identity; in a similar sense, cities, polities, deities, and elements of culture may likewise be characterized as Hurrian.

Subartu, Subarian, and Hurrian

The geographical designation Subartu and the corresponding gentilic Subarian overlap somewhat with Ñurri and Hurrian, but they do so primarily from the perspective of Sumer and Akkad. The term Subartu (or Subir) may originally have been the name of a specific place, but fairly early in the history of Mesopotamia, whence our sources for it largely derive, Subartu came to be used broadly to signify "north," "upland," that is, upriver and up in the mountains, north and northwest of Sumer and Akkad. The people who dwelt in those northerly, mountainous regions spoke complicated languages, according to the Sumero-Akkadian view (Gelb 1944, 41–42), and one of those complicated "Subarian" languages was Hurrian. So, for example, when Naram-Sïn campaigned against Subartu, he encountered and defeated a ruler bearing a Hurrian name, Tañiå-atili (mentioned above), at a locality somewhere north of Akkad. Hurrian and Hurrians are consequently labeled Subarian in Mesopotamian texts (or in texts using Mesopotamian scribal conventions), but Subarians, or inhabitants of Subartu, were not necessarily Hurrian, just "northern." Later texts sometimes use the name Subartu to refer to Assyria, because it lay northwest of Akkad, rather than because it grew to encompass Hurrian or "Subarian" territories; either way this illustrates the mutability of the name's usage. Given their inherently broad and flexible application, the terms Subarian and Subartu are unlikely to have denoted any specific language, ethnic group, or polity during any period of their usage in Mesopotamian texts (see, e.g., Michalowski 1986).

Tañiå-atili's near-contemporaries and neighbors in third-millennium Subartu included other Hurrian-named rulers. Recent excavations at Tell Brak and Tell Mozan, located on tributaries of the Ñabur River, have revealed that they are the sites of, respectively, Nagar and Urkeå, two important Hurrian towns. At each site, evidence has been found of individuals who ruled there during the late third-millennium, in the form of impressions of their seals. The seals were inscribed with their names, which are Hurrian: Talpuå-atili, "sun of the land of Nagar," and Tupkish, lord (*vel sim.*; Hurrian *endan*) of Urkeå; also attested at Urkeå is the wife of Tupkiå, who bore the Semitic name Uqnîtum (based on *uqnu*, the Akkadian word for lapis lazuli). These individuals are dated roughly to the late Akkadian period (ca. 22nd century B.C.E.; see Buccellati 1998, especially the contributions of Steinkeller and Salvini). Not long thereafter appears another Hurrian-named ruler, Atal-åen, king of both Urkeå and Nawar (perhaps identical to Nagar), who is known from a bronze tablet that unfortunately lacks archaeological provenience. This tablet records, in Akkadian, Atal-åen's dedication of a temple to the Mesopotamian god Nergal; most unusually, it was "signed" by the scribe, whose name, Åaum-åen, is Hurrian like that of his patron. A generation or two later, the foundation inscription of Tiå-atal, lord of Urkeå (mentioned above), also records the building of a temple for Nergal – but this time the text was written in Hurrian rather than in Akkadian.

Hurrians, Mittanni, Ñanigalbat

During the first half of the second millennium B.C.E., Hurrian principalities appear to multiply in upper Mesopotamia, northern Syria, and eastern Anatolia, as the sources pertaining to these regions become richer. Meanwhile, the use of the Hurrian language spread westward and southward along with the geographic spread of Hurrian-speaking people. At some places, for example, Mari on the middle Euphrates and Alalañ on the Orontes, significant proportions of the population bore Hurrian names, and the texts also include occasional Hurrian words; the archives of Mari even contained a few Hurrian-language incantations. Toward the middle of the millennium, the establishment of the Hittite Old Kingdom was accompanied by continual conflict with Hurrian states to the east of Ñatti. Ñattusili I repeatedly waged war against "the Hurrian enemy," and his campaigns were reprised by his successor Mursili I (a convenient survey is provided by Hoffner, in Buccellati 1998). Though Mursili's efforts met with only ephemeral success, they had important effects. After having destroyed Aleppo, theretofore the seat of a "great kingdom" encompassing much of Syria, Mursili marched southward to Babylon, which he also destroyed, bringing an end to the rule of Hammurabi's dynasty; during this process he did battle against the Hurrians, too, and the sources claim that he soundly defeated them. But his achievements were nullified by his assassination, at home in Ñattusa, leaving the field clear for others to inherit the spoils of his wars. While the Kassites achieved dominion over Sumer and Akkad, the Hurrians recovered and consolidated their territories in upper Mesopotamia and vicinity. By about 1500 B.C.E. they had established the kingdom of Mittanni.

How exactly this happened is not known, because after the Hittite raid on Babylon our textual sources dry up almost completely for a while, producing a "dark age." On the short chronology followed here, this dark age does not last more than a couple of generations, but that is enough to obscure the origins of Mittanni. When written records again illuminate the scene, in the mid-15th century, it has totally changed. A new "military-industrial complex" is developing around the manufacture and deployment of horse-drawn chariots, which

had not previously been widely used. The kings of Mittanni, among whom Sauåtatar is the best known in this period, have acquired an empire that stretches from Arrapñe in the east (in the region of modern Kirkuk) to Kizzuwatna in the west (classical Cilicia), and extends southward until it abuts Egypt's newly won empire in Canaan. In fact, by Sauåtatar's time Mittanni and New Kingdom Egypt have emerged as competing "superpowers" in the Near East; Thutmose III campaigns almost annually against "that vile enemy of Nañarina" and his protegés in the Levant. Hurrian names and vocabulary have become commensurately prevalent throughout the Levant, as well as in other areas touched by Mittannian dominance or influence. Some places, notably the kingdoms of Alalañ and Arrapñe, have become so thoroughly Hurrianized that not only the vocabulary but the grammar of the Hurrian language have penetrated the texts, albeit they are composed using the Akkadian language, to the point that the writing may be described as Hurro-Akkadian (Wilhelm 1970; Márquez Rowe 1998); clearly Hurrian was the mother tongue of many scribes in these places. Moreover, amid the Hurrian or Hurrianized linguistic material there appears a new element, names and words of Indo-Aryan derivation. Most significantly, the rulers of Mittanni bear Indo-Aryan names, e.g., Sauåtatar, Tuåratta, Artatama, and Åattiwaza.

As adumbrated above, scholars readily seized upon this Indo-Aryan element as the key to explaining the dramatic developments in warfare and political organization that transformed the Near East between the fall of Babylon and the rise of Mittanni. The postulate of an Aryan invasion was an easy way to account for the emergence of new kingdoms – not only Mittanni but the Kassite state of Karduniash and even (looping backwards in time) the Hyksos dynasties of Egypt – as well as the introduction of the horse-drawn chariot as a vehicle of war. Clear evidence seemed to support this explanation: the Indo-Aryan names of Mittannian kings; the four deities with Indo-Aryan names, known from the Vedas, who appear in the treaty between Mittanni and Ñatti; the Indo-Aryan terminology in the horse-training manual; and the Indo-Aryan word for the new ruling class, *maryanni*, which appears everywhere from Babylon to Egypt over the course of the Late Bronze Age (1550–1200 B.C.E.).

But that is practically all the evidence there is for the presence of Indo-Aryans in Mittanni or elsewhere in the Near East, and it proves not to bear the weight of the historical hypothesis it has been made to support. The four Vedic Indian deities appear only in that one single treaty, which dates from a point late in Mittanni's history – in fact, it sealed Mittanni's demise as an independent state – and there they are mentioned in the middle of two dozen Hurrian and Mesopotamian deities; apparently these Indo-Aryan gods held neither a high nor an enduring position in Mittannian religion. The Indo-Aryan names of Mittanni's kings were throne names, in at least some cases: Tuåratta's son Åattiwaza, the partner to that same treaty with Ñatti, bore the Hurrian personal name Keli-Teååup prior to his accession. The light two-wheeled chariot had been developed within the Near East during the first half of the second millennium B.C.E., centuries before the earliest evidence for the presence of Indo-Aryan(s) there, and horses had been introduced into Mesopotamia in the late third millennium. Horse-drawn chariots were employed already in the wars between the Hittites and Hurrians that preceded the formation of Mittanni. Obviously, neither was chariotry introduced by Indo-Aryans, nor was it an innovation at the time of Mittanni's foundation, though the techniques and technology of chariot warfare were still developing then. As for the *maryanni* class, the term *maryanni* is a Hurrianized derivation from an Indo-Aryan word *marya*, "male," but the people designated by this term were not therefore "Indo-Aryan" in any sense. The term *maryanni* was widely adopted within and beyond the Mittanni Empire to denote a newly-developing noble class, whose most prominent characteristic was the privilege and duty of serving in the chariotry. In at least one part of the Mittanni Empire, the heavily Hurrianized kingdom of Arrapñe, the Semitic designation *râkib narkabti*, "chariot rider," was used, instead of *maryanni*, to denote this class. Members of the *maryanni* class who are attested by name mostly bore Semitic and Hurrian names, rarely Indo-Aryan ones, while Indo-Aryan names are also found occasionally among the peasantry. The idea, still perpetuated in some modern works, that the use of the term *maryanni* attests an Indo-Aryan ruling class of chariot warriors, who spread throughout the Near East and into Egypt, is as poorly premised as would be the proposition that all entrepreneurs must be French because the word for them is.

In sum, the data used to construct the hypothesis of an Aryan invasion that transformed the Hurrians "from a group of 'perioikoi'… into a sophisticated political force" (Redford 1992, 135), changed the nature of warfare, and redrew the political map of the Near East amount to a handful of terms and names, which were restricted for the most part to very narrow domains of usage, but which have carefully been plucked from the mass of source material by 20th-century scholars and curated like treasures. The evidence does not support filling the gaps in our sources for the origins of Mittanni by invoking an irruption of Indo-Aryan-speaking chariot warriors, and the idea that the Hurrians required an Aryan blood transfusion in order to become politically capable has nothing to recommend it. The evidence does indicate that speakers of Indo-Aryan participated both in the formation of Mittanni and in the ongoing development of techniques relating to horse-drawn chariotry in the Near East, but it does not suffice to clarify the nature of their participation, other than to suggest that it was somewhat evanescent.

The name Mittanni, a Hurrian formation probably based on the personal name Maitta (conjecturally the name of its founder), denotes the realm of Mittanni, primarily in a political rather than a geographical sense; it does not refer to a people, ethnicity, or language (Wilhelm, RIA 8, s.v. Mittan(n)i, esp. 288–90). After Mittanni's foundation, the older and broader geographical designation "land(s) of Ñurri" (discussed above) was used in part synonymously with the name of the new

realm. Ñanigalbat, a name whose origins have yet to be clarified, was an alternative designation for the realm of Mittanni; it likewise carried political significance, as is evident from the use of a term *ñanigalbatûtu* (so far known only from two documents, one from Alalañ and one from Umm al-Marra) to denote something like "citizenship" (or "subject-hood") of Ñanigalbat. Both names, Mittanni and Ñanigalbat, are attested beginning in the 15th century, though one or the other tends to predominate in different corpora. The realm designated Mittanni or Ñanigalbat was geographically centered on the upper Ñabur River, and encompassed the great bend of the Euphrates during its heyday; hence the synonymous designation Nañarina, "River-land," which was preferred by Egypt and its Canaanite dependencies. When Mittanni had been reduced from an independent kingdom to a puppet of Ñatti in the 14th century, and subsequently became a state within the Middle Assyrian empire during the 13th century, the name Ñanigalbat replaced Mittanni. The territory of Ñanigalbat gradually shrank to a small province in the upper Ñabur, which continued to exist until the Neo-Assyrian period.

The history of these realms cannot be detailed here; good presentations in English are provided by Gernot Wilhelm in his 1989 book *The Hurrians* and in his chapter on Mittanni in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (Sasson 1995, vol. II). But this discussion cannot close without mentioning that the Hittite conquest of Mittanni, which was accomplished by Suppiluliuma in the mid-14th century, was accompanied by the Hurrianization of Ñatti. This process of acculturation had begun already in the 15th century, at the time Ñatti acquired Kizzuwatna, erstwhile a vassal of Mittanni, as a subject kingdom. The dynasty to which Suppiluliuma himself belonged was substantially Hurrian, on the evidence of the Hurrian names borne by members of the royal family; in the 13th century, the kings tended to take Hittite names upon accession to the throne. As the Hurrian population of Ñatti increased during the Hittite New Kingdom, through acculturation as well as through Hittite conquests and Hurrian immigration, the Hittite royal archives acquired numerous Hurrian religious and literary compositions. In effect, the archives kept at Boghazköy became the repository of Hurrian cultural traditions, for that is where the majority of Hurrian texts have so far been found.

The Hurrian Language

As mentioned above, Hurrian and Urartian are the only known members of their language family. The hypothesis relating Hurrian and Urartian to the Nakho-Daghestanian family of languages spoken in the area of the Eastern Caucasus, which was developed by Diakonoff and Starostin (1986), has yet to be fully substantiated (Wegner 2000, 29–30). Being linguistically isolated, Hurrian is not yet fully understood, although its lexicon and structure have been progressively elucidated over the past century. In terms of typology, it is an agglutinating language, that is, one in which lexical roots are morphologically unalterable (unlike inflected languages such as those of the Semitic and Indo-European families) and words are formed by the accretion of morphemes affixed in sequence to lexical roots (unlike isolating languages such as Chinese). Like many agglutinating languages, Hurrian is ergative, meaning that its sentence structure is based on a grammatical distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs: the subject of an intransitive verb appears in the same unmarked "absolutive" case as the object of a transitive verb, while the subject of a transitive verb appears in the "ergative" (or "agentive") case; intransitive and transitive verbs also have different conjugations. Distinct dialects of Hurrian are discernible among the extant texts written in the language, the dates of which span almost a millennium from roughly the 21st to the 13th century B.C.E.

The inscription of Tiå-atal and the Mittanni Letter are among the few Hurrian texts thus far known that derive from the core areas originally inhabited by Hurrians. Over the course of its history, however, the Hurrian language spread well beyond those core areas. The Hurrian texts found at Mari and at Boghazköy have been mentioned above, and a few other sites have also yielded Hurrian texts. Notably, at the coastal Syrian city of Ugarit, Hurrian texts were written both in Mesopotamian cuneiform and in the Ugaritic cuneiform alphabet; the scribes of Ugarit even produced multilingual vocabularies that included Hurrian alongside Sumerian, Akkadian, and Ugaritic. Hurrian became the native language of parts of the population in many areas of the Near East, especially during the time of Mittanni's expansion and its eventual absorption into the realms of Ñatti and Assyria. At certain places, the use of Hurrian as a native language is evident from its interpenetration in the languages of writing, as noted in the preceding section, while onomastics and toponymy also indicate how widely it spread. Even in Canaan, though it was never under Mittannian rule, some Hurrian or partly Hurrian names are attested. For example, one of the local rulers bore the Hurrian name Tagi; Rib-Hadda, the ruler of Byblos, employed an envoy with the Hurrian name Puñiya; and the name of Abdi-Ñeba, ruler of Jerusalem during the Amarna period, is composed of the Semitic element ʿ*abd*-, "servant," and the name of the Hurrian goddess Ñeba(t).

On the evidence of personal names, Hurrian continued to be spoken in the Neo-Hittite states into which the Hittite Empire fragmented, at the transition from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age just after 1200 B.C.E., as well as in Ñanigalbat under Assyrian rule, even though no more texts are known to have been written in Hurrian. There are also relics of Hurrian onomastics in the land of Canaan during the time Israel and Judah were established there. The book of Judges mentions one Shamgar, son of Anath (Judg. 3:31), whose personal name may be analyzed as Hurrian, with the name of the Hurrian sun god, Åimigi, as a theophoric element. The name of the Jebusite landowner from whom David purchased a threshing floor – the real estate that became the site on which the temple of Yahweh was built – bore a name that is rendered Araunah (consonantal *¥wrnh*) in II Samuel 24 and Ornan in I Chron-

icles 21 (ʾrnn); this was probably a Hurrian name containing the element *ewri-*, "lord," the pronunciation of which was no longer precisely recalled at the time the books of Samuel and Chronicles were redacted (hence the diverse spellings). Even the name of Bathsheba's first husband, Uriah "the Hittite" (II Sam. 11:3ff.; consonantal ʾ*wryh*), could well be the common Hurrian name Ewriya, the consonantal spelling of which would be exactly the same as Hebrew Uriah.

Culture, Religion, and Mythology

In the arts and crafts, various styles and technological advances have been attributed to the Hurrians, or to the culture of Mittanni, sometimes largely on the grounds of geographical association. For example, the highly decorative styles of painted pottery known as Ḫabur Ware and Nuzi Ware have been associated with Hurrian culture, since these ceramic styles are typical of Hurrian-occupied areas. Hurrian artisans have also been credited with a role in developing the technology of making glass and glazes, in which significant advances were made toward the middle of the second millennium in the area of upper Mesopotamia and Syria. Certain styles of seal-carving are considered typically Mittannian, in particular an "Elaborate Style" characterized by compositions crowded with cultically significant figures, often centered on the motif of the "sacred tree," which is exemplified by the seals of some of Mittanni's rulers (surveyed by Diana Stein in RIA 8, s.v. Mittan(n)i B. Bildkunst und Architektur). And one of the earliest known methods of musical notation appears to have been invented by Hurrian musicians, according to the evidence of a collection of Hurrian hymnic texts found at Ugarit, which not only record the words of the hymns but also indicate what notes to play when singing them to the accompaniment of a lyre (these texts and their system of musical notation are succinctly discussed by Anne Kilmer in RIA 8, s.v. Musik A.I, §5). But the most distinctively Hurrian cultural attributes, and those with the most enduring significance, pertain to the domains of religion and religious literature.

The Hurrian pantheon itself is similar in many respects to the pantheons of Mesopotamia and the Levant; long symbiosis among Hurrian and other ancient Near Eastern cultures resulted in generating shared religious concepts and practices. Thus, several Mesopotamian deities, such as Nergal, Anu, Ea, and Ishtar, were adopted into the Hurrian pantheon or syncretized with Hurrian deities. Meanwhile, the structure of the Hurrian pantheon came to resemble, in part, that of the Syro-Canaanite pantheon as represented at Ugarit. The Hurrian storm-god, Teššup, was king of the gods, and he attained his kingship through strife with other contenders, as did the storm-god Baʿal at Ugarit. Like Baʿal, Teššup rode among the clouds in his chariot, wielding the weapons of frightful weather, and he had a sister named ŠawuŠka, who was a war-goddess like Baʿal's sister ʿAnat. Teššup acquired a Syrian consort, the goddess Ḫebat, originally of the realm of Aleppo in northern Syria. A war-god named Aštabi who was worshiped at *Ebla, in the period predating Hurrian expansion into Syria, also entered the Hurrian pantheon. Other important Hurrian deities include Allani, goddess of the netherworld, the sun god Šimige, and the moon god Kušuḫ.

In myth, Teššup's principal rival for supremacy was clever Kumarbi, a Hurrian god who was assimilated with the West Semitic grain god Dagan; Kumarbi's main cult center was the city of Urkeš. The two rivals represent competing divine lineages, that of the chthonic gods, represented by Kumarbi, and that of the celestial gods, represented by Teššup. The story of their conflict is told in a mythic cycle comprising five poems, preserved in the archives at Boghazköy, in Hittite editions that have survived in a fragmentary state. The cycle began with the Song of Kumarbi and ended with the Song of Ullikummi (Hoffner 1998: 40–65), and the story, in outline, goes like this. First Alalu was king in heaven, but the sky-god Anu drove him from his throne and ruled in his stead. Then Kumarbi, offspring of Alalu, tired of waiting on Anu, did battle against him. Kumarbi, triumphant, bit off and swallowed Anu's genitals, but in doing so he impregnated himself with Anu's offspring, to whom Kumarbi then had to give birth with the help of Ea (the Mesopotamian god of wisdom). The most powerful of Anu's offspring was Teššup, whom Kumarbi tried to eat, but he apparently got a rock to eat instead, which hurt his mouth. The ensuing struggle between Teššup and Kumarbi involves a series of episodes in which Kumarbi, conniving to achieve victory, begets one after another powerful, albeit brutish, creature to be an antagonist of Teååup. But Teååup eventually defeats each one, sometimes with the help of his sister Šawuška (just as Baʿal is aided by his sister ʿAnat). In the last of these episodes Kumarbi copulates with a huge rock and thus engenders the basalt monster Ullikummi, whom he plants on the shoulder of an entity named Ubelluri, a sort of Hurrian "Atlas"; there Ullikummi grows until he touches the sky. But Ea and the "Primeval Gods" fetch the copper tool with which heaven and earth were cut apart, and they use it to sever Ullikummi from Ubelluri, making it possible for Teššup to defeat this adversary, too.

This strange Hurrian myth, mediated through Hittite translation, apparently reached the western shores of Anatolia and was carried thence across the Aegean, having undergone some transformations along the way. For, though the storm god is now Zeus, the clever chthonic god is Kronos, and the plot has been altered so that it revolves around the struggle between successive generations instead of rival lineages, the story Hesiod tells in the Theogony contains many elements that clearly originate from the myth of Teššup and Kumarbi.

Echoes of Hurrian religious literature can be discerned not only in Greek mythology but in the Bible. A Hurrian composition discovered fairly recently at Boghazköy develops themes that foreshadow the concerns for social justice expounded centuries later by the prophets of Israel and Judah. This is the "Song of Release," as it is titled in the colophons of the ancient manuscripts themselves; it was recorded in a bilingual edition, Hurrian with a Hittite translation, in several copies that survive in fragments (an English translation is pro-

vided in Hoffner 1998, 65–80). The composition contains several sections, including parables and a mythological scene as well as a story with a historical setting, and it is that story that offers the most striking parallels to Israelite religious concepts. The tale is set long ago at Ebla, in the time of a king named Megi. The gods demand that debts be remitted, and persons enslaved for debt released, in the city of Ebla. But Megi cannot persuade the city assembly, apparently a wealthy and powerful oligarchy to which the creditors belong, to remit debts and thereby release their indentured servants; an eloquent orator leads the opposition to Megi's plan. In the narrative, the assembly is then presented with a scenario in which the great god Teššup himself is oppressed by debt, hungry, and naked. To this they answer that they would surely rescue Teššup, should he ever be in need, but they will still not release their slaves, on whose labor they depend. Megi therefore prostrates himself before Teššup in lamentation and prayer, then institutes remission of debts on his own, in order to save his city. In a partly-preserved scene, a speaker conveys the word of Teššup to Megi and Ebla, like the prophet Jeremiah conveying the word of Yahweh to Judah and her kings, enjoining them to institute debt remission (Jer. 34:17, quoted in this connection by Hoffner in Buccellati 1998, 181–82), thus: If they do according to the gods' will and institute a remission of debts, Ebla will prosper and be victorious. But if they do not, Teššup will destroy Ebla, removing its prosperity and smashing the city like a cup. Apparently the wealthy citizens of Ebla, like those of Jerusalem a thousand years later, failed to heed the prophet's warning and obey the divine command, for the city was indeed violently destroyed around 1600 B.C.E.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, (1999^2); G. Buccellati, (ed.), *Urkesh and the Hurrians: Studies … Lloyd Cotsen* (1998); I. Diakonoff and S.A. Starostin, *Hurro-Urartian as an Eastern Caucasian Language* (1986); I. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians* (1944); V. Haas (ed.), *Hurriter und Hurritisch* (1988); H. Hoffner, *Hittite Myths* (1998^2); I. Márquez Rowe, in: S. Izre'el et al. (eds.), *Past Links: Studies in the Languages and Cultures of the Ancient Near East* (Israel Oriental Studies XVIII, 1998), 63–78; P. Michalowski, in: H. Weiss (ed.), *The Origins of Cities in Dry-farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium B.C.*(1986), 129–56; W. Moran,*The Amarna Letters* (1992); P. Raulwing, in: S. Burmeister and F. Mamoun (eds.), *Rad und Wagen. Der Ursprung einer Innovation: Wagen im Vorderen Orient und Europa* (2004), 515–31; D. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (1992); I. Wagner, *Hurritisch: Eine Einführung* (2000); G. Wilhelm, *Untersuchungen zum Hurro-Akkadischen von Nuzi* (1970); idem, *The Hurrians*, tr. J. Barnes, with chapter by D. Stein (1989).

[Eva M. von Dassow (2nd ed.)]

HURST, FANNIE (1889–1968), U.S. novelist. Born in Hamilton, Ohio, she was raised in St. Louis, in an assimilated, middle-class home. After a brief stage career, Fannie became a writer. She gathered material for her early short stories about New York's ordinary people by living in slum areas, attending night courts, and working in sweatshops and department stores. Her first collection of stories, *Just Around the Corner* (1914), was followed by six other volumes which were translated into many languages, including Hebrew, Russian, and Japanese. *Humoresque* (1919) contains stories of Jewish life in New York. Fannie's many novels, several of which were made into plays and motion pictures, include *Stardust* (1921); *Lummox* (1923); *A President Is Born* (1928); *Back Street* (1931), generally considered her best work; *Great Laughter* (1936); *Hallelujah* (1944); *Anywoman* (1950); *Family!* (1960); and *God Must be Sad* (1961). These reflect her interest in music and the theater and her vigorous support for women's rights. Despite her upbringing, Hurst became increasingly conscious of her Jewishness. She publicly emphasized her Judaism after the rise of Nazism. From the early 1930s Hurst was a leading figure in several organizations working for social reform, including the New York Urban League. She was president of the Authors' Guild of America, 1936–37. She was an enthusiastic supporter of the State of Israel. Her autobiography, *Anatomy of Me*, appeared in 1958.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Graham, "Hurst, Fannie," in: P.E. Hyman and D.D. Moore (eds.), *Jewish Women in America*, 1 (1997), 662–64; B. Kroeger, *Fannie* (1969).

[Sol Liptzin]

HURVITZ, ELI (1932–), Israeli industrialist, founder and chairman of Teva, one of the largest pharmaceutical companies for generic medicines in the world. Hurvitz was born in Israel and served in the IDF during the War of Independence. Later he went to kibbutz Tel Kaẓir as part of his *Naḥal service. He received a B.A. in economics from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1953 he joined the Asia pharmaceutical company, where in 1976 he became CEO. As CEO of Asia he initiated a series of mergers among Israeli pharmaceutical companies to create Teva. As president and CEO of Teva for 25 years he made the company into a global giant with 14,000 employees and factories all over the world. In 2002 Hurvitz retired from the presidency and management of Teva and became its chairman. In 2004 the company's sales reached $4.8 billion. By the end of 2005 Teva had nearly completed its acquisition of the IVAX Corporation, another giant producer of generics as well as branded pharmaceuticals. The price tag was a reported $7.4 billion.

Hurvitz's commitment to Israeli industry and society led him to assume several public positions. From 1974 to 1977 he was the chairman of the Israeli Export Institute. In 1981 he served as the president the Manufacturers Association, a position he held until 1986. During that time Israel faced an economic crisis, and Hurvitz contributed to the crystallization of a national economic plan. In 1986–87 he was chairman of Bank Leumi. From 1989 to 1992 he was chairman of the Jerusalem Development Authority, and between 1989 and 1995 he was on the board of the Weizmann Institute. From 1991 to 1995 he was on the advisory council of the Bank of Israel and from 2001 a member of the board of Tel Aviv University. He is also a member of the International Council of Harvard University, chairman of the board of the Israel Democracy Institute (IDI), chairman of the board of NeuroSurvival Technologies

Ltd. (NST) (a private company), a member of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, and a director of Vishay Intertechnology and of Koor Industries Ltd. Hurvitz received several prizes for his industrial and public activity, crowned by the Israel Prize in 2002 for special contribution to the State of Israel.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HURVITZ, JOSEPH YOZEL (c. 1850–1919), known as Reb Yozel and *Der Alter fun Nowardok* ("The Elder of Novogrudok"); founder of the Novogrudok school of the *Musar movement. Hurvitz was born in Plunge (Plungyany) Lithuania, where his father was a *dayyan*. He was precocious as a child, and at the age of 16 delivered public lectures in Talmud. He went into business, however, and operated a profitable trade in textiles through frequent, dangerous crossings of the Prussian border. In Prussia, about 1875, he encountered Israel *Lipkin (Salanter), founder of the *Musar* movement, and his disciple Isaac *Blaser, who is said to have urged him to devote more time to study and less to business affairs.

Greatly influenced by Blaser, Hurvitz agreed to attend Salanter's public addresses on *musar* and shortly thereafter he sold his business, turned the proceeds over to his wife, and with her approval left her and the children to enter Kolel Perushim, a school for advanced Talmud study then administered by Salanter's disciples in Kovno. Hurvitz occasionally returned to his family, but most of the time he studied and even repaired to a forest where he prayed, meditated and studied in isolation. After the death of his wife in childbirth, in 1881 or 1882, he severed all ties with the *Kolel* and sealed himself in a cabin for a year and a half, studying Talmud and *musar*, and was given food through two holes (one for meat and one for milk products). He spent the next 12 years in solitary study in forests, though he remarried. In 1894 his orientation shifted. He initiated an educational network called "Nowardok," after the city in which he established his first yeshivah, and by 1914 had founded 13 yeshivot. During World War I, when most East European yeshivot closed, Hurvitz and his disciples founded an additional 25 institutions despite widespread starvation, population transfers, and warring Red, White and German armies. Throughout, Hurvitz periodically repaired to a "house of isolation" hidden in a forest. He died in Kiev, 1919, while ministering to students stricken with typhus.

Shortly before his death Hurvitz delivered 12 lengthy lectures which were first published separately and subsequently in book form with the title *Madregat ha-Adam* ("The Stature of Man," New York 1948). Hurvitz advocated self-transcendence so that the self is not obliterated but purified. Naked impulses are neither subjugated nor annihilated, but transmuted. One should aspire to whole-hearted internal devotion to, and external observance of, Jewish law (*Halakhah*), which embraces not only concrete norms, but ideal character traits (*middot*). Through intermittent isolation from society one learns to conquer negative character traits, such as vainglory, jealousy, material need, and dependence on family, in order to be able to return to society and refashion it. Having transcended material and social needs one is filled with joy and capable of leadership. A key to self-transcendence is *bitaḥon* (trust in God), conceived not as acceptance of personal destiny – whether favorable or unfavorable – but as assurance that personal destiny will be favorable, notwithstanding famine, war, poverty or other hardships.

Hurvitz used to sign himself B.B. (*Ba'al Bitaḥon* – Master of Trust). His own dialectical lifestyle – isolation and social activism – is the foundation of both *Madregat ha-Adam* and the educational techniques utilized in his academies. The relative popularity – if not the origin – of Hurvitz's extreme doctrines may, however, be connected with the parallel rise of an extreme, irreligious doctrine of self-transcendence – Marxism. The last chapter of *Madregat ha-Adam* was translated by Silverstein in *To Turn the Many to Righteousness* (1970).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Musar Anthology, articles by H. Goldberg and Y.Y. Perr (1972); Dov Katz, *Tenu'at ha-Musar*, vol. 4, part 2 (1963); Y.L. Nekritz, *Yeshivot Nowardok; Mosedot Torah be-Europa*, ed. Samuel K. Mirsky (1956); Zalman Shazar, *Morning Stars* (1967), 80, 86–87; D. Zaritsky, *Gesher Ẓar,* 2 vols. (1968), a biographical novel.

[Hillel Goldberg]

HURWICH, LOUIS (1886–1967), U.S. educator. Born in Russia, Hurwich studied in the U.S. and in 1911 went to Indianapolis to head the community Hebrew school system. In 1917 he moved to Boston, where he founded the Bureau of Jewish Education and later established the Boston Hebrew Teachers College (1932). Hurwich and his wife also organized Camp Yavneh, the first Hebrew-speaking camp in the United States. He served as director of the Boston bureau and dean of the college until his retirement in 1947. Hurwich wrote *Zikhronot Meḥannekh Ivri* (1960).

[Leon H. Spotts]

HURWITZ, ADOLF (1859–1919), German mathematician. Hurwitz, who was born in Hildesheim and studied under Karl Leopold Weierstrass, Hugo *Kronecker, and Felix Klein, was appointed professor of mathematics at the Zurich Polytechnion in 1892. His papers dealt mainly with number theory. Many of his problems were posed by Klein and the solutions by Hurwitz show a rare insight into the basic principles required for tackling fundamental problems of great difficulty. He was one of the first mathematicians to make use of Georg Cantor's results on the non-countability of the continuum. Hurwitz was an outstanding teacher as well as a brilliant research mathematician. His collected works, published in two volumes in 1932 and 1933, include a biographical essay.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Proceedings of the London Mathematical Society*, 20 (1922), xlviii–liv.

[Barry Spain]

HURWITZ, CHAIM (**Haykl**; 1749–1822), Yiddish writer and pioneer of the *Haskalah in Russia. Born in Uman (Ukraine), he was a lumber merchant who made frequent trips to Ger-

many, where he came into contact with the followers of the German Haskalah. In 1817 he published a free Yiddish adaptation of Joachim Campe's *Entdeckung von Amerika* ("Discovery of America") which he called *Tsofnas Paneakh* ("Revealer of Secrets") in three parts and 52 stories, the primary purpose of which was to inform the Jewish readers about the New World; thus he eliminated non-essential material and concentrated on facts only. According to the memoirs of A.B. Gottlober, the book was popular among the Jews of Russia, Poland, and Galicia. It is written in a colloquial style and constitutes an important work of the pre-classical period of Yiddish literature. Only a single copy of the work is extant, at the British Museum.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Weinreich, *Bilder fun der Yidisher Literatur Geshikhte* (1928); Rejzen, Leksikon, 1 (1926), 810–11; I. Zinberg, *Geshikhte fun der Literatur bay Yidn*, 7:2 (1943), 267–75, 324–7; S. Niger, *Dertseyler un Romanistn* (1946), 25–27; Schlosberg, in: *YIVO Bleter*, 12 (1937), 546–58; Waxman, Literature, 4 (1960^2), 476. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** LNYL, 3 (1960), 106–9; M. Pines, *Di Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Literatur bizn Yor 1890* (1911), 86–88; B. Dimyen, *Der Pinkes* (1913), 338–40.

[Elias Schulman]

HURWITZ, HENRY (1886–1961), U.S. editor and Jewish educator. Hurwitz, born in Lithuania, was taken to the U.S. at the age of five. While attending Harvard he organized in 1906 the Harvard Menorah Society, a Jewish campus group dedicated to the pursuit of Jewish intellectual, cultural, religious, and ethical values. In 1913 he founded the Intercollegiate *Menorah Association, of which he served for many years as president and later as chancellor. In 1915 Hurwitz founded the *Menorah Journal*, a magazine of Jewish opinion that ranked for many years among the foremost Jewish publications in the world. Although he edited the *Journal* as an open forum, Hurwitz himself was an accomplished polemist, a talent he exerted chiefly in his opposition to political Zionism, which grew more extreme after the establishment of the State of Israel. American Jewry, he believed, was a unique entity whose future depended on the reinterpretation of Jewish tradition in a specifically American vein. Toward the end of his life the idiosyncrasy of his views estranged many of his former supporters; the *Journal* appeared only irregularly and its pages reflected his spirit of disillusionment. Yet he retained to the end the loyalty of a number of eminent scholars and writers who recalled the encouragement that he gave them at the outset of their careers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hurwood, in: *The Menorah Journal*, 69 (1962).

[Hillel Halkin]

HURWITZ, JUDAH BEN MORDECAI HA-LEVI (d. 1797), physician and Hebrew writer, precursor of the Haskalah in Eastern Europe. Born in Vilna, Hurwitz studied medicine in Padua and traveled extensively; in Berlin he made the acquaintance of Moses *Mendelssohn. He practiced medicine in Vilna, then moved to other towns, and eventually settled in Grodno. He was well versed in medieval Hebrew literature; at the same time he had wide secular knowledge and was strongly influenced by Rousseau. In his works, written in rhymed prose, he calls for the reform of Jewish life in the spirit of the moderate Haskalah. In his first work, *Ẓel ha-Ma'alot* (1764, and other editions), a collection of 365 epigrams, he advocated the humanistic ideals of the Haskalah and criticized the social conditions of his time. His most important book is *Ammudei Beit Yehudah* (1766), in which he expounded in the form of a debate, his moral and philosophical beliefs, identifying religion with morality. The book includes a poem in his praise by N.Ḥ. Wessely and an introduction by Moses Mendelssohn. His other works are *Kerem Ein Gedi* (1764), *Megillat Sedarim* (1793, and other editions), *Maḥberet Ḥayyei ha-Nefesh ve-Nizḥiyyutah* (1787), and *Heikhal Oneg* (1798).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.J. Fuenn, *Kiryah Ne'emanah* (1915^2), 178f; B. Katz, *Rabbanut, Ḥasidut, Haskalah*, 2 (1958), 122–8; Z.H. Rosenthal, in: *Ha-Meliẓ*, 2 (1862), 208; I. Shatzky, *Kultur-Geschikhte fun der Haskole in Lite* (1950), 21–23; Zinberg, Sifrut, 3 (1958), 310–4, 367.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

HURWITZ, PHINEHAS ELIJAH (1765–1821), Hebrew writer and early advocate of Haskalah. Born in Lvov, Hurwitz wandered through Poland, Hungary, Germany, and England. He gained extensive secular knowledge without even knowing a single European language (it seems that a friend acted as translator), and wrote *Sefer ha-Berit* (1797), the first part of which was an anthology of the sciences, while the second half dealt with metaphysical questions. *Sefer ha-Berit* went into many editions since it was a source of basic scientific information for Jews who knew no European languages. The author condemned the fact that Jews engaged only in study and commerce which could not provide them with the proper livelihood and which exposed them to antisemitism and urged that they turn to manual labor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.A. Horodezky, *Yahadut ha-Sekhel ve-Yahadut ha-Regesh*, 2 (1947), 387–405; R. Mahler, *Divrei Yemei Yisrael, Dorot Aḥaronim*, 4 (1956), 45–52; Zinberg, Sifrut, 3 (1958), 317–24; 5 (1959), 137.

HURWITZ, SAMUEL JUSTIN (1912–1971), U.S. historian. Born in New York City, he was appointed to the history department in Brooklyn College (1936), and later professor and graduate chairman. He was also professor at the University of Hawaii. Hurwitz's principal interest was modern European history, with an emphasis on British history of the 19th and 20th centuries. His books include *State Intervention in Great Britain: A Study of Economic Control and Social Response 1914–1919* (1946; 1968^2). He was the co-author of several works, including *The Making of English History* (1952) and *Jamaica: A Historical Portrait* (1971). Hurwitz was active in Jewish communal activities.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HURWITZ, SAUL ISRAEL (1861–1922), Hebrew writer and critic. Born in Uvarovichi (Mogilev district), Russia, Hurwitz

became a successful merchant and banker. After the 1905 revolution, he moved to Berlin, returning in 1914 to Russia where he lost his fortune during the Communist Revolution and after much suffering returned to Berlin in 1921. Here he was a prominent figure in the circle of émigré Hebrew writers and thinkers and was active in Zionist work. Together with Ḥ.N. *Bialik he directed the Kelal publishing house.

From his youth, Hurwitz contributed stories and articles to Hebrew journals, and in 1892 he published the literary magazine *Beit Eked*. His best known polemic article "*Li-She'elat Kiyyum ha-Yahadut*" ("On the Question of the Survival of Judaism"), published in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* in 1903, questioned all Jewish values and all attempts at resolving the problem of Jewish survival, and he became a central figure in the resulting controversy with *Aḥad Ha-Am's supporters. Hurwitz eventually established his own journal *He-Atid* (1908–13) to serve as a venue for the clarification of Jewish issues.

Excerpts from his memoirs were published in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* and *Ha-Toren* during his lifetime and posthumously. Some of his articles were collected and published under the title *Me-Ayin u-le-An* (1914).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Waxman, Literature, 4 (1960), 393–6; Hurwitz, in *Haolam*, 23 (1935), 211 f.; idem, in: *Gilyonot*, 27 (1952), 207–10 (includes bibliography); Fishman, in: *En Hakore* (1923), 98–103; M. Glickson, *Ishim ba-Madda u-va-Sifrut*, 2 (1941), 271–7; idem, *Ketavim* (1963), 345–50; Mordecai ben Hillel ha-Kohen, *Olami*, 2 (1927), 321–5; Baal Makhshoves, *Sekirot u-Reshamim* (1912), 27–36; Y.L. Gorelik, *Be-Ereẓ Nod* (1944), 62–65; F. Lachower, *Rishonim ve-Aḥaronim* (1966^2), 286–9; E. Hurwicz, in: YLBI, 12 (1967), 85–102.

[Getzel Kressel]

HURWITZ, SHMARYA LEIB (1878–1938), U.S. rabbi, writer, and educator. Born in Kritchov, Mogilev province of Byelorussia, Hurwitz studied at yeshivot in Shumiatz and Mastislav. He became rabbi in Congregation Tipheret Israel in Yekaterinoslav, Ukraine. He immigrated to the United States in 1906 and served as rabbi of Congregation Adath Augostav before he established Rabbi Israel Salanter Congregation and Talmud Torah. He left the congregation after two decades to become principal of Tipheret HaGro Talmud Torah in Brownville, where he remained for the rest of his life.

He established a reputation as an educator and writer. He wrote Yiddish and Hebrew works for students and for scholars and edited prominent Jewish newspapers including the Yiddish-language *Der Yiddisher Weg Weiser* (1922–25) and the Hebrew *Degel Israel* (1925–28). He wrote textbooks for children as well as a monthly publication for ritual slaughterers. His writings include works on the laws and customs of Israel for the High Holidays, the history of *kaddish*, and the principles of Judaism.

He was also an activist and an ardent Zionist. He attended the first Zionist Congress in Basle and worked with Mizrachi. He also established the first association of American cantors and was active in the Agudat Harabbonim and the Union of American Orthodox congregations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.D. Sherman, *Orthodox Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1996).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

HURWITZ, STEPHAN (1901–1981), Danish lawyer and criminologist. Born and educated in Copenhagen, he became a lecturer in law at the University of Copenhagen in 1932. During World War II, he was leader of the Danish Refugee Organization in Sweden and after the war was Danish representative at the War Crimes Commission. In 1950 he became chairman of the Permanent Committee of Penal Law, and in 1955 was elected *Folketingets ombudsmand* (parliamentary commissioner for civil and military administration). Hurwitz was appointed professor of law at Copenhagen University in 1935 and served as vice chancellor in 1953–54. From 1955 to 1971 he was Ombudsman of the Danish Parliament. Hurwitz wrote on criminal law procedure and criminology. His textbook *Kriminologi* (1948), translated into English, Italian, and Spanish, combines the results of European, British, American, and Scandinavian criminological studies. He wrote several significant essays, among them *Respekt for mennesket* ("Respect for the Human Being," 1951) and *Det menneskelige ansvar* ("The Human Responsibility," 1961).

[Zvi Hermon]

HURWITZ, YIGAEL (1918–1994) Israeli politician, farmer, and industrialist; member of the Seventh to Twelfth Knessets. Hurwitz was born in Naḥalat Yehudah, and grew up in Nahalal. He was a member of the No'ar ha-Oved ve-ha-Lomed secretariat in 1938–41. In 1940 he enlisted in the Jewish Brigade. After World War II he settled in Kefar Warburg and participated in an attempt to establish a new underground movement called Am Loḥem. In 1946 he established a party by the name of Tenu'at ha-Am, which offered a middle way between the positions of *Mapai and the *Revisionist movement. After the War of Independence Hurwitz headed the Moshav Movement in Southern Israel, and in 1961–65 was member of its secretariat. Until 1966 he was engaged in establishing enterprises for the manufacture of dairy and meat products, and became director of the Tene-Noga Dairy Products Company as well as of Andir and Tavlin. In 1961 he joined Mapai and in 1965 he was among the founders of *Rafi with David *Ben-Gurion. In 1968 when most of the members of Rafi joined the *Israel Labor Party, Hurwitz remained with Ben-Gurion. He ran with Ben-Gurion on the State List ticket in the elections to the Seventh Knesset. In 1973, after the death of Ben-Gurion, he joined the *Likud with the rest of the State List. In 1976 he was one of the founders and the chairman of the La-Am faction within the Likud. In the first government formed by Menaḥem *Begin after the 1977 election upset, Hurwitz was appointed minister of industry, trade and tourism. He resigned from the government in September 1978 because of his opposition to the Camp David Accords. In November 1979, following the resignation of Simḥa *Ehrlich from the Ministry of Finance he was appointed to the post, and adopted as his motto "Not a Cent."

Since the policy of budgetary cuts was not supported by the government, he resigned towards the end of 1980.

In the elections to the Tenth Knesset Hurwitz ran on the list headed by Moshe *Dayan, called Telem, but failed to enter the Knesset. Upon Dayan's death, Hurwitz entered the Knesset in his place. Prior to the elections to the Eleventh Knesset in 1984 he left Telem and ran in the elections at the head of a new list that he formed called Omeẓ. His party received a single seat in the new Knesset, and he joined the National Unity Government as minister without portfolio, serving in this post under both Shimon *Peres and Yitzhak *Shamir. In 1987, before the elections to the Twelfth Knesset, he rejoined the Likud after being promised two safe seats on its list. Hurwitz did not run in the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset.

HUSBAND AND WIFE. The act of marriage creates certain rights and duties between husband and wife. In performing them, both parties have to conduct themselves according to the following rules, comprising the fundamental principles for the relationship between husband and wife in Jewish law: "Thus the sages laid down that a man shall honor his wife more than his own self and shall love her as he loves himself, and shall constantly seek to benefit her according to his means; that he shall not unduly impose his authority on her and shall speak gently with her; that he shall be neither sad nor irritable. Similarly they laid down that a wife shall honor her husband exceedingly and shall accept his authority and abide by his wishes in all her activities…" (Maim. Yad, Ishut 15:19–20).

General Rights and Duties

A husband has ten obligations toward his wife (or her descendants) and four rights in respect of her. The obligations are (a) to provide her with sustenance or maintenance; (b) to supply her clothing and lodging; (c) to cohabit with her; (d) to provide the **ketubbah* (i.e., the sum fixed for the wife by law); (e) to procure medical attention and care during her illness; (f) to ransom her if she be taken captive; (g) to provide suitable burial upon her death; (h) to provide for her support after his death and ensure her right to live in his house as long as she remains a widow; (i) to provide for the support of the daughters of the marriage from his estate after his death, until they become betrothed (see *Marriage) or reach the age of maturity; and (j) to provide that the sons of the marriage shall inherit their mother's *ketubbah*, in addition to their rightful portion of the estate of their father shared with his sons by other wives. The husband's rights are those entitling him: (a) to the benefit of his wife's handiwork; (b) to her chance gains or finds; (c) to the usufruct of her property; and (d) to inherit her estate (Yad, Ishut 12:1–4; Sh. Ar., EH 69:1–3).

These rights and duties both derive from the law and not from mere agreement between the parties: "a man, by marrying a woman, becomes obligated to her in ten matters and acquires rights against her in four matters, even if they have not been taken down in writing" (Yad, Ishut 12:5; Sh. Ar., EH 69:1), i.e., the said rights and duties devolve as a matter of law from the act of marriage, whether or not a *ketubbah* deed is written and "writing thereof does not add and the absence thereof does not detract" (Resp. Ribash no. 480).

PARTICULARS OF THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES

The Wife's Rights

SUSTENANCE. See *Maintenance.

CLOTHING AND LODGING. This includes the right to household utensils and furniture and to a home of a reasonable standard in accordance with local custom (Yad, Ishut 13:3, 6; Sh. Ar., EH 73:1, 7). The scope of this right is governed by the rules pertaining to the law of maintenance, since, for the purpose of the legal rights of the wife, the concept of maintenance – in its wider meaning – embraces also the above-mentioned right (Tur, EH 73). By the same token the wife loses her right to claim raiment from her husband whenever she forfeits her right to maintenance (Rema, EH 69:4).

The place of residence (town or village) is determined by the husband, since it is presumed that they so agreed in advance and the wife cannot object to her husband changing their residence unless there was an agreement, express or implied, that they would not move to another place without her consent (Sh. Ar., EH 75:1; PDR 2:233, 3:161, 163, 5:20, 22, 57). However, the husband must have reasonable grounds for deciding on a change against the will of his wife, e.g., for reasons of health, or his livelihood, or the fact that the matrimonial peace at their existing home is disturbed by his or her relatives (Resp. Ribash nos. 81, 88; PDR 1:271, 274–5; 2:233, 237; 5:36, 54, 57). The wife is not obliged to agree to a change of residence if this should be detrimental to her position, e.g., because her relationship with her husband is such that she has reasonable grounds for her reluctance to move beyond the proximity of her relatives, or because the new home will be inferior to the old home, or if she can justify her refusal on the grounds that she does not wish to move from a town to a village or vice versa (Sh. Ar., EH 75:2; PDR 1, 2, loc. cit. 3:161, 163).

These rules do not apply in their entirety to Ereẓ Israel vis-à-vis other countries, nor to Jerusalem vis-à-vis other places in Ereẓ Israel. In such cases the rule is that a spouse who genuinely prefers as his place of residence Ereẓ Israel to any other country, or Jerusalem to any other place in Ereẓ Israel, need not bow to the wishes of the other spouse. In effect, therefore, the law favors the party genuinely seeking to settle in Ereẓ Israel or Jerusalem, or refusing to depart therefrom, even if, for example, this should entail the loss of better economic opportunities elsewhere, unless there is reason to fear that in Ereẓ Israel or in Jerusalem they might become in need of charity (Sh. Ar., EH 75:3, 4; *Pitḥei Teshuvah, ibid*., 6; PDR, 5:20, 36, 66). However, if settling in Ereẓ Israel involves any danger for the parties, neither spouse may compel the other to do so (Tos. to Ket. 110b, s.v. "*hu Omer la'alot*: Sh. Ar., EH 75:5; for a contrary opinion, cf. Tur, EH 75; see also PDR 5:20).

The husband likewise determines the place of the dwelling within the town or village, but each of the parties must

comply with the other's request to move to another dwelling and cannot refuse to do so on the ground that he or she is not particular about the matters complained of by the other spouse, provided only that the request is genuine and justified in the circumstances, e.g., on the grounds that neighbors are habitually insulting, or that they are given to prostitution, or to desecration of the Sabbath, and the like (Yad, Ishut 13:15; Sh. Ar., EH 74:11–12). If the wife refuses, in defiance of these rules, to accede to her husband's just demands concerning their place of residence, she is liable to forfeit her right to maintenance since she is only entitled thereto as long as she lives with him; moreover she is likely to be considered a *moredet* (see below) and may eventually be obliged to accept a bill of *divorce (Sh. Ar., EH 75:4, PDR, 3:161, 163, 164; 5:20, 23–28; 6:5, 9). Similarly, upon the husband's unreasonable refusal to accede to his wife's just demand to continue living in Ereẓ Israel, he may be ordered to provide maintenance for her – even though they live apart – and eventually to grant her a divorce with payment of her *ketubbah*; and if necessary, she may also demand an injunction restraining him from going abroad (PDR 5:20, 24, 29, 36, 57–59, 66).

COHABITATION. The husband's duty to cohabit with his wife stems from biblical law (Ex. 21:10) and he is obliged to do so according to his physical abilities and in so far as it is possible for him, having regard to the requirements of his occupation (Yad, Ishut 14:1, 2; Sh. Ar., EH 76:1–3). If he is unable to fulfill this duty the wife is entitled to demand a divorce (Yad, Ishut 14:7; Sh. Ar., EH 76:11) unless there are reasonable prospects, on the strength of medical evidence, that he may be cured of his disability (PDR 1:85–89; 3:84–89; see also *Divorce).

Mored ("rebellious" husband). A husband who refuses, without justifiable reason, to cohabit with his wife is called a *mored* (Ket. 63a; Yad, Ishut 14:15), but he is not so regarded if he refuses to fulfill his other obligations toward her (*ibid.* and *Maggid Mishneh*, Ishut 14:15; Baḥ, EH 77). Proof that her husband is a *mored* entitles the wife to demand that he be obliged to grant her a divorce, and if necessary, that he be compelled to do so (on the distinction, see *Divorce). As long as the husband persists in his refusal to cohabit with his wife, she is entitled to demand that the amount of her *ketubbah* be increased from week to week, as may be determined by the court and to receive the increased *ketubbah* upon the grant of the divorce (Ket., Yad, and *Maggid Mishneh, ibid*; Sh. Ar., EH 77:1). In such event the wife's remedy is not necessarily limited to seeking a divorce – lest the husband be enabled thus indirectly to compel his wife to a divorce – she may alternatively demand that her husband be obliged to pay her maintenance only without prejudicing thereby her right to receive the increased *ketubbah* when later seeking a divorce (Sh. Ar., EH 77:1; *Piskei ha-Rosh Ket.* ch. 5:32). The husband will not be regarded as a *mored* when he can adduce facts in support of his plea that his wife is repulsive to him, and declares that he is ready and willing to give her a divorce forthwith, with payment of her *ketubbah*; the wife's refusal to accept a divorce in such circumstances relieves the husband of all his obligations toward her, including that of maintenance (Resp. Rosh 42:1; PDR 5:292, 296, 297).

Moredet ("rebellious" wife). The wife is similarly regarded as a *moredet* only when she persistently refuses to cohabit with her husband (Ket. 63a., Yad and *Maggid Mishneh*, Ishut 14:8; Sh. Ar., EH 77:2), but not when she refuses to fulfill any of her other marital duties (Sh. Ar., EH 77:2 and *Baḥ* EH 77). The *moredet* falls into two categories: firstly, that of a wife who refuses to cohabit with her husband because of anger or a quarrel or for other reasons offering no legal justification; secondly, that of a wife who refuses to cohabit with her husband because she cannot bring herself to have sexual relations with him and can satisfy the court that this is for genuine reasons, which impel her to seek a divorce – even with forfeiture of her *ketubbah*. In both cases the *moredet* immediately loses her right to maintenance (Sh. Ar., EH 77:2; PDR 6:33, 42) and, in consequence thereof, her husband loses the right to her handiwork (see below) since he is only entitled to this in consideration of her maintenance, i.e., only if she is actually maintained by him (Rema, EH 77:2; and see below). Ultimately, the *moredet* also stands to lose her *ketubbah* and the husband will be entitled to demand a divorce, but this depends on conditions that differ according to the category of *moredet* and in this regard the *halakhah* underwent various developments.

So far as the first category of *moredet* is concerned, it was laid down in the Mishnah that her *ketubbah* shall be diminished from week to week until nothing remains and that thereafter her husband shall be entitled to divorce her without *ketubbah* (Ket. 63a). Later, as a means of inducing the wife to desist from her "rebellion," it was provided that a procedure be adopted of having certain warnings issued by the court as well as public announcements made, and, on the wife's disregarding a final warning that her continued "rebellion" would render her liable to forfeiture of her *ketubbah*, the court could declare her a *moredet*, entailing the immediate forfeiture of her *ketubbah* and the acquisition by her husband of the right to divorce her forthwith. In the period of the later *amoraim* it was further prescribed that only after persisting in her refusal to cohabit with her husband for not less than 12 months would the *moredet* finally lose her *ketubbah* and the husband become entitled to divorce her (Ket. 63b; Yad, Ishut 14:9–11; Tur and *Beit Yosef*, EH 77; Sh. Ar., EH 77:2). This appears to be the *halakhah* at the present time (see PDR 6:33, 325).

In the case of the other category of *moredet* (i.e., on a plea of incompatibility, when accepted by the court), the procedure of warnings and announcements was regarded as being inappropriate and inapplicable since "the wife should not be urged to have sexual relations with a person whom she finds repulsive" (Yad, Ishut 14:8; PDR 6:5, 12, 18). Hence, in this case, the husband was at first considered entitled, according to her own wish, to give his wife an immediate divorce, without payment of her *ketubbah*, because she herself had desired this by her waiver of the *ketubbah* and, as a *moredet*, she is anyhow not entitled to her *ketubbah* (Ket. 63b: Sh. Ar., EH 77:2). In later

times, however, the scholars regulated that even concerning this category of *moredet* the husband is not entitled to divorce her immediately, but only after the lapse of 12 months after a warning by the court that she might forfeit her *ketubbah*. This regulation aimed at enabling the wife to reconsider her attitude in the event that her rebelliousness had been due to sudden anger which she later regretted (Ket. 63b). Her failure to repent within those 12 months would then entitle the husband to divorce her without *ketubbah* but the wife's plea that her husband is "repulsive" to her does not give her the right to demand that her husband be adjudged to grant her a divorce. Maimonides' opinion (Ishut 14:8) that on the strength of the aforesaid plea, the husband might even be compelled to divorce his wife without delay – since "she is not like a captive to have to submit to intercourse with someone repulsive to her" – was not accepted by the majority of the authorities and a *takkanah* to a similar effect from the geonic period (known as the *dina de-metivta*, i.e., "law of the academies") was regarded as an emergency measure intended only for those generations and not as established *halakhah* (Resp. Rosh no. 43:6, 8; *Sefer Teshuvot ha-Rashba ha-Meyuḥasot le-ha-Rambanno*. 138; *Rema* EH 77:2, 3).

Since the wife only forfeits her *ketubbah* in the event that she does not desist from her rebellion within the prescribed period of 12 months, all her rights and duties on the strength of the *ketubbah* – save with regard to her maintenance and her handiwork – remain valid during the same period, since "the *ketubbah* conditions are as the *ketubbah* itself." If in consequence of the wife's rebellion she is divorced by her husband, she will anyway be entitled to receive her *nikhsei melog* (property which never ceases to remain in her ownership but the usufruct whereof is enjoyed by the husband (see *Dowry) but special *halakhot* exist concerning her *nikhsei ẓon u-varzel* (see *Beit Shemu'el* and *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* at concl. of 77).

THE "MAIN" (IKKAR) KETUBBAH. See **Ketubbah*.

MEDICAL CARE. The medical expenses incurred in case of the wife's illness must be borne by her husband, since these form part of her maintenance: "medical care in time of illness is as necessary to a person as is sustenance" (Ket. 4:9 and *Rashi* Ket. 51a s.v. "*ḥayyav lerape'ot*"). Hence, questions such as the scope of this obligation of the husband and whether and to what extent he is obliged to defray debts incurred by the wife in seeking a cure for her illness are governed by the same laws as those pertaining to her maintenance.

RANSOM FROM CAPTIVITY. The husband is obliged to provide the money and to perform any other act required to redeem his wife from captivity (Ket. 4:9 and 52a; Sh. Ar., EH 78:1). "Captivity" in this context is not confined to the case of actual captivity of the wife in time of war, but embraces all circumstances in which she is prevented, as a result of the restriction of her freedom, from living with her husband, e.g., where husband and wife are separated as a result of persecution or war and thereafter the husband succeeds in reaching Ereẓ Israel while his wife is stranded in a country from which she is not free to depart. If in such circumstances the payment of money will enable the wife to leave that country and join her husband, it is his duty to pay the required amount, even if it should exceed the amount of her *ketubbah*, because in general the husband's duty is to ransom his wife with all the means at his disposal: "his wife is as his own self" (Yad, Ishut 14:19; Rema EH 78:2; Ha-Gra, EH 78, n. 4). In consideration of this duty the husband is entitled to the usufruct of his wife's property. The husband cannot be relieved of this duty by his wife's waiver of her right to be ransomed – even if the parties should so agree prior to their marriage – lest she become assimilated among the gentiles (Sh. Ar., EH 69:5).

BURIAL. It is the husband's duty to bear the costs of his wife's burial and all related expenses such as those necessary for erecting a tombstone, etc. (Sh. Ar., EH 89:1). Since this duty is imposed on the husband as one of the *ketubbah* conditions and not by virtue of the laws of succession, he must bear these costs out of his personal property without regard to the question whether, and to what extent, his deceased wife had contributed a dowry or left an estate in his favor (*Beit Shemu'el* 89, n. 1). If such burial costs are defrayed by third parties, e.g. by the *ḥevra kaddisha*, in fulfilling the *mitzvah* of burying the dead, in the husband's absence or upon his own refusal to do so, the husband will be liable to refund the amount expended to the parties concerned (Sh. Ar., EH 89:2).

SUPPORT OF THE WIDOW FROM THE ESTATE OF HER DECEASED HUSBAND. See *Widow.

SUPPORT OF THE MINOR DAUGHTERS OF THE MARRIAGE FROM THE ESTATE OF THEIR DECEASED FATHER. See *Parent and Child (Legal Aspects).

INHERITANCE BY THE SONS OF THE MARRIAGE OF THEIR MOTHER'S KETUBBAH, OVER AND ABOVE THEIR PORTION IN THE ESTATE OF THEIR FATHER

This *takkanah*, known as the *ketubbat benin dikhrin* (i.e., *ketubbah* of male children), refers to a condition of the *ketubbah* whereby the husband agrees that his wife's *ketubbah* and dowry, which he – as by law he is her only heir (see *Succession; and see Right of Inheritance, below) – would inherit if she predeceased him, shall, upon his own death, pass to the sons of the marriage only and this over and above and separately from the share of these sons in the rest of their father's estate shared equally by them with the sons of any other marriage contracted by him (Ket. 4:10 and 52b; Sh. Ar., EH 111). This *takkanah*, designed to ensure that the wife's property would remain for her sons only, was aimed at influencing the bride's father to give her, upon her marriage, a share of his property equaling that which his sons would get; however, since it anyway became customary for fathers to give their daughters such a share of their property, the need for including a specific undertaking of this kind in the *ketubbah*-deed fell

away, and therefore by geonic times it was already recognized that the *takkanah* had become obsolete (*Rema*, EH 111:16).

The Husband's Rights

MA'ASEH YADEHA ("the wife's handiwork"). It is the wife's duty to do all such household work as is normally performed by women enjoying a standard of living and social standing similar to that of the spouse all in accordance with local custom. Also applicable is the rule that "the wife goes up with him, but does not go down with him," i.e., she is not obliged to do the kind of work that was not customarily done by the woman in her family circle prior to her marriage, although according to the husband's standard women used to do it, while at the same time she is entitled to benefit from the fact that her husband enjoys a higher standard of living than that to which she was accustomed prior to the marriage, so that she is not obliged to do work which is not normally done by women enjoying the husband's (higher) standard of living even if she used to do it prior to her marriage (Ket. 59a–61b; Sh. Ar., EH 80:1, 10). The expenses incurred by the husband in hiring domestic help due to the fact that the wife, although able to perform them, willfully refuses to perform the duties devolving on her, as described, must be refunded by the wife and may also be deducted by the husband from her maintenance (Sh. Ar. *ibid; Ḥelkat Meḥokekn*. 80, 27). According to these rules, the question must also be decided as to whether, and to what extent, the wife is obliged to suckle or look after the infant children of the marriage, since this duty is imposed on her not as the mother of the children but as the wife of their father (Sh. Ar., EH 80:6–8). Hence a divorced woman is exempt from this duty, with the result that her former husband – who as father always bears sole responsibility for the maintenance of their children (see Parent and *Child) – must compensate her for her efforts, if she nevertheless looks after them, in addition to bearing the expenses involved (Sh. Ar., EH 82:5; PDR, 1:118, 119; 2:3–8).

The wife is not liable for damage caused by her in the home – e.g., in respect of broken utensils – whether or not occasioned in the course of fulfillment of her duties (Yad, Ishut 21:9, Sh. Ar., EH 80:17 and *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* 80 n. 29). The purpose of this *halakhah* is to preserve matrimonial harmony, since otherwise "matrimonial harmony will cease, because the wife in taking excessive care will refrain from most of her duties and quarreling will result" (Yad, loc. cit.).

The question whether the earnings of the wife from her own exertions (*yegi'a kappeha*), in talmudic language *ha'adafah* ("surplus"), and, if she exerts herself more than usual, "surplus resulting from undue exertion," are in the nature of *ma'aseh yadeha* and so belong to her husband, is a disputed one – both in the Talmud (Ket. 65b and *Rashi* thereto s.v. *ha'adafah*; 66a) and in the codes (Yad, Ishut 21:2 and Sh. Ar., EH 80:1 as against the Tur, *ibid.*, and other codes; PDR, 1:81, 90–94). In the light of this dispute the husband has no right to demand that his wife should go out to earn, nor that she should make over any such earnings to him; on the other hand, since some of the authorities are of the opinion that the husband does have this right – thus possibly entitling him to set off such earnings against her maintenance – he will not be ordered to pay her maintenance in so far as her earnings suffice for this purpose (see *Kim Li*; Baḥ EH 80; PDR, 1:94, 118; 2:220, 226).

The husband's right to his wife's handiwork is granted to him in return for his duty to maintain her and in consideration of this, and is only available to him upon his actually discharging this duty (Ket. 47b, 58b, 107b; Sh. Ar., EH 69:4). The rule is that the wife's right to maintenance is primary, taking precedence over his right to her handiwork and existing even when she is unable to work, e.g., on account of illness (Ket. 58b; *Rashi* ad loc. s.v. *mezonei ikkar*). On the other hand, the husband loses the right to his wife's handiwork if for any reason whatsoever she does not actually receive her maintenance from him, whether on account of his refusal to provide it or because according to law she has forfeited her right to such maintenance, e.g., because she is a *moredet* (*Rema* EH 77; 2; *Ba'er Heitev*, EH 80, n. 1). On the strength of the above rule, the wife, by her independent will, is able, by waiving the right of maintenance, to deprive her husband of his right to her handiwork ("I am not maintained, nor shall I do any handiwork…" Ket. 58b), a worthwhile step for her if she should earn more than the amount of her maintenance. The husband, on the other hand, cannot deprive his wife of her right to maintenance by waiving his right to her handiwork, nor may he demand that she go out to earn the cost of her maintenance ("Spend your handiwork for your maintenance," Ket. 58b; Sh. Ar., EH 69:4; *Beit Shemu'el* 69, n. 4).

FINDS OF THE WIFE. The husband is entitled to the finds or chance gains of his wife (Ket. 65b–66a; Sh. Ar., EH 84).

USUFRUCT OF THE WIFE'S PROPERTY. See *Dowry.

RIGHT OF INHERITANCE. Jewish law decrees that the husband is the sole heir of his wife – to the absolute exclusion of everyone else, including her children – as regards all property of whatever kind in her estate, including the part in respect whereof he had no usufruct during her lifetime. However, the wife is not an heir to her husband's estate (BB 8:1 and 111b; Yad, Naḥalot 1:8; Ishut 22:1; Sh. Ar., EH 90:1); instead she has the right to claim maintenance and lodging from his estate for as long as she remains a widow. The husband inherits only the property actually owned by his wife at her death but not the property which is only contingently then due to her in certain circumstances, e.g., if she had been a contingent heir to her father but predeceased him (BB 113a; Sh. Ar., loc. cit.). The inheritance of the husband also embraces property sold by the wife subsequent to their marriage, since his right of inheritance comes into existence upon their marriage and therefore any sale of her property is only valid to the extent that it is not prejudicial to his right, i.e., only if he should predecease her or if they become divorced and she retains ownership of her property (Maim. Yad, Ishut 22:7; Sh. Ar., EH 90:9; see also *Dowry). The husband's right to inherit his wife's estate is co-

extensive with the existence of a valid marriage between them at the time of her death, and remains effective even if the marriage between them was prohibited, e.g., between a priest and a divorcee (see Marriage, *Prohibited), and even if the husband had wished to divorce his wife but was prevented from doing so, whether for lack of time or on account of the decree of Rabbenu Gershom (see *Divorce; Main. Yad, Naḥalot 1:8; Ishut 22:4; Sh. Ar., EH 90:1; *Ba'er Heitev*, *ibid.*, n. 1).

Contracting out of the Law

All the above-mentioned rights and duties of the parties flow from the law. There is, however, no obstacle to an agreement between the parties to regulate their legal relationship with regard to monetary matters to another effect, provided that this is not in conflict with any general principles of the *halakhah*.

The rule is that "in a matter of *mamon* one's stipulation is valid," i.e., in matters of civil law the law does not restrict the freedom of contract and one may even stipulate contrary to biblical law (R. Judah, Kid. 19b; Sh. Ar., EH 38:5; 69:6). Hence the parties may come to an agreement stipulating therein terms and conditions whereby they forego certain pecuniary rights and obligations they are entitled to against each other according to law, provided that the agreement is express and in compliance with the legal provisions concerning the making of such an agreement or condition. In particular, and by way of an express agreement for the renunciation (*silluk*) of their rights, a husband and wife may effect a complete separation of their rights as to their respective properties so as to deprive the husband of the usufruct of his wife's property and of the right to inherit from her. It should be noted that such an agreement will lack validity prior to the creation of any legal tie between the parties with reference to the rights in question, because until then such rights constitute "something that is not yet in existence" (*davar she-lo ba la-olam*; see *Contract) and therefore cannot be the subject of a legal disposition; nor is such an agreement possible after full acquisition of the said rights, since a right once acquired cannot be conferred on another by renunciation but only by way of its transfer or assignment. Hence the above-mentioned renunciation agreement must be effected after the *kiddushin* but prior to the *nissu'in* ceremony (see *Marriage), since at this stage the pecuniary rights are considered already to be "something in existence" but they are not yet fully acquired by the parties (see PDR I, 289–313; *Beit Ya'akov*, EH 92:7). Since the custom at the present time is for the *kiddushin* and *nissu'in* ceremonies to be united and performed one after the other without interruption, it is necessary, if the parties should wish to effect the said renunciation, that the marriage ceremony be interrupted upon completion of the *kiddushin* to enable the parties to sign the renunciation deed, and then only to proceed with the *nissu'in* ceremony.

As said above, only with regard to monetary matters is such an agreement valid. Therefore, an agreement whereby the wife undertakes to waive her right to cohabitation is of no effect since the corresponding duty of the husband is imposed on him by biblical law and does not involve a matter of *mamon*; hence the wife may always repudiate such an agreement and demand that her husband fulfill his duty to cohabit with her (Yad, Ishut 12:2, 7; Sh. Ar., EH 69:6, *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* 69, n. 10). On the other hand, the wife's duty to cohabit with her husband is not imposed on her by biblical law as such, but is merely a consequence of the husband's right to cohabitation by virtue of the marriage, which right he may waive. Hence an agreement between the spouses whereby the wife is released from this duty but without any waiver of her rights is valid, and she will not be considered a *moredet* if, in reliance upon such agreement, she should refuse to cohabit with her husband; neither will her right to maintenance and other pecuniary rights be affected (*Pitḥei Teshuvah*, EH 134, n. 9).

Also invalid is a condition depriving the wife of her "main" *ketubbah* – even though her right to the *ketubbah* is a matter of *mamon* – since a marital life in which the wife remains without her "main" *ketubbah* is considered "cohabitation for the sake of prostitution" (Ket. 5:1) and "it is forbidden for a man to remain with his wife for even one hour if she has no *ketubbah*" (Yad, Ishut 10:10). Depriving the wife of her "main" *ketubbah*, or the diminution thereof below the statutory minimum, is prejudicial to the very existence of the marriage and cohabitation in such circumstances is considered as tantamount to prostitution; hence a condition of this kind relates to *davar she-be-issur* (a matter of a ritual law prohibition) and not to a *davar she-be-mamon*, and accordingly it is invalid (Yad, Ishut 12:8; Sh. Ar., EH 69:6).

The husband's right to inherit from his wife, which flows from the law upon the celebration of the marriage, likewise cannot be stipulated away during the subsistence of the marriage. Upon the celebration of the marriage the husband forthwith acquires the status of heir designate to his wife's estate and although this is calculated eventually to afford the husband rights of a monetary (*mamon*) nature it creates a legal status and as such cannot be the subject matter of a waiver of stipulation aimed at annulling it (Yad, Ishut 12:9; Sh. Ar., *ibid.*). Any such waiver or stipulation, in order to be valid, has therefore to be effected after *kiddushin* and prior to *nissu'in* (Yad, Ishut 23:5–7, and *Maggid Mishneh* thereto; Sh. Ar., EH 69:5, 7; 92:7, 8). For further particulars concerning freedom of stipulation between husband and wife, see *Contract.

In the State of Israel

The *halakhah* is generally followed so far as the particulars of the marital rights and duties are concerned. However, the husband's right to inherit from his wife is governed by the Succession Law, 5725 – 1965, in terms whereof – as also formerly in terms of the Succession Ordinance, 1923–34 – one spouse inherits from the other along with the latter's descendants (in the case of intestate succession), in the prescribed proportions (sec. 11). The inheritance rights of the spouses are governed solely by the provisions of the above law and the rabbinical

courts must also adjudicate in accordance therewith, save when all the interested parties agree, in writing, to the jurisdiction of the rabbinical court and provided that the rights of a minor or a person lacking legal capacity who is party to the estate shall not be less than those afforded him under the above law (sec. 148, 155).

[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky]

The Right of a "Rebellious" Husband (Mored) to the Proceeds of His Wife's Property and to Her Earnings

Does a husband who is a *mored* (i.e., fails to discharge his marital obligations) retain his right to his wife's earnings and the proceeds from her property? There is a halakhic dispute regarding this question.

According to one view, the husband is given the rights to his wife's handiwork and the proceeds of her property so long as he acts as a husband. If, however, he is a "rebellious husband" (*mored*), and fails to fulfill his duty to cohabit with his wife, he forfeits his right to her earnings and property income. Just as the rebellious wife (*moredet*) forfeits her monetary rights against her husband, while he retains his rights regarding her (apart from the right to her earnings), the rebellious husband forfeits his monetary rights from his wife, whereas she retains her rights regarding him (*Beit Ya'akov* on Even Ha-Ezer 90. 5; File 5742/112, 12 PDR 311, the Rabbinical Court of Appeals; File 5712/866, 2 PDR 262, 271ff., the Rabbinical Court of Appeals). According to another view, this opinion was valid until the *ḥerem* (ban) of Rabbenu Gershom was enacted (see *Divorce), forbidding the husband to divorce his wife against her will. However, since the *ḥerem*, the rebellious husband continues to be entitled to his wife's earnings and proceeds of her property. The reason for this is that the rule by which the *mored* forfeits his monetary rights to his wife's handiwork and income from property derives from another rule, whereby the rebellious husband loses his right to inherit his wife (Rema, at EH 90.5). The basis for this *halakhah* is that a rebellious husband is treated as one who is about to divorce his wife, a fact considered sufficient to sever the conjugal bond between the husband and the wife, which is the source of his right to inherit her.

According to this approach, after the enactment of the *ḥerem* of Rabbenu Gershom, the husband cannot divorce his wife against her will; hence, the fact that he is rebellious does not automatically categorize him as a husband about to divorce his wife, insofar as that decision is not solely at his discretion. In any event, the rebellious husband does not lose his right to inherit his wife, nor does he lose his right to her handiwork and property income (File 5712/2921, 1 PDR 239, 246–7, the Regional Rabbinical Court of Tel Aviv-Jaffa).

According to the other opinion, there is a reciprocity between the rights of the husband and the rights of the wife and, since the rebellious husband remains liable to fulfill all of his obligations to his wife, the wife too remains liable to execute all of her obligations to him, including her handiwork and proceeds from her property (5712/2921, *ibid,* 245).

This dispute is particularly important in those cases in which the wife sues for maintenance from her husband, where the claimant wife works to support herself or has income-generating property. According to the first opinion, the husband is required to pay her maintenance, and the profits from her earnings or property are irrelevant to this obligation. According to the second view, her earnings or property income should be deducted, in accordance with the general rule in maintenance claims (regarding deduction of her earnings from her maintenance, see *infra*; regarding deduction of income from her property from her maintenance, see * Dowry), and if her earnings or property income exceed the level of her maintenance, the husband is entitled to the balance.

It would seem that this matter ought to be decided according to the rule that money may not be taken away from its possessor. In other words, where there is a halakhic dispute among the decisors, the litigant wishing to claim money from another bears the burden of proof, and the litigant in possession of the money can argue that the *halakhah* follows the opinion of those decisors whose rulings are favorable to him. Accordingly, the wife cannot demand that her husband pay an amount equal to her earnings or the proceeds of her property, but rather only the excess, if such exists, between this sum and the sum to which she is entitled as maintenance. If, however, her earnings or property income should exceed the amount to which she is entitled in terms of maintenance, the wife is considered the possessor of such excess and the husband does not have any right to it (File 5736/2944, 11 PDR 193, 208, the District Rabbinical Court of Tel Aviv-Jaffa; File 5736/13627, 11 PDR 89, the District Rabbinical Court of Tel Aviv-Jaffa).

Deducting the Wife's Earnings from her Maintenance: Decisions of the Supreme Court

Regarding a woman who has income from her own work, and who sued for maintenance from her husband, the Supreme Court ruled, in accordance with Jewish law and the decisions of the Rabbinical courts, that her income should be deducted from the amount her husband owes her for her maintenance, and the husband must pay the balance between the wife's earnings and the amount of the maintenance payments, to the extent that the amount of maintenance is greater than the amount of the wife's earnings (CA 63/69 *Yosef v. Yosef,* 23(1) PD 804; FH 23/69 *Yosef v. Yosef,* 24(1) PD 792). In principle the husband cannot force his wife to work in order to support herself and, accordingly, the Supreme Court ruled that, insofar as the wife does not earn her own living, the husband is obligated to pay the full amount of her maintenance, even if the wife worked in the past and has stopped working (CA 687/83 *Mazor et al. v. Mazor*, 38(3) PD 29; *per* Justice Shoshana Netanyahu).

The rule that the wife is entitled to the full amount of maintenance even if she worked in the past has been harshly criticized. It is claimed that this rule encourages women to stop working, so as not to deduct their income from the amount of maintenance owed by the husband. The duty of paying main-

tenance thus becomes a tool wielded by the wife to exert economic pressure on the husband to give her a speedy *get*, so as to exempt himself from his maintenance obligation. This rule reflects and even perpetuates the stereotype of the dependent wife, inasmuch as the termination of her work is likely to jeopardize her ability to return to the work force following the divorce, which in turn injures her economically and denies her the opportunity of recovering emotionally after the crisis of the divorce by going out to work. While this rule does provide an important means of exerting pressure on recalcitrant husbands who refuse to give a *get* to their wives, it is argued that the resultant damage to the woman is grave, and that other solutions to the problem of refusal to grant a *get* should be found and implemented (see *Divorce).

Notwithstanding this, in a number of cases the Supreme Court ruled that, where it is apparent that the wife is able to work, but deliberately refrains from doing so as part of her "strategy" in the divorce proceedings, her maintenance payment is to be reduced by an amount corresponding to her earning power (CA 6136/93 *Bikel v. Bikel* and CA 5930/93 *Padan v. Padan; per* Justice Meir Shamgar). The rabbinical court issued a similar ruling (File 5715/8005, 14 PDR 212, the Regional Rabbinical Court in Haifa). Nevertheless, it would seem that the question of deducting the wife's "earning potential" still awaits a definitive Supreme Court ruling (CA 4316/96 *Ploni v. Ploni*, 52(1) PD 394).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I.S. Zuri, *Mishpat ha-Talmud*, 2 (1921), 79–87; Gulak, Yesodei, 1 (1922), 36f.; 4 (1922), 53, 59 n. 1, 116, 144; Gulak, Oẓar, 23–25, 53f., 59–67; A. Gulak, in: *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, 2 (1926/27), 266; idem, in: *Zeitschrift fuer vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, 47 (1932/33), 241–55; J. Epstein, in: *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, 4 (1932/33), 125–34; S. Eliezri, in: *Sinai, Sefer Yovel* (1958), 338–43; ET, 1 (1951[3]), 224–6; 4 (1952), 69–78, 80–88, 91–95; 7 (1956), 61–63; Z. Warhaftig, in: *Divrei ha-Congress ha-Olami ha-Revi'i le-Madda'ei ha-Yahadut*, 1 (1967), 189–94; abstract in Engl.: *ibid.*, Eng. Sect., 267f.; B. Schereshewsky, *Dinei Mishpaḥah* (1993[4]), 97–146, 171–215; M. Elon, *Ḥakikah Datit…* (1967), 42–44, 161, 167–9; idem in: ILR, 4 (1969), 134f., 137. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (1988), 1:110, 112, 188, 465ff., 468, 469, 472ff., 516, 537, 538ff., 541ff., 635, 637, 653, 671, 677ff., 681, 683; 3:1339, 1499ff., 1526ff.; idem, *Jewish Law* (1994), 1:124, 126, 211; 2:568, 571, 572, 575ff., 628, 654, 655ff., 658ff., 787, 789, 808, 828ff., 835ff., 840, 842ff.; 4:1599, 1785ff, 1816ff.; M. Elon and B. Lifshitz, *Mafte'aḥ ha-She'elot ve-ha-Teshuvot shel Ḥakhmei Sefarad u-Ẓefon Afrikah* (legal digest) (1986) 1:36–47, 170–73; B. Lifshitz and E. Shochetman, *Mafte'aḥ ha-She'elot ve-ha-Teshuvot shel Ḥakhmei Ashkenaz, Ẓarefat ve-Italyah* (legal digest) (1997), 28–33, 111–114; A. Rosen-Tzvi, *Dinei ha-Mishpaḥah bein Kodesh le-Ḥol* (1990), 297, 419, 422; A. Westereich, "*Aliyata u-Sheḥikatah shel Illat ha-Moredet,*" in: *Shenaton ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, vol. 21, 123.

HUSHAI THE ARCHITE (Heb. חוּשַׁי הָאַרְכִּי), biblical figure listed in I Chronicles 27:33 as holding the office of "the king's friend" under David. In II Samuel 15:37; 16:17 he is referred to as "David's friend." Hushai figures prominently in the story of the rebellion of *Absalom. At the time of David's flight from Jerusalem, Hushai, deeply grieved and wearing the traditional rent garments and ashes, sought to join David's company on the Mount of Olives, to which they had fled when Jerusalem's capitulation to Absalom appeared inevitable. David, however, persuaded Hushai to return and offer his allegiance to Absalom, so that he might defeat the counsels of *Ahithophel, David's adviser, and that he might supply information to David (II Sam. 15:32–37). Hushai, accepted as a loyal adviser by Absalom, successfully opposed Ahithophel's plan to pursue and attack David immediately, proposing instead that Absalom mass his forces and attack David in person. Having thus afforded David time to escape, Hushai sent word to David through his couriers, the sons of the priests *Abiathar and *Zadok, to cross the Jordan immediately (II Sam. 17:5–16). Although no more is heard of Hushai himself, Baana son of Hushai, one of the prefects of Solomon listed in I Kings 4:16, is probably his son.

The term "the Archite" indicates that Hushai belongs to the clan named in Joshua 16:2–3 as dwelling in the vicinity of Ataroth, on the border between Ephraim and Benjamin. The name Hushai itself is most probably a short form of the name Ahishai, Ahushai.

[Tikva S. Frymer]

In the Aggadah

Various interpretations are given to the epithet "The Archite." According to one opinion it was because he was one of David's highest officials (from the Greek *archē*, "chief of government"); according to another it is the name of his birthplace; and others that he was so called "because through him the house of David was to be put on a firm footing, and through him the house of David was to be kept in good repair," the word ארך in Aramaic meaning to keep in good order (Mid. Ps. 3:3). After Absalom's rebellion, David wished to serve an idol, in order that people should attribute his public disgrace to Divine punishment for this sin, and not think that God had punished him without cause. Hushai, however, pointed out to David that his punishment had, in fact, already been foretold, in the Scriptures. Although David had been permitted to marry Absalom's mother (Maacah), who was a captive slave, he had failed to take note of the fact that the passage immediately following the biblical permission to do so speaks of the dishonest and rebellious son (Deut. 21:18) to teach the lesson that this was the natural issue of such a marriage (Sanh. 107a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: de Vaux, Anc Isr, 122–3; idem, in: RB, 48 (1939), 403–5; van Selms, in: JNES, 16 (1957), 118–23; Albright, in: JBL, 58 (1939), 179–80; Dupont-Sommer, in: *Syria*, 24 (1944–45), 42 (Fr.); Donner, in: ZAW, 73 (1961), 269–77. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** N. Fox, *In the Service of the King* (2000), 121–28.

ḤUSHI'EL BEN ELHANAN (end of 10th and beginning of 11th centuries), talmudist and founder of talmudic studies in N. Africa. Ḥushi'el was a contemporary of Sherira Gaon and the father of *Hananel b. Ḥushi'el. He headed the academy of *Kairouan, and under him it developed into a center of Torah study in North Africa which continued for generations. Information about his life is scanty and obscure. It is known that he

was not a native of Kairouan, but opinions are divided as to his country of origin – Babylonia, Italy, and Spain have been suggested – and as to his reasons for settling there. The view most widely held is that he went from Sicily or southern Italy (Bari), arrived in Kairouan between 960 and 990, and died about 1027. Ḥushi'el was one of "The Four *Captives," the narrative of which is given in the *Seder ha-Kabbalah* of Abraham *Ibn Daud. In the *Genizah, however, a letter was discovered dating from the end of the 10th century; in it a scholar named Ḥushi'el writes to *Shemariah b. Elhanan, also mentioned as one of "The Four Captives," that on his way to meet him he was held up in Kairouan where he was awaiting the arrival of his son Elhanan. This letter apparently completely undermines the historical veracity of the report of Ibn Daud, and also raises the question as to whether the name of his son was Elhanan or Hananel. It may be that there were two brothers, or that the Ḥushi'el of the *Genizah* letter is not identical with Ḥushi'el b. Elhanan.

In his yeshivah Ḥushi'el developed new methods of study, bringing from Italy the study of the Jerusalem Talmud and stressing the importance of this Talmud and of the halakhic Midrashim as a source for establishing the *halakhah* – even when it conflicts with the Babylonian Talmud. This trend is conspicuous in the teaching of his son Hananel, who is the first to cite the Jerusalem Talmud frequently. Such a departure could be regarded as "a proclamation of independence, and a severance of the dependence upon the academies of Babylon." Of the actual teachings of Ḥushi'el only little is known from various citations scattered in different sources, chiefly in the works of *Nissim Gaon. Ḥushi'el was admired by the *geonim* of Babylon, who called him "a man great in wisdom, a mount of Torah," and "our lord, the holy teacher, R. Ḥushi'el, first among the rabbis." On his death he was eulogized by *Samuel ha-Nagid, who sent Ḥushi'el's son Hananel a letter of consolation and an elegy written in Aramaic and also gave instructions that memorial services be held in his honor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Berliner, in: *Migdal Chananel* (1876), 5–7 (Ger.); S. Schechter, in: JQR, 11 (1899), 643–50; Weiss, Dor, 4 (1904^4), 235f.; Halevy, Dorot, 3 (1923), 283–304; S. Poznański, in: *Festschrift… A. Harkavy* (1908), 186f., 192–4 (Heb. pt.); S. Eppenstein, *Beitraege zur Geschichte und Literatur im geonaeischen Zeitalter* (1913), 174–95; J. Mann, in: JQR, 9 (1918/19), 160–79; V. Aptowitzer, in: *Zum vierzigjaehrigen Bestehen der Israelitisch-Theologischen Lehranstalt in Wien (Jahresbericht 37–39)* (1933), 3f., 7–13; idem, in: *Sinai*, 12 (1943), 107–9; Cohen, in: PAAJR, 29 (1960/61), 70–72, 113, 130; M. Margalioth, *Hilkhot ha-Nagid* (1962), 61f.; Hirschberg, Afrikah, index; Abramson, Merkazim, index.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HUSI (Rom. **Huşi**), town in Moldavia, E. Romania. The first Jews settled there in the last quarter of the 17th century. The oldest tombstone preserved in the Jewish cemetery dates from 1747. The minute-book of the *ḥevra kaddisha* was opened in 1775. In 1794 the synagogue was rebuilt. In 1806 the bishop obtained authorization to settle another group of Jews in the locality. David Almogen (1823–1897) from Galicia, who settled in Husi in 1866, became municipal physician and wrote popular works on medicine. A first attempt was made to organize the community in 1882, and in 1910 the formerly independent *ḥevra kaddisha*, with its revenues, was included in the communal framework.

The B'nai B'rith group, founded in 1875, established a primary school in 1876, but this could not be maintained because of opposition from Orthodox circles which founded a *talmud torah* in 1877. In 1897 the Cultura association was founded, which established a school attended by 268 pupils, also supported by the community. The Orthodox, however, converted the school into a *talmud torah* in 1901. In 1889 the Jewish merchants formed 70% of the total merchants in the town. Among the rabbis who functioned in Husi were Gedalyah ben Israel Halevy, Ephraim Joseph Segal, Mattathias Ezekiel Gutman, and Nahum Shemaryahu Schechter.

The Jewish population numbered 261 (5.2% of the total) in 1831, 2,395 in 1859, 4,057 (26.2%) in 1899, and 2,514 (10.4%) in 1930. In 1882 there was a *blood libel, and in 1884 restrictive measures against the Jewish merchants were instituted. The situation was aggravated when the Romanian Brotherhood organization was founded after 1900 with the express aim of boycotting Jewish traders. In 1911 Ion Zelinsky-Codreanu, the father of Corneliu *Zelea-Codreanu, founder of the Iron Guard, became a teacher in the secondary school, which remained a focus of antisemitism between the two world wars. In 1927 a Cooperative Bank was organized with the aid of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, having 400 members.

The community was not destroyed during World War II. The Jewish population numbered 2,750 in 1947. A synagogue existed in 1969 when there were approximately 60 Jewish families. In 2005, 20 Jews lived in Husi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Schwarzfeld, *Ochire asupra istoriei evreilor in România…* (1887), 19; idem; *Momente din istoria evreilor in România…* (1889), 7, 8, 39, 70; idem, in: *Analele Şocietăţü Istorice Juliu Barasch*, 2 pt. 1 (1888), 49, 83, 90; Melchisedek, *Cronico Huşilor şi a Episcopşei* (1869), 393; PK Romanyah, 114–7. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E. Feldman, *Ba'alei Melakhah Yehudim be-Moldavyah* (1982) 14, 26, 36–40, 49, 52; G. Platon, in: SAHIR, 3 (1998) 171; J. Geller, *Ẓemiḥatah u-Sheki'atah shel Kehillah* (1985): 310; FEDROM-*Comunitati evreiesti in Romania* (Internet, 2005); I. Kara, in: *Buletinul Centrului,* 2(1998), 71.

[Theodor Lavi / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

HUSIK, ISAAC (1876–1939), historian of Jewish philosophy. Born in Vasseutinez (near Kiev), Husik moved in 1888 to Philadelphia, where he remained until his death. While still young, he came under the influence of Sabato *Morais, rabbi of the Spanish-Portuguese community of Philadelphia, and was preparing himself for the rabbinate. He abandoned his rabbinic studies when he began studying at the University of Pennsylvania. From 1898 to 1916 he taught at *Gratz College in Philadelphia. He joined the faculty of philosophy of the University of Pennsylvania in 1911 and was appointed professor in 1921. Husik also studied law, which was helpful to him in

his translation of a few works on the philosophy of law from German into English, among them Rudolph von Ihering's *Zweck im Recht* ("Law as a Means to an End"). In 1916 Husik published his book *A History of Medieval Jewish Philosophy*, which is an original and systematic scientific review of the development of Jewish philosophic thought in the Middle Ages. This well-written work has remained popular and useful. In 1925, Husik was appointed editor of the Jewish Publication Society of America. In 1929–30 he published a critical edition of Joseph *Albo's *Sefer ha-Ikkarim*, with introduction, English translation, and notes. A collection of Husik's essays, edited by M.C. Nahm and L. Strauss, was published in 1952 under the title *Philosophical Essays*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.C. Nahm and L. Strauss, *Philosophical Essays of Isaac Husik* (1952), vii–xli; L. Strauss, in: *Iyyun*, 2 (1951), 215–23; J.H. Greenstone in: *American Jewish Year Book*, 41 (1939), 57–65.

[Solomon Grayzel]

°**HUSSEIN** (**Ḥussayn bin Ṭalāl**; 1935–1999), king of the Hashemite Kingdom of *Jordan 1953–99; grandson of *Abdullah, founder of the kingdom. He was born in Amman and educated in Amman, Egypt, and England (Harrow and Sandhurst). Hussein succeeded on the deposition of his father, Ṭalāl, who was mentally deranged, and, after a period of regency, ascended the throne on May 2, 1953. He soon won the allegiance of the Bedouin tribes which dominated the army. However, tension with Israel, unrest among his Palestinian subjects, pro-Nasserite agitation, and Egyptian subversion threatened the stability of his rule. Popular opposition to the king's pro-Western sympathies and rumors of his intention to join the Baghdad Pact culminated, in December 1955, in serious rioting, and in March 1956 Hussein dismissed Lt.-Gen. J.B. Glubb, the British chief of general staff of the Arab Legion.

Despite a pro-Nasserite victory in the elections of October 1956 and Jordan's adhesion to the Egyptian-Syrian Saudi Arabian pact against Israel, the Arab Legion made no move during the *Sinai Campaign. During the next few years, Hussein tightened his control, maintained his pro-Western orientation, and frustrated a number of military plots against his regime and attempts on his life.

During the 1960s Hussein pursued a precarious course, trying to avoid clashes with Israel provoked by Aḥmad Shuqairy's Palestine Liberation Organization and, later, by the Syrian-supported al-Fataḥ terrorists. On May 30, 1967, however, he signed a military alliance with *Abdel Nasser, and on June 5 he opened hostilities against Israel, ignoring several Israeli messages that if he did not open fire Israel would not attack Jordan. As a result of his intervention in the *Six-Day War (1967), he lost relatively more territory and population than any other Arab ruler; his forfeiture of the guardianship of the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqṣā Mosque in Jerusalem was a particular blow to him.

After that he repeatedly toured the world, especially the West, as unofficial spokesman for those Arab states which declared their acceptance of the UN Security Council decision of Nov. 22, 1967 – often as the emissary of Abdel Nasser, who now seemed to acquiesce in Hussein's political existence. Hussein's missions were not unsuccessful, thanks to his natural flair for public relations, his image as a "moderate" prepared to coexist with Israel, and his pro-Western record. In his own country, in the meantime, his effective rule continuously contracted, as various organizations for the "liberation of Palestine" grew in strength, status, and self-assurance. By the end of 1968 they had become a state within the state. In 1970, however, in the bloody civil war between the Jordanian army and the guerilla organizations, the trend was reversed and Hussein's position as ruler of his country was strengthened.

From 1965 Hussein participated in secret talks with Israel leaders. Such meetings were intensified after 1967, when Hussein was determined to do whatever he could to regain the lost West Bank. In 1973 he kept his country out of the *Yom Kippur War, save for token participation in the battles in the southern Golan. During the 1980s, rapprochement with the PLO led to the 1985 agreement for joint political action. The following year, however, Hussein canceled the agreement. Realizing that the prospects for regaining the West Bank were practically nil, and fearing the impact of the Intifada (which broke out in December 1987) on the Palestinians of the East Bank he severed the legal and administration ties with the West Bank in July 1988 and renounced Jordan's 40-year claim to this territory. This historical shift paved the way for the future formal peace with Israel. During the 1990–91 Kuwait crisis and the Gulf War he supported Iraq's Saddam Hussein.

His participation in the Arab-Israel peace process culminated in a peace treaty with Israel signed in 1994. Hussein took pains to make the peace workable, despite internal opposition. He particularly endeavored to normalize bilateral relations and thus to make it a peace between peoples and not merely between governments. In 1989 he began a democratization process highlighted by free democratic elections and increasing civil rights. Suffering from cancer for several years he died in February 1999 and was succeeded by his eldest son ABDALLAH (1962–), a career military officer who became KING ABDALLAH II. To a certain extent Abdallah follows his father's footsteps. He has been a popular monarch focusing primarily on Jordan's urgent economic problems.

Hussein was married four times and had 12 children. He wrote an autobiography, *Uneasy Lies the Head* (1962).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.B. Glubb, *A Soldier with the Arabs* (1957), index; P.J. Vahkiotis, *Politics and the Military in Jordan* (1967), index; Hussein ibn Talal of Jordan, *My War with Israel, as told to Vick Vance and Pierre Laar* (1969). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Lunt *Hussein of Jordan* (1989), index.

[Uriel Dann / Joseph Nevo (2nd ed.)]

°**HUSSEINI, ḤĀJJ** (**Muhammad**) **AMĪN AL-** (1893–1974), Palestinian Arab nationalist leader. Born in Jerusalem to a leading family of the Arab urban elite, Husseini was active in the Arab nationalist movement from about 1919. He was sen-

tenced in absentia to 10 years in prison for his leading role in the April 1920 anti-Jewish riots in Jerusalem, but was reprieved in 1921. In an attempt to appease the Arab nationalists and preserve the balance of power between rival families, the British high commissioner, Sir Herbert *Samuel, appointed Husseini mufti (expounder of Muslim law) of Jerusalem in 1921, a position hitherto held by his step-brother. In 1922 Husseini was appointed chairman of the Supreme Muslim Council, combining the religious prestige of the mufti with the administrative and financial power of the council. He made extensive use of his power, turning this position into the most influential one within the Arab community in Palestine. As the leader of the Supreme Muslim Council he initiated a campaign for the renovation of Temple Mount mosques and organized a world Islamic congress in Jerusalem in 1931. Since he formally was an employee of the mandatory government he kept its nationalistic activity low key until the mid-1930s. Only then did he become chief of the Arab nationalists of Palestine, adopting an extremist anti-Jewish and anti-British attitude and leading the dominant Arab nationalist faction in Palestine, informally called "the Husseinis." He took an active (albeit clandestine) part in organizing the anti-Jewish riots of 1929 and 1936 and headed the Arab Higher Committee which directed the 1936 rebellion.

In October 1937, when the second phase of the rebellion commenced, and soon deteriorated into extremist terrorism against Arab opponents as well as Jews, Husseini was dismissed, his Higher Committee outlawed, and his Supreme Council dissolved. He escaped and continued to head the rebellion from exile in *Damascus and *Beirut, strengthening his ties with German and Italian agents. In October 1939, Husseini moved to *Iraq, where he took part in the pro-German coup of 1941. When that coup was suppressed, he fled to *Iran and then to Italy and Germany. Until the end of the war, he collaborated with Nazi Germany as one of its chief propagandists to the Arabs and as a recruiter and organizer of Muslim volunteers, supporting and aiding the Nazi program for the extermination of the Jewish people. In his memoirs he proudly took credit for persuading the Germans to send Balkan Jews to death camps in Poland instead of letting them go to Palestine. At the end of the war he turned himself over to the French. In 1946, however, he escaped from French detention (most likely, with the acquiescence of the French authorities) and settled in *Cairo. From there, and sometimes from Beirut and Damascus, he continued to direct the final phases of the Palestinian-Arab war against the *yishuv*. In September 1948 he arrived in *Gaza to head the short-lived All-Palestine Government there, but in a few days was sent back to Cairo. He always fought the Hashemite dynasty, especially king *Abdullah of Jordan (who was assassinated in 1951 by Husseini's henchmen). After the Arab defeat of 1948 he still assumed the title of chair of the Arab Higher Committee, but remained in exile and with little influence. Tension between Husseini and *Nasser (over the issue of how to negotiate the "Question of Palestine") increased to such a degree that in 1959 he had to escape Egypt and moved to Lebanon. He vehemently opposed the foundation of the *PLO in 1964 and denounced its first chairman, Ahmad Shuqairi, as he still considered himself the leader of the Arabs of Palestine. He still made occasional public appearances. He died in Beirut, in 1974, half-forgotten.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Pearlman, *Mufti of Jerusalem: the Story of Haj Amin al-Husseini* (1947); E. Elath, *Haj Amin al-Husseini* (Heb., 1968); J.B. Schechtman, *The Mufti and the Fuehrer* (1965). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** P. Mattar, *The Mufti of Jerusalem* (1988); Z. Elpeleg, *Ha-Mufti ha-Gadol* (Heb., 1989).

[Yaacov Shimoni / Joseph Nevo (2nd ed.)]

HUSSERL, EDMUND GUSTAV ALBRECHT (1859–1938), German philosopher, the founder of phenomenological philosophy. Husserl was born in Prossnitz, Moravia (then part of Austria). He studied mathematics, physics, and astronomy at the universities of Leipzig, Berlin, and Vienna, where in 1883 he completed his doctorate in mathematics under Leo Koenigsberger. In 1886 Husserl converted to Protestantism, as did many other Jewish academicians in Germany and Austria at that time. This conversion was of a strictly formal nature. While living in Vienna, Husserl, under the influence of the philosopher Franz Brentano, turned more and more to philosophy. In 1886 he became assistant to psychologist-philosopher Karl Stumpf in Halle and in 1887 began teaching philosophy at the University of Halle. He subsequently taught at the universities of Goettingen and Freiburg, retiring in 1929. The last years of his life, spent in Freiburg, were overshadowed by the political events in Germany in general, and especially, by the philosophic and political disloyalty of Martin Heidegger, on whom he had pinned his hopes, and whom he had suggested as successor to his professorial chair.

Philosophical phenomenology, which Husserl also called constitutive phenomenology or transcendental phenomenology, is a systematic study of consciousness from a specific point of view. In psychology, to the extent to which it concerns itself with consciousness at all, acts and occurrences of consciousness are considered as events alongside other events, both organismic-somatic and extra-organismic, to which they stand in multifarious relations of causal or functional dependency. In phenomenology, on the contrary, acts of consciousness are considered strictly and exclusively under the aspect of their presentational function. Whatever we encounter, conceive of, and deal with, appears to us, through acts of consciousness, as what it is taken by us to be and is for us. This consideration holds with regard to perceptual objects of everyday experience as well as the constructs of the several sciences, the ideal entities of logic and mathematics, universal concepts, phenomena pertaining to social and cultural life, and so on. Phenomenology sets itself the task of accounting for entities of every description and for "objects" of all kinds (the term "object" understood in the widest possible sense) in terms of subjective conscious life. For the clarification of their sense and the responsive meaning of their existence, all entities and "objects" must be referred to the acts of

consciousness in which they originate and whose correlates they prove to be.

The realization of this program of constitutive phenomenology requires an appropriate conception of consciousness. Husserl adopted Brentano's notion of intentionality, but developed it far beyond Brentano's formulation. Intentionality denotes the essential reference of acts of consciousness to their respective "objects." In this connection Husserl introduced a new concept of far-reaching significance, namely, the notion of the object as it is meant and intended through a given act of consciousness. Husserl's theory of intentionality makes apparent the indissoluble connection between acts of consciousness as psychological occurrences and senses or meanings which are ideal entities of a nature different from psychological events. Considering the central importance of the theory of intentionality, phenomenology may appropriately be characterized as the "logic" of consciousness. In the course of recent decades, Husserl's theories and results have exerted a considerable influence outside the field of philosophy as well as inside, e.g., upon several trends in the psychological sciences, especially in continental Europe.

A few months after Husserl's death, Father H.L. van Breda of the University of Louvain succeeded in transferring Husserl's manuscripts, about 40,000 sheets in shorthand, and his library, to Louvain. He also took Husserl's widow (Malvine, née Steinschneider) to Louvain, hid her from the Nazis, and saved her life. During the occupation of Belgium, a few scholars of Jewish origin, while in hiding, transcribed Husserl's manuscripts from the original shorthand. Such were the beginnings of what after the war became the Archives-Husserl at the University of Louvain. Further branches of the Archives were established at the universities of Cologne, Freiburg, Paris, Buffalo, and the New School for Social Research in New York. One of the main functions of the Archives, especially at Louvain and Cologne, is the publication of Husserl's writings and university lectures. Eleven volumes of the series *Husserliana* appeared, 1950–66.

Among English translations of Husserl's writings are *Cartesian Meditations, an Introduction to Phenomenology* (1960); *The Idea of Phenomenology* (1964); *Ideas: General Introduction to Pure Phenomenology* (1931); *The Paris Lectures* (1968²); "Philosophy and the Crisis of European Man," in: *Phenomenology and the Crisis of Philosophy,* edited by Q. Lauer (1965); and *The Phenomenology of Internal Time-Consciousness* (1964).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Gurwitsch, *Studies in Phenomenology and Psychology* (1966); J.J. Kockelmans, *A First Introduction to Husserl's Phenomenology* (1967), includes bibliography; P. Ricoeur, *Husserl, An Analysis of His Phenomenology* (1967); R. Sokolowski, *Formation of Husserl's Concept of Constitution* (1964), includes bibliography; E.P. Welch, *The Philosophy of Edmund Husserl* (1941), includes bibliography; M. Farber, *The Foundation of Phenomenology* (1943); S. Kaznelson, *Juden im deutschen Kulturbereich* (1959), index; Wininger, Biog.

[Aron Gurwitsch]

HUSSITES, Christian reform movement, closely interwoven with the national and social conflicts prevailing in Bohemia in the 15th century, named after John Huss (Jan Hus; c. 1369–1415). They influenced European history through their reform ideology and their victories in the five crusades launched to subdue them (1420–34). Mainly because of their attitude to the Old Testament and their rejection of the adoration of relics and saints, contemporary Roman Catholics accused them of being a Judaizing sect. (An extremist group even insisted on introducing *kashrut* and *sheḥitah*.) The Jews sympathized with the "*Benei Hushim*" or "*Avazim*" (Czech *husa*, Heb. *avaz*: "goose"), seeing in their actions an approach toward Judaism. The Taborites, the belligerent radical wing, identified themselves with biblical Israel, calling their centers by the biblical names of Horeb and Tabor. The latter remained as the name of the town in southern Bohemia and as the designation of an assembly in the Czech language. The last refuge of Hussite opposition after its defeat (1434) was called Zion.

However curious these biblical and linguistic influences may be, the fact is that the Hussites initiated an important change in the attitude toward the Jews through the interpretations of one of their leaders, Matthias of Janov (d. 1394), of figures like Antichrist as being Catholic and not Jewish, as was maintained by medieval Christianity. However, Huss himself attacked the Jews for their implacable opposition to Christianity. There is no proof in the assertion, read out when Huss was on the stake (1415), that he had "counseled with the Jews." Jacobellus of Stribro (Mies), the leader of the moderate Calixtine faction, in his treatise *De usurae* ("On usury") said that it would be much easier to convert the Jews to Christianity if they would work in agriculture and crafts like the gentiles. They would thus have less time for study and would more easily be converted. The regents protected the Jews out of greed, but Jacobellus suggested that this protection should be continued because Jews had once been the object of divine revelation. However, as in many other matters, in their approach to the Jews the Hussites followed the lead of Matthias of Janov and not that of Huss, as revealed in the writings of Jacobellus in 1412 and the *Anatomia Antichristi* (1420) by the radical Taborite Pavel Kravar. The Hussite approach to the Jews was also determined by their concretization of history as a struggle between Christ and Antichrist. Every Christian is a limb (*membrum*) of one of these two bodies (*corpora*), and the Jews now have no part in this struggle. They had in the past, however, when Christianity first emerged.

The Hussites considered themselves "God's warriors" (*Boží bojovníci*) subduing the "soldiers of the Antichrist," i.e., the German Catholic crusaders. There were no direct attacks by the Hussites on the Jews, although they incidentally became victims of the Hussites, as after the capture of Chomutov (Komotau) in 1421, where Jews were burned at the stake together with the Catholics (although the Jews were given the choice between adopting Hussitism or death, a choice denied to the Catholics); and in Prague (in 1422) the Jewish quarter was plundered along with the Old City. However, these attacks were incidental to attacks on Catholics. In the 1420s the

Jews were accused of supplying arms to the Hussites and on that account suffered massacres and expulsions at the hands of the Catholics from Austria in 1421, Bavaria in 1422, and Iglau (Jiniouva) in 1428. The rabbinical authorities of the period, such as Israel *Isserlein, Israel *Bruna, Jacob *Weil, and Yom Tov Lipmann *Muehlhausen expressed guarded sympathy with the Hussites, while an anonymous chronicler (writing in Hebrew c. 1470; see Ben-Sasson in bibl.) expressed it freely seeing Hussitism as inspired by Avigdor *Kara. Consequently the chronicler reports outstanding events of the Hussite period, mingling truth and fantasy. According to this Hebrew chronicler, Kara was in close contact with the Hussites and composed a *piyyut*, which seems to reflect the messianic hopes roused among Prague Jewry by the rise of the Hussites. He states that it was sung openly in Hebrew and Yiddish. The tune the *piyyut* was sung to seems to have been that of a Hussitic hymn. The collapse of Hussitism was a disappointment to the Jews.

The later followers of Hussitism, the Bohemian Brethren, also showed much interest in Judaism and Jewish history. They too identified themselves with biblical Israel and likened their expulsion (1548) to the *galut*. They published the Czech translation of the Hegesippus version of Josephus' *Wars* three times in the second half of the 16th century. In 1592 Václavˇ Plácel published a *Hystoria židovskáá* ("Jewish History"), also based on Josephus but continuing until the seventh century C.E., which displays an unusual measure of sympathetic understanding for the fate of the Jews. When the Brethren founded their community in Poznan (Posen) some Jews joined them. One, who was baptized and adopted the name of Lukas Helic, collaborated in the translation of the Bible into Czech (Králická Bible). As an outcome of the persecutions, some of the Brethren preferred adopting Judaism to forced conversion to Catholicism or emigration. Some Bohemian Jewish families traced their descent to these converted Brethren, among them Brod, Dub, Jellinek, Kafka, Kuranda, and Pacovsky. Under Catholic Hapsburg rule, there was rapprochement and understanding between the clandestine Brethren and the Jews. Their heritage was manifest once more with the emergence of the sect of the *Abrahamites in the 18th century.

After the Holocaust, many synagogue buildings in Czech localities became prayer rooms of the Bohemian Brethren or the Czechoslovakian Church, and in these localities they took over the care of the Jewish cemeteries. They had a special prayer for these occasions (*Věstník židovských náboženských obcí v československu*, 11 (1949), 532).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Schwarz, in: JGGJČ, 5 (1933), 429–37; R. Kestenberg, *ibid.*, 8 (1936), 1–25 (incl. bibl.); J. Macek, *Hussite Movement in Bohemia* (1958^2); Baron, Social², 13 (1969), 209–16, 416–21; H.H. Ben-Sasson, in: *Divrei ha-Akademyah ha-Le'ummit le-Madda'im*, 4 (1969/70), 66–69; R.R. Betts, *Essays in Czech History* (1969); H. Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (1967); Kestenberg Gladstein, in: *Journal of the Warburg Institutes*, 18 (1955), 245, 254, 288–9; idem, in: *Judaica Bohemiae*, 4 (1968), 64–68.

[Ruth Kestenberg-Gladstein]

HUTNER, ISAAC (1907–1980), rabbinic scholar and yeshivah head. Born in Warsaw, he studied at Slobodka, where he was known as the "Warsaw *Illui*" ("prodigy"). When a branch of the Slobodka Yeshivah was established in Hebron, he went there and came under the influence of Rabbi A.I. *Kook. After the pogrom in Hebron in 1929, in which many of the students were killed, he returned to Warsaw, from there going to study at the University of Berlin. During this period he wrote *Torat ha-Nazir* (1932 on Maim. Yad, Nazir). In 1932 he returned to Jerusalem, there devoting himself to talmudic research. He visited Europe in 1934 to collate manuscripts of the commentary of *Hillel b. Eliakim to the *Sifra*, and publishing anonymously *Kovez̦ He'arot le-Rabbenu Hillel* (Jerusalem, 1961). In 1935, he emigrated to New York where he joined the faculty of the Rabbi Jacob Joseph School and in 1939 became the *rosh yeshivah* of the Yeshiva Rabbi Chaim Berlin. Under his leadership the yeshivah grew from relative obscurity to prominence, and with it grew his reputation in the world of religious scholarship. His discourses, which from 1945 appeared in pamphlet form, represent a synthesis of talmudic incisiveness, ḥasidic mysticism, *musar, and often show the influence of the ideas of *Judah Loew b. Bezalel (the Maharal). Many of these appeared in the two volumes of his *Paḥad Yiẓḥak* (1964, 1970). Even in his personal deportment he developed a synthesis between the Lithuanian *rosh yeshivah* and the ḥasidic rabbi. In 1950 he founded the Kolel Gur Aryeh for outstanding senior students, where his system of study is pursued.

[Mordechai Hacohen]

HUẒAL (or **Huzal of Benjamin**; Meg. 5b), Babylonian town between Nehardea and Sura, but nearer the latter. There was a Jewish settlement in Huẓal from early times and it was famous for its ancient synagogue, which according to tradition was built by the first exiles from Judah and "the Divine Presence dwelt within it" (Meg. 29a; *Iggeret Rav Sherira Ga'on*, ed. by B.M. Levin (1921), 72 f.). Two great scholars from Huẓal are already known in the middle of the second century C.E.: Josiah, who studied under *Ishmael in Ereẓ Israel (Men. 57b), and Joseph of Huẓal, who studied under *Yose b. Ḥalafta in Sepphoris (Yoma 52b; Ned. 81a). The inhabitants of Huẓal were known for their fastidiousness with regard to food (Ned. 49b). Huẓal came under the spiritual influence of Sura, such scholars as *Ḥisda and *Ashi sending their decisions there (Ḥul. 107a, 132b). Among the *amoraim* originating from Huẓal were Assi of Huẓal, who was active in the first half of the third century (Ḥul. 26b), and Aḥa of Huẓal of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century (Ker. 13b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Neubauer, Géogr, 350; A. Berliner, *Beitraege zur Geographie und Ethnographie Babyloniens im Talmud und Midrasch* (1883), 32; J. Obermeyer, *Die Landschaft Babylonien im Zeitalter des Talmuds und des Gaonats* (1929), 299–301; Neusner, Babylonia, 2 (1966), 126, 145, 234. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** B. Eshel, *Jewish Settlements in Babylonia during Talmudic Times* (1979), 105–107.

[Moshe Beer]

ḤUẒPIT HA-METURGEMAN (beginning of the second century C.E.), *tanna*. R. Ḥuẓpit (without the term "Ha-Meturgeman") transmitted a *halakhah* regarding the institution of the *pruzbul* (Shev. 10:6; Tosef. Shev. 8:10), and is mentioned in Tosef. *Kelim* (BB 2:2) as one of the four elders who sat before R. Eleazar ben Azaria. In TJ (Taan. 4:1 16d) R. Huzpit Haturgeman (= "the translator"), is mentioned in the presence of R. Joshua and Rabban Gamaliel, but it is not certain whether his function there was to serve as Rabban Gamaliel's assistant, or to communicate his own words of Torah (cf. TB Ber. 27b, Bekh. 36a). The Talmud tells of his martyrdom in Kid. 39b. Elsewhere (Ḥul.142a) his martyrdom is brought as a reason for the apostasy of *Elisha b. Avuyah. He is included in the list of the *Ten Martyrs in *Lamentations Rabbah* 2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

HYAMSON, ALBERT MONTEFIORE (1875–1954), English civil servant, historian, and official in Palestine under the British Mandate. He entered the Civil Service at the age of 20 and had a successful career in the Post Office administration. He was active in Anglo-Jewish intellectual life, publishing many books (mainly on historical subjects) and articles. He also engaged in Zionist work, editing the *Zionist Review* 1917–19. In consequence, in 1921 he was transferred to the Palestine administration, being appointed Chief Immigration Officer. Although he was an observant Jew, he found himself completely out of sympathy with the *yishuv* and interpreted the duties of his office in the narrowest sense. He was largely responsible for the pedantic restriction of Jewish immigration into the country, which made him extremely unpopular. He thus helped to establish the restrictive tradition which was continued thereafter by the non-Jewish officials who succeeded him in office. In 1934 he returned to England, now rigidly anti-Zionist, and resumed his literary activity, especially in connection with the activities of the Jewish Historical Society of England, of which he was president from 1945 to 1947. The most important of his many works, apart from popularizing volumes on Palestine and Zionism published in his less embittered period (*Palestine: the Rebirth of an Ancient People*, 1917; *Palestine: Old and New*, 1928) included a *History of the Jews in England* (1908, 1928²); *The British Consulate in Jerusalem* (1939); *The Sephardim in England* (1951); and *Jews' College* (1955). He also edited a number of works of reference, the best known being his *Dictionary of Universal Biography* (1915, 1950²). Hyamson was co-editor of Vallentine's *Jewish Encyclopedia* and compiled a useful "Plan of a Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish Biography," published in his *Anglo-Jewish Notabilities* (1949), which contains one-line entries, with bibliographical references, on more than 2,000 notable Jews of Britain and the Commonwealth deceased before January 1, 1949.

[Cecil Roth]

HYAMSON, MOSES (1863–1949), rabbi and scholar. Hyamson was born in Suwalki, Lithuania, and was taken to England at the age of five. He received his Jewish education at Jews' College, London, where he was ordained in 1882, and his secular education at the University of London. He was rabbi of congregations in England and Wales, *dayyan* of the United Synagogue, 1902–11, and acting chief rabbi of England, 1911–13. The following year he went to New York to become rabbi of Congregation Orach Chayim. He taught the codes of Jewish law at the Jewish Theological Seminary, 1915–1940.

Hyamson published *Oral Law and Other Sermons* (1910); *Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collatio* (1913), critically edited with introduction, apograph, translation, and notes; and *Sabbath and Festival Addresses* (1936). He translated into English Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* book 1 (1937) and book 2 (1949) and *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* of Baḥya ibn Paquda (*Duties of the Heart*, 5 vols., 1925–47; second edition, 2 vols., 1962). Combating calendar reform and attacks on kosher slaughtering are his works *The Proposed Reform of Calendar* (1929), the *Blank Day Device in Proposed Plan for Calendar Reform* (1931; submitted to the League of Nations); and *The Jewish Method of Slaughtering Animals from the Point of View of Humanity* (1923).

Hyamson was president of the League for Safeguarding the Fixity of the Sabbath; chairman of the Milah Board of the New York Jewish Community; vice president of the Jewish Conciliation Court of America; president of the New York Board of Jewish Ministers and chairman of the Jewish Academy of Arts and Sciences. As a teacher at the Seminary, Hyamson was especially appreciated for his exact translations of difficult technical terms in the codes and for his broad experience as a *dayyan*, which enabled him to illustrate the application of *halakhot*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Berman, in: *Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly*, 13 (1949), 449–52.

[Isaac Klein]

HYAMSON, NATHAN (early 19th century), preacher and rabbi in Lithuania. His major work is *Even Boḥan* (1843), a collection of five ethical sermons. The preface to the work, which contains some autobiographical information, states that Hyamson was born in Orla, and that he suffered exile from several towns and wandered extensively until he finally settled down to preach in Pren. In the usual manner of 19th century homiletical writers, Hyamson uses sources from all periods of rabbinic literature.

HYDE, IDA HENRIETTA (1857–1945). U.S. physiologist. Born in Davenport, Ohio, to German immigrant parents, Hyde grew up in Chicago. Forced to leave school at age 16, she apprenticed as a milliner and took evening classes before undertaking full time university studies. Following completion of her B.S. degree from Cornell University in 1891, Hyde accepted a graduate fellowship at Bryn Mawr College, where she began conducting research, spending her summers at Woods Hole Marine Biological Laboratory. In 1893, the Association of Collegiate Alumnae awarded her a travel fellowship

for study in Germany, where, despite obstacles, she became the first woman to obtain a doctorate in physiology from the University of Heidelberg in 1896. Thereafter, she became a research fellow at Radcliffe College and was the first woman to conduct research at the Harvard Medical School. In 1898, she was appointed assistant professor of zoology at the University of Kansas and promoted to associate professor of physiology the following year. In 1905, she was appointed full professor and chair of the newly created department of physiology. During World War I, Hyde served as chairperson of the Women's Commission of Health and Sanitation of the State Council of National Defense.

A specialist in the physiology of both invertebrates and vertebrates, Hyde is also credited with the invention of the first microelectrode. In 1902, she was elected the first woman member of the American Physiological Society. Ida Hyde remained associated with the University of Kansas until 1920 before retiring to California, where she continued to do scientific research. In 1897 she helped found the Naples Table Association for Promoting Scientific Research by Women, which provided research grants and prizes for aspiring American women in the sciences. She also endowed scholarships for women at the University of Kansas and at Cornell University, as well as the Ida H. Hyde Woman's International Fellowship of the American Association of University Women. Her papers can be found in the American Association of University Women Archives in Washington and at the University of Kansas.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Hyde, "Before Women Were Human Beings," in: *Journal of the American Association of University Women* (June 1938), 226–36; P.E. Hyman and D. Dash Moore (eds.), *Jewish Women in America*, I (1997), 664–65; M.W. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940* (1982), 41–42; G. Kass-Simon and P. Farnes, *Women in Science: Righting the Record* (1990), 239–44.

[Harriet Pass Freidenreich (2nd ed.)]

°**HYDE (Hydius), THOMAS** (1636–1703), English Orientalist. While still a student at Cambridge, Hyde collaborated in the preparation of B. *Walton's *Polygot Bible* (London, 1657): he edited the Latin, transcribed into Arabic script the Persian translation (in Hebrew characters) of the Pentateuch (Constantinople, 1546), and styled and corrected the Arabic, Persian, and Syriac versions. In 1658 Hyde became a reader in Hebrew at Queen's College, Oxford, and as librarian of the Bodleian Library from 1665, compiled its catalog (Oxford, 1674). From 1691 he was professor of Arabic and from 1697, of Hebrew. His major publication, a work on ancient Persian religion, *Historiae Religionis Veterum Persarum* (*ibid.*, 1700), became recognized as a basic study in this field. Hyde's other publications include Latin translations of Abraham Farissol's cosmography, *Iggeret Oreḥot Olam* (*Itinera Mundi*, 1691), and of Hebrew material concerning the history of chess (in his *De ludis Orientalibus*, Oxford, 1694).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 1050 no. 5260; idem, in: ZHB, 3 (1899), 50 no. 236; Abrahams, in: JHSET, 8 (1918), 104; Levy, in: JHSEM. 4 (1942), 70f.; A. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. by P. Bliss, 4 (1820), 522 (full bibliography of Hyde's works). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online; P.J. Marshall, *Thomas Hyde: Stupor Mundi* (1983).

[Yehudah Pinhas Leo Kohn]

HYENA (Heb. צָבוֹעַ), mammal. The striped hyena (*Hyaena hyaena* (*striata*)) is found in Israel, the spotted species inhabiting Africa. One of the largest carnivores in Israel, its body length averages 109 cm and its average weight is 70 lbs (32 kg.), but large males can reach a weight of 90 lbs. (40 kg.). The males are slightly larger than the females. In the Bible the word occurs only as a place-name, "the valley of Seboim" (i.e., of the hyenas; I Sam. 13:18), apparently the Mount Ẓevoyim of the Mishnah (Ḥal. 4:10) in the Wadi el-Kelt region east of Jerusalem. Incapable of running swiftly, the hyena usually feeds on carcasses, and only occasionally attacks a straying lamb. In its search for food it can roam long distances. Hyenas maintain a permanent living area of a few dozen square kilometers. In the Tosefta (BK 1:4) the hyena is included among the carnivorous animals, the male hyena being, it is stated, "sometimes as fierce as a lion" (*ibid.*, 16a; TJ *ibid.*, 1:5, 2c). In the Talmud it was said that the male hyena becomes a female (TJ, Shab. 1:3). In the folklore of the Bedouin, the hyena is said to be an animal dangerous also to man, whom it lures by its hypnotic laugh to its lair. This legend has its origin in the hyena's strange appearance, its stiffening crest, and especially its howl, which resembles an alternating laugh and wail. However, there is no evidence of hyena attacks on people in Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Bodenheimer, *Ha-Ḥai be-Ereẓ Israel* (1953), 240.

[Jehuda Feliks / Gideon Biger (2nd ed.)]

HYÈRES, coastal town in the Var department, S.E. France. During the Middle Ages there was a Jewish community there which had grown to 300 persons by the mid-14th century. The poet *Isaac b. Abraham ha-Gorni was a native of Hyères. Jews from North Africa established a new community in the 1950s, which numbered 140 in 1968 and possessed a synagogue.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 49; B. Blumenkranz, in: *Bulletin philologique et historique, 1965* (1968), 619; idem, in: *Revue internationale d'Onomastique*, 16 (1964), 265–8.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

HYGIENE. The conception of personal cleanliness as both a prerequisite of holiness and an aid to physical fitness is central to Jewish tradition. Many of the biblical commandments promote hygiene, though their stated intention was ritual purity rather than physical cleanliness. The military camp had to be kept clean by establishing the latrine outside its bounds; every soldier had to be equipped with a spade with which he had to dig a hole to cover his excrement (Deut. 23:13–15). War booty had to be cleansed and purified (Num. 31:21–24), and the blood of slaughtered animals had to be covered by dust (Lev. 17:13–14). Lepers, anyone who had an "issue," and all who were polluted by contact with a corpse, were excluded from the limits of the camp for specific periods of quarantine

(Lev. 15:1–15; Num. 5:1–4). Persons who touched a carcass, a creeping animal, or a reptile were similarly "defiled," as were the vessels into which these objects might have fallen (Lev. 11:27–40). The Bible also stresses the cleanliness of garments (Eccles. 9:8).

Rabbinic literature is even more specific in its stress on hygiene. The rabbis considered the human body as a sanctuary (Ta'an. 11a–b). They stressed the importance of good and regular meals (Shab. 140b), and gave much advice on the types of food conducive to good health (Ḥul. 84a; Ber. 40a; Av. Zar. 11a), and on the care of teeth (Ber. 4b; Shab. 111a; TJ, Av. Zar. 3:6). Exercising their halakhic authority, the rabbis' elaboration on some rituals and the introduction of others had an expressly hygienic intent. This was certainly the case with regard to personal cleanliness. The rabbis ordained that one must wash one's face, hands, and feet daily in honor of one's Maker (Shab. 50b). The hands must also be washed on certain occasions: after rising from bed in the morning, after urination and/or defecation, bathing, clipping of the fingernails, removal of shoes, touching the naked foot, washing the hair, visiting a cemetery, touching a corpse, undressing, sexual intercourse, touching a louse, or touching any part of the body generally clothed (Sh. Ar., OḤ 4:18). It is a particularly important religious duty to wash hands before eating a meal (Ḥul. 105a–b; Sh. Ar., OḤ 158–165). Similarly, hands should be washed after the meal and before grace (*mayim aḥaronim*), because, inadvertently, a person may touch his eyes with salty hands (Hul. *ibid.*). A person who neglects the washing of hands before or after a meal "will be uprooted from the world" (Sot. 4b; see *Salt; *Ablution). The rabbinic stress on the connection between cleanliness and holiness is emphasized by the injunction forbidding those whose dress is unclean, or torn, to act as **sheli'aḥ ẓibbur* (Meg. 4:6). Similarly a kohen may not pronounce the priestly benediction if his hands are soiled (Meg. 24b). No prayer may be recited by one who is in a state of physical uncleanliness, or about to relieve himself, or has touched parts of his body generally covered by clothing, without either washing his hands, or rubbing them in sand (Sh. Ar., OḤ 92:1, 4, 6).

The proper protection of foodstuffs was also noted by the rabbis. Thus, to the biblical laws of **sheḥitah* (Deut. 12:23–35) were added the extensive rules of *bedikah*, an examination of the slaughtered animal for various signs of diseased condition. Originally eight (Ḥul. 43a), these disqualifying symptoms were increased in the Mishnah to 18 (Ḥul. 3:1), and subdivided by Maimonides into 70 (Yad, Sheḥitah 10:9). Indeed, according to the latter authority, the reason for the prohibition to eat pig lies in the fact that it is a "filthy animal" (*Guide*, 3:48). In mishnaic times, it was forbidden to drink any liquid (water, wine, milk) which was left uncovered overnight, lest it had been defiled by a venomous snake (Ter. 8:4; Sh. Ar., YD 116:1), and the *Gemara* advised that all foodstuffs be protected from flies because they may have been in contact with persons suffering from skin diseases (Ket. 77b). R. *Akiva praised the care which the Medians took to chop meat on the table (Ber. 8b). Later authorities advised that the hands be washed between eating a dish of meat and one of fish (Sh. Ar., YD 116:3) and that adequate precautions be taken to ensure that bread should not come into contact with human perspiration (*ibid.*, 116:4–5). The rabbis also stressed the importance of public health. The Talmud rules that no carcass, grave, or tannery be placed within 50 ells of a human dwelling (BB 2:9), and insisted that streets and market places be kept clean (Yal. 184). In Jerusalem, they were swept daily (BM 26a). Scholars were forbidden to live in a city in which there was no doctor or where there was no bathhouse (Sanh. 17b). *Hillel the Elder considered that the act of bathing is an act of caring for the vessel containing the divine spirit (Lev. R. 34:3).

During the Middle Ages, the Jewish communities were surprisingly free of disease and plague in comparison to their non-Jewish neighbors, notwithstanding the very limited living space they had. This fact often led to pogroms, as the Jews were suspected of magical practices. There can be no doubt that the strict observance of the *halakhah* contributed, in no small measure, to their immunity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Preuss, *Biblisch-talmudische Medizin* (1923[3]); M. Perlmann, *Midrash ha-Refu'ah*, 3 vols. (1926–34).

HYKSOS, the founders of the Egyptian 15th dynasty; Asiatics who exercised political control over Egypt between approximately 1655 and 1570 B.C.E. The Hyksos established their capital at Avaris in the Eastern Delta, controlled the Nile Valley as far south as Hermopolis, and claimed overlordship over the rest of Upper Egypt. Avaris (Egyptian *ḥwt- wʿrt*) has been identified as Tell el-Dabʿa in the Northeast Delta. Most of the Hyksos personal names are west-Semitic, in the same language group as Amorite and the Canaanite and Aramaic dialects. There seem to be no Hurrian names as was once thought. "Hyksos" reflects *hekau khoswe*, "the rulers of foreign lands," the name given them by their Egyptian contemporaries. They were also referred to as *ʿꜣmw*, "Asiatics," the standard name for the inhabitants of the Eastern Mediterranean littoral, Canaan and Syria. After having infiltrated into the Nile Valley over a period of several centuries, they managed to seize the kingship during the chaotic period which ended the Egyptian Middle Kingdom. At the beginning of the 18th Dynasty (c. 1580 B.C.E.) Pharaoh Ahmes expelled the Hyksos from Egypt and pursued them to southern Palestine. After besieging Sharuhen (Tell el-Farʿah) in the south, for three years, he defeated them. His successors, Amenophis I, Tuthmosis I, and Tuthmosis III, completed their expulsion from Egypt. Most of the archaeological data on the Hyksos come from sites in the Eastern Delta. Among these are Tell el-Dabaʿ, the largest, Tell el-Maskhuta, and Tell el-Yahudiyah. Other information comes from scarabs and monuments from various sites in Nubia and Palestine as well as Egypt. The material available at present shows Hyksos culture to be that of Middle Bronze Age Palestine and Phoenicia (Redford 1992, 100). In the course of time Hyksos material culture shows increasing Egyptianizing features. Scholars debate the extent of evidence of Hyksos for-

tifications, with some comparing embankments found at Tell el-Yahudiyeh at Heliopolis with similar structures in Western Asia, and others dissenting. The horse and chariot made their appearance in Egypt during the rule of the Hyksos, but there is no evidence that they were introduced specifically by the Hyksos. Distinctively Hyksos is a new type of ceramic, called "Tell al-Yahudiyeh ceramics," named after a center of Hyksos population, now called Tell al-Yahudiyyeh, where this type was first discovered. The vessels which characterize this group of ceramics are small juglets and bowls, brown-gray in color, decorated with geometric designs, and made of punctures filled with white chalk. As might be expected, the Hyksos initially retained their Levantine religious traditions including the royal ancestor cult. Gradually, Egyptian elements were borrowed and synthesized, so that Baal types were identified with the Egyptian god Seth, brother and enemy of Horus, but in addition to him they also worshiped Canaanite gods, such as Resheph, Ashtoreth, and Anath. In *Contra Apionem*, Josephus, attempting to establish the great antiquity of the Jews, quotes the history of the Ptolemaic Egyptian writer Manetho, who describes a brutal, savage invasion of Egypt by a people from the east, their period of domination in Egypt, and their subsequent expulsion by the rulers of the 18th dynasty. Manetho called these Asiatic invaders "Hyksos" and interpreted their name as meaning "king-shepherds" (1:82), although Josephus claims Manetho also had an alternative interpretation, "captive shepherds" (1:83, 91). Josephus identified the Hyksos as the patriarchal Jews, equating their appearance in Egypt with the *Joseph story in Genesis and their subsequent expulsion with the biblical tale of *Exodus. He made this identification partially following Manetho who made the expelled Hyksos, together with a host of lepers, the founders of Jerusalem, and partially because the Hyksos were "shepherds" and "captives" and, indeed, "sheep-breeding was a hereditary custom of our remotest ancestors" (1:91) and "Joseph told the king of Egypt that he was a captive" (1:92). Following assumptions of Manetho and Josephus some scholars have attempted to set the Exodus within the chronological framework of the 18th Dynasty, but with little success. There is no warrant either in the Bible or outside it for simply equating the Hyksos with the later Hebrews, although it is not impossible that some of the latter may have been ultimately decended from some of the Hyksos. Of special significance is the fact that some of the Hyksos rulers bore names echoed in the Bible, e.g., Yaʿqb-hr; and that one of the kings of the period is named Shesha which is similar to the name Sheshai, one of the ruling families in Kiriath-Arba (Judg. 1:10).

In Biblical Palestine

The Hyksos are not mentioned explicitly in the Bible, but some reminiscences of them can be detected. The connection made by Josephus and Manetho with the exodus is correct to the extent that the traditions of descent into Egypt and exodus therefrom were at least in part inspired by distant memories of the Hyksos movements (Redford). There are two instances where the history of the Hyksos is connected with Palestine. The first is during the beginning of their penetration into Egypt, since their domination over Lower Egypt must have been preceded by control over Palestine. The second is during the decline of the Hyksos, when they were expelled from Egypt by the rulers of the 18th Dynasty northward toward southern Palestine.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find signs which distinguish the culture characteristic of the rule of the Hyksos in Egypt and in Palestine.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Saeve-Soederbergh, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 37 (1951), 53–71; A.H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (1961), 155–73; S.R.K. Glanville (ed.), *The Legacy of Egypt* (1963), 219–21, M.A. Murray, *The Splendour that was Egypt* (1964), 26–32. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times* (1992); D. Redford and J. Weinstein, in: ABD, 3:341–48 (extensive bibliography); A. Rainey, in: BASOR, 295 (1994), 81–5; C. Redmount, in: BA, 58 (1995), 182–90; E. Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (1997); COS II, 5–7.

[Alan Richard Schulman / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

HYMAN, AARON (1862–1937), Russian-born London rabbi and scholar. Hyman, born in Slutsk, Belorussia, studied at various yeshivot and in 1885 he settled in London. There he officiated as rabbinical supervisor and head *shoḥet* of the London community. He also served as an unsalaried rabbi of a congregation. Active in communal life, he helped found the Mizrachi organization of Great Britain and in 1909, the Etz Chaim Yeshivah of London. In 1933 he moved to Tel Aviv.

Hyman's first published work was *Beit Va'ad la-Ḥakhamim* (1901), a large collection of sayings from talmudic and rabbinic literature alphabetically arranged according to the catchword. An enlarged edition of the work appeared in 1934 in Tel Aviv under the title *Oẓar Divrei Ḥakhamim u-Fitgameihem*. His major work, which took him 12 years to complete, was *Toledot Tanna'im ve-Amora'im* (3 vols., 1901–11; repr. 1964), a biographical dictionary of the sages of the Talmud. His addenda to this work included R. Sherira Gaon's "Epistle" with a commentary, *Patshegen ha-Khetav. Torah ha-Ketuvah ve-ha-Mesurah* (3 vols., 1937–40) is a comprehensive index of all biblical references found in the Talmud, Midrash, and early rabbinic literature, the last two volumes being edited by his son Arthur and published posthumously. All his books have become indispensable aids to rabbis and scholars, and a number of new editions of them have appeared.

Of his sons, the eldest, MARCUS (1884–1944), a lawyer, was private secretary to the Maharajah of Baroda. He then went to Canada, taught law at the University of Winnipeg, and was elected to the Manitoba Legislative Assembly. He was responsible for a law, the first of its kind and known as the Hyman Law, making community libel a criminal offense. CECIL (1899–1981) served with the Jewish battalions of the Royal Fusiliers in World War I, and settled in Jerusalem. After the establishment of the State he served as Israel minister plenipotentiary to South Africa and consul general in New York. ARTHUR B. (DOV) HYMAN (1905–), born in London,

was professor of dermatology at New York University and was a rabbinic scholar. He wrote *Mekorot Yalkut Shimoni* (1965), on the sources of *Yalkut Shimoni* on the Prophets and Hagiographa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.B. Hyman, in: A. Hyman, *Toledot Tanna'im ve-Amora'im* (repr., 1964), introd.

[Tovia Preschel]

HYMAN, HAROLD MELVIN (1924–), U.S. historian. Hyman received his Ph.D. in history from Columbia University in 1952. In 1957 he was appointed professor of history at UCLA. From 1963 to 1968 he taught at the University of Illinois and from 1968 at Rice University. In 1968 he became the William P. Hobby Professor of History at Rice University, holding the position until 1996. He was also the director of the university's Center for the History of Leadership Institutions.

A leading authority on 19th-century legal history, Hyman specialized in both American constitutional history and Civil War reconstruction history. He was a fellow of the Ford Foundation, a senior Fulbright lecturer, a lecturer with the Organization of American Historians, and a judge for the Pulitzer Prize. He also served as president of the American Society for Legal History.

He was co-author (with Benjamin Thomas) of *Stanton: The Life and Times of Lincoln's Secretary of* War (1962). Among his other well-known books are *Era of the Oath: Northern Loyalty Tests during the Civil War and Reconstruction* (1954); *To Try Men's Souls: Loyalty Tests in American History* (1959); *Soldiers and Spruce* (1963); *A More Perfect Union* (1975); *Equal Justice under Law* (with W. Wiecek, 1982); *American Singularity* (1986); and *Craftsmanship and Character* (1998).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HYMAN, JOSEPH C. (1899–1949), *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee leader. Hyman was born in Syracuse, New York. He practiced law in New York, but, actively interested in social work, accepted a post as assistant to Herbert H. Lehman, then chairman of the AJDC's Reconstruction Committee (1922). Appointed acting secretary of the AJDC (1924) and then secretary (1925), Hyman became deeply involved in organizations supported by the AJDC, including the Allied Jewish Campaign, United Jewish Appeal, and AJDC affiliates for work in Russia. He served the AJDC as executive director, executive vice chairman, and vice chairman until his death. Hyman's close association with Felix M. Warburg led him to membership in the Jewish Agency Council, where he was assistant to Warburg, then chairman of the Agency's Administrative Committee.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Bauer, *My Brother's Keeper: A History of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee 1929–1939* (1974).

[Yehuda Bauer]

HYMAN, LIBBIE HENRIETTA (1888–1969), U.S. invertebrate zoologist. Hyman was raised in Fort Dodge, Iowa. Despite opposition from her immigrant parents, she accepted a scholarship from the University of Chicago in 1906, receiving a B.S. in 1910 and a Ph.D. in 1915. Working as a research assistant in the lab of Professor Charles Manning Child, her doctoral advisor, she remained there for 16 more years until her mentor retired in 1931. While at Chicago, she published more than 40 research articles in her own name, as well as the highly successful *A Laboratory Manual for Elementary Zoology* (1919 and 1922) and *A Laboratory Manual for Comparative Vertebrate Anatomy* (1922 and 1942). Despite widespread recognition for her scientific accomplishments, no university would hire her, apparently because she was Jewish, a woman, and considered to be outspoken and abrasive. Living on the royalties from her popular manuals, Holman settled in New York City in 1932, where she began working on a survey of invertebrate morphology, physiology, embryology, and taxonomy, entitled *The Invertebrates* (I–VI, 1940–67). In 1937, Hyman became an honorary research associate at the American Museum of Natural History in New York, an unpaid position that provided her with an office, laboratory space, and library access. She wrote her monumental six-volume study over a 20-year period without assistance or a salary, even drawing her own meticulous illustrations.

Internationally respected and widely published, Holman was an authority on flatworms and land planarian taxonomy. She served as president of the Society of Systemic Zoology in 1959 and edited its journal, *Systemic Zoology*, from 1959 to 1963. In 1939, after the publication of the first volume of *The Invertebrates*, she received an honorary doctorate of sciences from the University of Chicago; in 1954, the National Academy of Sciences awarded her the Daniel Giraud Elliot Medal for her scholarship; and in 1960, she became the third American to receive a Gold Medal in Zoology from the Linnaean Society. In 1969, shortly before her death at the age of 81, the American Museum of Natural History awarded Holman a Gold Medal Award for Distinguished Achievement in Science.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.E. Hyman and D. Dash Moore (eds.), *Jewish Women in America*, I (1997), 665–66; "Libbie Henrietta Hyman," in: *Biographical Memoirs*, vol. 60 (1991), 1033–114; R.E. Blackwelder, "Libbie H. Hyman Memorial Issue: Her Life," in: *Journal of Biological Psychology* 12 (1970), 1–23; J.E. Winston (ed.), *Libbie Henrietta Hyman: Life and Contributions* (1999).

[Harriet Pass Freidenreich (2nd ed.)]

HYMAN, PAULA E. (1946–), historian of Jews in the modern period. Hyman focuses on the social transformation of the Jews in Europe and the United States, with special attention to the impact of gender on Jewish modernization. Born in Boston, Mass., the eldest of three daughters of Ida and Sydney Hyman, she was educated at Radcliffe College (B.A., 1968), the Hebrew College of Boston (B.J.Ed., 1966), and Columbia University (M.A., 1970; Ph.D., 1975). She was assistant professor of Jewish history at Columbia in 1974–81; associate professor and dean of the Seminary College of Jewish Studies at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1981–86; she

became the Lucy Moses Professor of Jewish History at Yale University in 1986. From 1989 to 2002 she chaired Yale's Program in Jewish Studies.

Hyman's three books on the experience of the Jews in France are *From Dreyfus to Vichy: The Remaking of French Jewry, 1906–1939* (1979); *The Emancipation of the Jews of Alsace: Acculturation and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century* (1991); and a synthesis of French Jewish history from the 18th century to the present, *The Jews of Modern France* (1998). Early in her career, she collaborated with scholars Charlotte Baum and Sonya Michel to write *The Jewish Woman in America* (1976). Hyman's articles on women and gender include studies of the kosher meat boycott in New York City in 1903; the impact of gender on the immigrant Jewish experience in America; the role of memory, gender, and identity in modern Jewish history; and the Jewish family in Europe and America. She also wrote *Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History: The Roles and Representation of Women* (1995) and edited, introduced, and helped translate the memoirs of Puah Rakovsky, *My Life as a Radical Jewish Woman: Memoirs of a Zionist Feminist in Poland*. She is the co-editor with Deborah Dash Moore of *Jewish Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia* (1997) and *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia* (2006).

Hyman's scholarly interest in women and gender derived from her lifelong commitment to gender equality in the Jewish community. As a Jewish feminist activist in 1971, Hyman helped found Ezrat Nashim, an advocacy group for Jewish women's rights, and she became its major spokesperson, successfully petitioning the Rabbinical Assembly (Conservative Movement) to grant women equality in synagogue life in 1972.

Hyman was a fellow and president of the American Academy for Jewish Research. She served as a member of the Board of Directors and as a vice president of the Association for Jewish Studies. The recipient of many fellowships and grants, she received honorary degrees from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (2000) and the Hebrew Union College (2002). She also received the Distinguished Scholar Award from Ohio State University (1999) and the Achievement Award in Historical Studies from the National Foundation for Jewish Culture (2004).

[Marsha L. Rozenblit (2nd ed.)]

HYMANS, PAUL (1865–1941), Belgian statesman and historian who was four times foreign minister of Belgium, born in Brussels of a Protestant mother. His father was Solomon Louis Hymans, poet, politician, and member of the chamber of deputies. After graduating in law, he served as a high official in the Council of the Belgian Congo. At the same time he published several historical works completing his father's *L'histoire parlementaire de la Belgique* (1878–1913). In 1896, he was appointed professor of parliamentary history at Brussels University. Hymans was elected to the chamber of deputies in 1900 and led the liberal opposition until the outbreak of World War I. He united the Belgian liberals against religious intolerance and introduced a policy of political and social reforms. Hymans won the respect of many of his opponents, but was intensely disliked by the king, Leopold II, because of his criticism of the latter's administration in the Congo. In 1914, Hymans joined the conservative coalition and served as Belgian ambassador to London from 1915 to 1919. A year later he became foreign minister and was the head of the Belgian delegation at the Versailles peace negotiations. Subsequently, he became minister of justice and then served three more terms as foreign minister. He was also president of the Assembly of the League of Nations and was appointed Belgian delegate to the Disarmament Conference in 1932.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T.H. Reed, *Government and Politics of Belgium* (1924).

[Edmund Meir]

°**HYPSICRATES OF AMISUS** (in Pontos; first century B.C.E.), historian. He is often cited by *Strabo and is probably his source for Bosphoran affairs. Hypsicrates' works seem to have dealt with the history and ethnography of the Near East and Africa and touched on Jewish affairs. He is quoted by Josephus (Ant., 14:138–9) from Strabo as the source of information about the help given by *Antipater II and Hyrcanus III to *Julius Caesar.

HYRAX (Heb. שָׁפָן, *shafan*), the *Procavia capens* (*syriaca*), a small mammal about 19½ inches (50 cms.) in length, which is found in the mountainous regions of Israel, in the Negev, and in the Aravah. It makes its nest in the clefts of rocks where it finds refuge (Ps. 104:18) and where it lives in small groups (Prov. 30:26). Its bodily structure is well adapted for rock-climbing: It has a flexible, tailless body, short feet, soles covered with elastic pads, and small ears. It is mentioned in the Bible (Lev. 11:5; Deut. 14:7) among the animals which though chewing the cud are not clovenfooted, and are thus prohibited as food. Its classification as a ruminant may be attributed to the sideward movement of its jaws when feeding or, more probably, to the structure of its digestive system, the protuberances in its large stomach together with its appendix and maw possibly being regarded as analogous to a ruminant's four stomachs. In mishnaic times hyraxes were sold in market places to non-Jews, together with hares, camels, and pigs (Uk. 3:3). In modern Hebrew the word *shafan* is wrongly applied to the hare, there being no doubt from the biblical description that it is the hyrax, as is evident also from its Arabic name *tafan*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Margolin, *Zo'ologyah*, 2 (1960²), 446–7; Tristram, Nat Hist, 75–77; J. Feliks, *Animal World of the Bible* (1962), 45. **ADD BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Feliks, Ha-Ẓome'aḥ, 282.

[Jehuda Feliks]

HYRCANIA, a Judean fortress. Hyrcania was probably built by the Hasmonean ruler John Hyrcanus and named after him. Josephus relates that Queen *Salome Alexandra stored her treasures there (Jos., Ant., 13:417). It was one of the strong-

holds held by the Jews who fought against Rome after Pompey's conquest (63 B.C.E.) and was occupied by Alexander the son of Aristobulus II (Wars, 1:161, 167). Herod took Hyrcania from the sister of Antigonus (*ibid.*, 1:364) and turned it into one of the principal fortresses of his realm. It was one of the places which he showed to Marcus *Agrippa during his visit in 14 B.C.E (Ant., 16:13). Herod used the fortress as a prison and as the place where opponents of his kingdom were executed (*ibid.*, 15:366). His son Antipater was buried there after his execution (*ibid.*, 17:187; Wars, 1:664). After Herod's death, Hyrcania seems to have lost its importance as it is not mentioned in the history of the Jewish War (66–70/73). Since 1897 Hyrcania has been identified with Khirbet al-Mird, a prominent hill in the Judean Desert 9 mi. (15 km.) southeast of Jerusalem, on the way leading to the Buqeaʿ Plain and the Jordan Valley. In 492 C.E. a monastery called Castellion was established there – one of those headed by St. Saba – and it was in existence until the ninth century. Excavations at the site in 1961 uncovered early Christian papyri and the remains of buildings and an aqueduct probably of Hasmonean date. Previously in 1960 during a survey at the site under the direction of J.M. Allegro, who was leading the Copper Scroll Expedition, two rock-cut tunnels were identified in Wadi Secaca next to Hyrcania. Between 2000 and 2005 excavations were conducted within these tunnels by O. Gutfeld on behalf of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The western tunnel is situated about 525 ft. (160 m.) below the summit of Hyrcania, and it was cut in soft Senonian limestone to the height of a person, a few meters above the riverbed. Steps descended into the heart of the mountain at a sharp angle (56.5 degrees). The interior of the tunnel was lit with lamps placed in niches. The tunnel narrows and widens at different points and, eventually, it separates into two branches extending for at least 55 ft. (17 m.). The eastern stepped tunnel is situated not far from the western tunnel (250 ft. (75 m.) away) and it was cut into rock about 3 feet (1 m.) above the riverbed. A stretch of 120 ft. (36 m.) has so far been cleared. These mysterious tunnels were clearly hewn as part of some royal or public enterprise, but apart from the discovery of a small quantity of Iron Age and Second Temple period potsherds, no other finds were made that could shed light on the date of these tunnels. Because of the proximity of these impressive tunnels to Hyrcania and to a Herodian-period cemetery, the working assumption is that they date from the Second Temple period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rhetore, in: RB, 6 (1897), 462; Schick, in: ZDPV, 3 (1880), 19ff.; Van Kastfren, *ibid.*, 13 (1890), 110; Ploeger, *ibid.*, 71 (1955), 148ff.; Mader in: JPOS, 9 (1929), 122ff.; idem, in: *Oriens Christianus*, 12 (1937), 27ff., 192 (Ger.); Wright, in: *Biblica*, 42 (1961), 1ff. (Eng.); Milik, *ibid.*, 21ff. (Eng.).

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Oren Gutfeld (2nd ed.)]

HYRCANUS II (c. 103–30 B.C.E.), elder son of *Alexander Yannai and *Salome Alexandra. Since John Hyrcanus II was born soon after his father's accession to the throne (103 B.C.E.), he was 72 years old at the time of his death and not, unless the traditional date of his parents' marriage is rejected, over 80 years old, as stated by Josephus (Ant., 15:178).

Hyrcanus was appointed high priest during his mother's lifetime and as such was regarded as the heir to the throne, but he played no conspicuous part in political life while she was alive. His brother, Judah *Aristobulus II, started even during his mother's lifetime to undermine Hyrcanus' position and to consolidate his own. Hyrcanus' situation was a difficult one, particularly since the army sided with Aristobulus. On the death of Salome Alexandra in 67 B.C.E., Aristobulus seized power, which Hyrcanus was compelled to surrender after being defeated in battle. Aristobulus appointed himself king and high priest, while Hyrcanus received the honorary title, which lacked all political significance, of "the king's brother." However, the status granted to Hyrcanus was commensurate with his political talents, which were extremely limited; according to Josephus, Hyrcanus was deficient in the qualities of a man of action (Ant., 13:423; 14:13). He was however apparently filled with a lust for power, which provoked him into endeavoring to hold on to it at all costs, even to the extent of subordinating his wishes to those of his adviser *Antipater, who encouraged him in his ambition.

Antipater prevailed on Hyrcanus to flee from Jerusalem to *Aretas, the Nabatean king, who, induced by important territorial concessions, joined forces with him against Aristobulus, whom they besieged in Jerusalem (65 B.C.E.). At this juncture Pompey's armies appeared in the east. Like his brother, Hyrcanus too appealed to Scaurus, one of Pompey's officers, who had captured Damascus, to pronounce judgment in their quarrel. Scaurus decided against Hyrcanus, whose qualities and political standing were inferior to those of his brother. However, with the arrival of Pompey himself in Syria the brothers submitted their rival claims to him. This time the Roman preferred Hyrcanus, apparently because he entertained suspicions of Aristobulus by reason of the latter's arrogant behavior and considered that Hyrcanus would be a more pliant tool in the hands of the Romans. Hyrcanus was appointed but with only diminished and limited authority. After overcoming the opposition of Aristobulus and his party, Pompey seized extensive regions from the Hasmonean kingdom, and Hyrcanus was appointed high priest of a truncated state. The Jews became tributaries to Rome, Hyrcanus being apparently responsible for levying the tribute. Even after this appointment, Hyrcanus' rule was not firmly established and his antagonists – Aristobulus and his sons – attacked him several times but were repeatedly defeated by the Romans. Hyrcanus' position improved with the accession of Julius Caesar, who appointed him ethnarch and high priest in return for the help which he had given him when he was in difficulties in Egypt. Julius Caesar restored the city of Jaffa and the valley of Jezreel to Judea and also apparently to some extent the three districts of Aphairema, Lydda, and Ramathaim, previously given by Pompey to the Samaritans.

During this period Hyrcanus' position was strong. He used his influence also on behalf of the Jews in the Diaspora

who constantly maintained close ties with Jerusalem. However the power enjoyed by Antipater and his sons increased steadily and eventually brought about the deposition of Hyrcanus and his house. Although sensing the danger threatening him from this quarter, Hyrcanus was yet unable to oppose the consolidation of Antipater's family. His weakness is clearly evident in *Herod's trial. Later he was apparently induced by Malichus, one of his intimate circle, to acquiesce in the removal of Antipater; but even the latter's death did not help him to reinforce his rule. Compelled to abandon Malichus to the vengeance of Antipater's sons, he had to rely on their support to sustain his rule amid the vicissitudes of the wars for the supreme leadership of the Roman Empire. In 40 B.C.E. he was deprived of power and taken prisoner by *Antigonus son of Aristobulus and his Parthian allies. Having been mutilated by having his ears cut off to disqualify him from the high priesthood, Hyrcanus was transferred by the Parthians to Babylonia, where, greatly honored by the Jews, he lived quietly and safely for several years.

Hyrcanus and his house lost all power with Herod's proclamation in Rome as king (40 B.C.E.), an appointment which destroyed his hopes of ever being reinstated as ruler in Judea, even if only by the grace of Rome. The attempts, too, to gain influence with the new ruler through Herod's marriage to *Mariamne, the daughter of Alexandra who was the daughter of Hyrcanus, were not very successful. Herod did indeed invite Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, where he lived peacefully for some time, but in 30 B.C.E., when Herod was in doubt as to his future under Octavian, he considered Hyrcanus a potential threat to his continued rule, and had him executed on a false charge (Ant., 15:164ff.). He had been a man who with all his might sought power but did not know how to sustain it. His ambitions coupled with his weakness brought disaster on his people, on his house, and on himself.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 13:408–15:182; Jos., Wars, 1:109–433; Schuerer, Hist, 91–115, 131, 135; A. Schalit, *Hordos ha-Melekh* (1964^3), 529f. (index), s.v. *Horkenus*; idem, *Koenig Herodes* (1969), 761ff. (Appendix viii), 808f. (index).

[Uriel Rappaport]

HYRCANUS, JOHN (**Johanan**), ethnarch of Judea and high priest (135–104 B.C.E.), son of *Simeon the Hasmonean, and the most successful and energetic of rulers of the Hasmonean dynasty from the point of view of the consolidation and territorial expansion of Judea. Already during the lifetime of his father he played an important role in the defense of Judea and in the administration of the state. After his father and his two brothers were killed by his brother-in-law, Ptolemy, in Jericho, he thwarted the murderer's design to kill him also and took over control in Jerusalem. It is with an account of this incident that I Maccabees ends; the details of his reign are given in Josephus (Wars, 1:54ff.; Ant., 13:229ff.), and in material scattered throughout talmudic literature. Most of his rule was spent in wars. At first, he was compelled to submit to *Antiochus VII Sidetes and to agree to pay him tribute for Jaffa and the other towns outside the borders of Judea that had been conquered by the Jews, and even to join him in a campaign against the Parthians. However, after the death of Antiochus in 129, Hyrcanus achieved the complete independence of Judea and undertook extensive conquests throughout the whole of the land of Israel. At first he turned to the center of the country, seizing Shechem and destroying the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim. Later he conquered Idumea (Edom) and compelled its inhabitants to adopt Judaism. From this time the Idumeans became an inseparable part of the Jewish people. Simultaneously he began the conquest of Transjordan, in particular of Moab. During the last years of his rule he renewed his campaign of conquests in the north, attacking the strong Hellenistic towns of *Samaria and *Beth-Shean (= Scythopolis). Despite the fact that Hellenistic soldiers and the rulers of some neighboring territories who were hostile to the Jews came to the aid of the besieged city of Samaria, it was conquered and destroyed by Hyrcanus' sons in 107. As a result the road to Galilee was now open to the Jews, and it is probable that parts of Galilee too, if not the whole of it, were already annexed to Judea during the days of Hyrcanus.

In his policy and in his wars, he was helped by the ties he cultivated with foreign nations interested in weakening the Seleucid Syria. He strengthened the pact with Rome, and on three occasions during his rule the Roman senate adopted resolutions in favor of Judea. Bonds of friendship were also formed between Hyrcanus and the Ptolemies, a friendship helped by the close ties which existed between the Jews of Egypt and the monarchy. In so far as internal affairs were concerned, a gradual change took place in his status during Hyrcanus' rule which led to the strengthening of his personal authority. It was during his rule apparently that the *Pharisee and *Sadducee parties came into open conflict. At the commencement of his rule he maintained close relations with the Pharisees, who also recognized his religious authority. Later rabbinic tradition depicts him as having been "righteous originally" (Ber. 29a), even to the extent of stating that he heard a **bat kol* (Sot. 33a). According to Josephus (Wars, 1:68–69), Hyrcanus was vouchsafed the high priesthood, prophecy, and rulership and he was the only one to attain all three. The Mishnah (Sot. 9:10) ascribes certain regulations with regard to the Temple and the priestly portions to him. In the course of time, however, the authoritarian and secularist character of his administration began to show itself – a fact which also found expression in the recruitment of a force of foreign mercenaries from Asia Minor. The high priest came closer to the Sadducees and in his last years a breach occurred between him and the Pharisees. According to rabbinic tradition "Johanan officiated in the high priesthood for 80 years and in the end became a Sadducee" (Ber. 29a; Jos., Ant., 13:288ff.). It is uncertain whether the coins bearing the legend "Johanan the High Priest" and *Ḥever ha-Yehudim* or *rosh ḥever ha-Yehudim* were minted by him or by his grandson *Hyrcanus II.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Werner, *Johann Hyrkan* (Ger., 1877); Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 3 (1950^2), 81ff.; Schuerer, Hist, 16, 60, 67ff.;

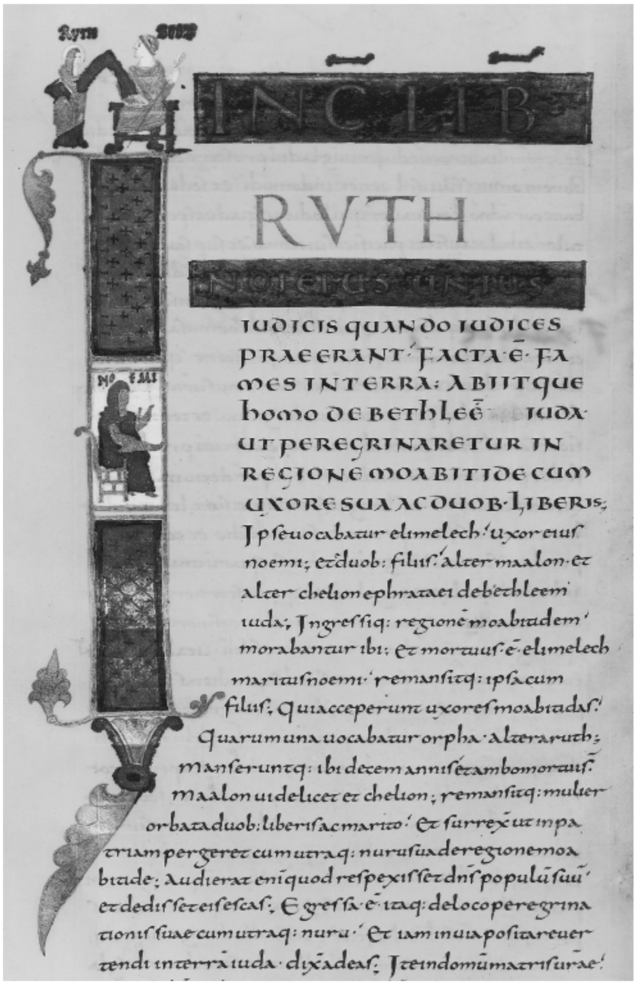
M. Stern, in: *Zion*, 26 (1961), 1–22; S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (1950), 139 ff.; A. Schalit, *Koenig Herodes* (1969), 810 (index), s.v. *Johannes Hyrkanos*.

[Menahem Stern]

HYSSOP (Heb. אֵזוֹב), small plant that grows in rocks and stone walls. The Greek *hyssōpos* is used to translate Hebrew *ēzôb* on account of phonetic similarity, but in reality the plants are different; the *ēzôb* of the Bible, or "Syrian hyssop," is known to Anglophones as marjoram. In the Bible, it is contrasted with the lofty cedar of the Lebanon (I Kings 5:13). The two were used together for purposes of purification – in the preparation of the ashes of the *red heifer (Num. 19:6), as well as in the water for the purification of the leper (Lev. 14:4) and of the house smitten with leprosy (*ibid.* 14:49). In Egypt a bunch of hyssop was used for sprinkling blood on the Israelites' doorposts (Ex. 12:22). It was also used for sprinkling the water of purification (Num. 19:18). Several reasons were given for the choice of hyssop for purposes of purification. A homiletic interpretation holds that this small plant symbolizes humility in contrast with the cedar that typifies pride, their union demonstrating that man should humble himself before his Creator. Practical reasons for its choice are that "the ash of the hyssop is good and plentiful" (with reference to preparing the ashes of the red heifer, Tosef., Par. 4:10), and that "it is effective in counteracting an offensive odor" (R. Samuel Sarsa on Ibn Ezra's comment to Ex. 12:22). The tractate *Parah, which deals with the laws of the ashes of the red heifer, contains morphological details about the structure of the hyssop plant: its lower part is woody (Par. 11:8), its stalks branch out sideways, and at the top of each are clusters of at least three buds (*ibid.* 11:9). It grew wild, but was cultivated as a spice (Ma'as. 3:9). These descriptions are compatible with *Majorana syriaca* (*Origanum maru*), a plant of the Labiatae family that grows wild in Israel among and on rocks. The leaves and stems contain a volatile oil used as a perfume – oil of marjoram. The Samaritans still use this plant for sprinkling blood at the ceremony of slaughtering the Passover sacrifice. Members of Oriental communities use it as a spice, crumbling it on bread, and refer to it as *za'tar*, which also includes other species of the Labiatae family, such as savory and thyme. These two species, the former *si'aḥ* and the latter *koranit*, are included in the Mishnah, together with hyssop, among the aromatic herbs (Shev. 8:1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Loew, Flora, 2 (1924), 84–101; H.N. and A.L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible* (1952), index; J. Feliks, *Olam ha-Ẓome'aḥ ha-Mikra'i* (1968²), 177–9. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Feliks, Ha-Ẓome'aḥ, 22, W. Propp, *Exodus 1–18* (1998), 407.

[Jehuda Feliks]



Initial letter "I" of the phrase In diebus unius iudicis *at the beginning of the Book of Ruth from the Latin* Bible of Charles the Bald, *Rheims, ninth century. The illumination shows Ruth and Boaz above the letter and Naomi seated in the middle of it. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 1-88v.*

Ia–Int

IACOBESCU, D. (**Armand Iacobson**, 1893–1913), Romanian poet. His sensitive verse – in turn musical, agonized, and macabre – appeared in leading reviews. His poems, influenced by French symbolists such as Baudelaire and Verlaine, contain premonitions of Iacobescu's early death from tuberculosis. They and some translations were later collated and published by the critic Perpessicius as *Quasi* (1930).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.B. Yoffe, *Be-Sedot Zarim. Sofrim Yehudim be-Romaniah, 1880–1940* (1996), 195–200; *Dicționarul scriitorilor români*, D-L (1998), 551–53.

IAN, JANIS (**Fink**; 1951–), U.S. singer and songwriter. Born in New Jersey, Ian was discovered at the age of 14 by Leonard *Bernstein, who played her song "Society's Child" (1967) on his television special, *Inside Pop: The Rock Revolution*. Although the song was banned in many places because of its interracial theme, it became a nationwide hit. But Ian had trouble repeating her success and was eventually released by her record label, Columbia. She managed to revive her career in Australia, and then triumphantly reentered the American music scene at 26 with her deeply etched portrait of adolescent pain, "At Seventeen" (1975).

Speaking out through her music as she tackles taboo subjects as well as all-too-human ones, Ian is an emotionally wrenching singer and an accomplished self-taught guitarist. She released more than 20 albums, the earliest being *Janis Ian* (1967); *For All the Seasons of Your Mind* (1968); and *Who Really Cares* (1969). Her more recent releases include *Breaking Silence* (1995); *Hunger* (1997); *God and the FBI* (2000); *Working without a Net* (2003); and *Billie's Bones* (2004).

In 1975 she won a Grammy for Best Pop Female Vocalist for "At Seventeen." She then earned five other Grammy nominations. In 2001 "Society's Child" was inducted into the Grammy Hall of Fame.

Ian has lived in Nashville since 1988. In 2003 she married her long-time life partner, Patricia Snyder.

In addition to the many songs she composed, Ian published a collection of poems titled *Who Really Cares: Poems*

from Childhood and Early Youth (1969). She also co-edited *Stars: Original Stories Based on the Songs of Janis Ian* (2003), a collection of science-fiction and fantasy tales written by well-known authors of the genre, each inspired by one of her songs.

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

IBĀḌĪS. The Ibāḍiyya is a moderate branch of the Khārijī sect, that broke with mainstream Islam in 657 on the question of who was entitled to the caliphate. From their first center in *Basra, missionaries were sent to propagate the Ibāḍī teaching. As a result Ibāḍī communities appeared in a number of Muslim provinces, particularly in Oman, which towards the end of the eighth century replaced Basra as their spiritual center, and among some Berber tribes in North Africa. From the middle of the 8th to the beginning of the 10th century the North African Ibāḍīs succeeded in establishing political control over parts of the Maghrib, in Tripolitania, in Sijilmasa (where another moderate Khārijī sect – the Ṣufriyya – took root), and particularly in the central Maghrib, where the Rustamid state, with its capital in Tāhart (Tahert, today Tagdemt), united under its rule all the Berber Ibāḍī tribes in North Africa. At the beginning of the 10th century the Fāṭimids destroyed all these states and their remnants, and the Ibāḍīs withdrew to remote regions. Adherents of the Ibāḍiyya are found today in Oman, where Ibāḍiyya is the predominant religious doctrine, in Zanzibar, in the island of Djerba, in Tripolitania – in Jabal Nafūsa (Nefousa and Zuagha) Zouara – and in the remote south of Algeria, in Wārjilan (Wargla, Ouargla) and particularly in the Mzāb valley. In the Mzāb they established five settlements in the 11th century, two additional ones in the 17th century, and some further settlements in the 20th century. In these settlements the Ibāḍīs secured virtual independence and preserved their particular puritan way of life, governed by their religious law, as well as by special rules and regulations, established by their leadership. Modernization, as well as the demographic and urban expansion of the region, in the course of the second half of the 20th century, may threaten their religious and organizational cohesion. The population of this region has been increasing spectacularly, the Ibāḍīs comprising no more than 60% of the present population. The largest settlement is Ghardāya (Ghardaïa), with a population of over 62,000 according to the 1987 census. There is some evidence of Jewish communities living among the Ibāḍīs throughout the centuries, enjoying the Ibāḍī basically tolerant attitude to non-Muslims. Thus, Tāhart was the home of R. Judah *Ibn Quraysh, a pioneer linguist. Some Jews lived in Sijilmāsa under Ṣufrī rule. In the Mzāb, Jews, as well as Europeans, Arabs, and other foreign elements, were allowed in Ghardaya only. Even there, they were not admitted within the city walls. The Jews lived in a separate neighborhood beyond the ramparts, in the southeastern part of the Ghardāya. The Mzābi Jews, as well as the large majority of the Algerian Jews, left Algeria toward the end of French rule in the country.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: s.v. *Khāridjites, al-Ibāḍiyya, Sidjilmāsa, Midrār, Mzāb* in EIS²; Hirschberg, Afrikah, 1 (1965), 68; M. Hoexter, "Effects of the Transition from the Turkish to the French Regime in Algiers – The Case of the Mzabi Ṭalaba (Tolba)," in: *Asian and African Studies,* 17 (1983), 121–137 and bibliography there; F. Brown and B. Tahar, "Comparative Analysis of Mzabite and Other Berber Domestic Spaces," at: http://undertow.arch.gatech.edu/homepages/.

[Miriam Hoexter (2nd ed.)]

IBEX (Heb. יָעֵל, *ya'el*; AV, JPS "wild goat"), the wild goat *Capra ibex nubiana*, a wild animal permitted for food. Only the ibex and the gazelle have survived from over ten species of cloven-hoofed ruminants which inhabited Ereẓ Israel in former times. Because of its tasty meat, the ibex was much sought after by hunters but escaped extinction through its ability to exist on precipitous mountains in desert regions, such as En-Gedi, Elath, and the Negev heights. Able to jump from rocks and to climb steep rock faces, it was called *ya'el* in Hebrew (and *wa'l* in Arabic), a word derived from the root meaning "to ascend." The "rocks of the ibex" in the neighborhood of En-Gedi have served as a hiding place at various times. David fled there from Saul (I Sam. 24:1–3) and Bar Kokhba's fighters took refuge in the caves.

Ibex live in herds. The male has horns reaching up to 39 in. (one meter) in height, the female short, sharp ones. The beauty of the ibex and the remarkable way it lives among the rocks of the desert have been used as poetic motifs (Job 39:1; Ps. 104:18); the name *ya'alat ḥen* (a graceful female ibex) is given to a beautiful woman (Prov. 5:19). Jael (Judg. 4:17) and Jaalah (Ezra 2:56), both derived from the Hebrew for ibex, occur in the Bible as women's names. A *shofar* made of the long horn of an ibex was blown in the Temple on the New Year (RH 3:3) and to proclaim the Jubilee year (RH 3:5).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Aharoni, *Torat ha-Ḥai*, 1 (1923), 85; F.S. Bodenheimer, *Animal Life in Palestine* (1935), 112. **ADD BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Feliks, *Ha-Ẓome'aḥ*, 239.

[Jehuda Feliks]

IBIZA AND FORMENTERA, third and fourth largest of the Balearic Islands. Situated south to south-east of Majorca, equidistant to North Africa and mainland Spain, the islands provided a strong commercial attraction to Jewish traders from the periods of Phoenician and Roman occupation, particularly for their bountiful saltpans and the dyeing industries.

Hitherto, historians have concluded that the Jews in the smaller Balearics suffered similar oppression to their coreligionists some 100 miles away in Palma, capital city of controlling Majorca. This misconception was enhanced because the name "Majorca" was given to the whole Balearic area.

The inhabitants of Ibiza and Formentera (Ibicencos) to this day bitterly resent the 700 years of Majorcan domination and greatly prize personal freedom. Local piracy, smuggling, and the proximity and affinity to Islamic Barbary all contributed to a hatred of prying eyes and the facility to hide Jews from the Inquisition.

Sixth-century church documents mention the considerable size of the Jewish population and, contrary to other Iberian centers of that period, their lack of interest in conversion to Christianity. The Jewish population increased with the annexation by James I, the "Conquistor," in 1235. In 1254, the king arranged their property assessments as part of the Aljama of Majorca. In 1329, the Jews of Ibiza requested separation from the Majorcan community which was refused.

In the terrible year for the Jews of Spain, 1391, there is no mention of outrages in Ibiza or Formentera, or of an exodus in the fateful year of 1492. All documents relating to visits by the officers of the Inquisition from 1423 onwards state that nobody was found practicing the Laws of Moses, yet research indicates that Jews continued to reside in the Islands and assisted many from elsewhere to escape the clutches of the Inquisition. Members of the Matutes family, descendants of the Motot family, that left for Italy in 1492, returned to Ibiza where they became one of the most important families in the island, playing a major role in the economic and social life there.

The Judería (ghetto) *call* (Jewish quarter) in Ibiza was in use as such until the 19th century and efforts are now being made for its restoration. Part of the nearby Convent of San Christobel (built in 1600) was used as a synagogue. It seems that one synagogue was in use in Formentera until 1936.

In 1867 a clearly defined Jewish community was described by Prinz Luis Salvador of Hamburg in German in his first book on the Balearic Islands but was deleted in all subsequent editions until 1979.

The survival of Jewish customs was described by visitors to the Islands as late as the 1930s. The Spanish Civil War (1936–39) and the influence of the German SS in Majorca brought fear and conversions to Catholicism. Yet the islanders protected Jewish arrivals fleeing the Nazis.

A small number of Jews of various origins now reside there and have formed a group to support the many interested in their Jewish roots and desirous of strengthening these affiliations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Braunstein, *Chuetas of Majorca* (1952), 117; I. Macabich, *Costumbre* (1966), 19; G. Mound in *Papers 4th and 5th British Judeo-Spanish Seminars*, Glasgow, 1984 (1986); I. Cohen, *Travels in Jewry* (1952); JC (Sept. 4, 1936); Jerusalem Post (March 17, 1983); *Die Balearen in Wort und Bild* (1867); Prinz Luis Salvador, *Los Antiguas Pitiusas* (facsimile, 1979), 137. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Mound, in: *Proceedings of the 10th World Congress of Jewish Studies* (1990), Division B, vol. 2, 459–66.

[Gloria Mound]

IBLEAM (Heb. יִבְלְעָם), city located in the part of the tribal district of Issachar which was held by Manasseh (Josh. 17:11). According to Judges 1:27 it was tributary to the Israelites and not actually conquered by them. Ibleam is already mentioned in the list of cities captured by Thutmose III (c. 1469 B.C.E.) where it appears (no. 43) after Taanach. It is included in the list of levitical cities (Bileam, I Chron. 6:55) but in the parallel list it is replaced by Gath-Rimmon (Josh. 21:25). In his flight from Jezreel, Ahaziah, king of Judah, was killed "at the ascent of Gur, which is by Ibleam" (II Kings 9:27); King Zechariah of Israel was killed by Shallum in Ibleam according to the Lucian version of the Septuagint (II Kings 15:10). Belmain (Ibleam) is mentioned in Judith 4:4 and 7:3 as a place near Dothan. In crusader times Castellum Beleismum was part of the principality of Galilee. The name Ibleam is preserved in Wadi and Tell Balameh, 12½ mi. (20 km.) south of Afulah. On the large tell which guards the ascent to the valley of Dothan, sherds were found dating from the Early Bronze to Iron Age (Israelite period) and a rock-hewn tunnel leading to a spring at the foot of the tell.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Schumacher, in: PEFQS, 42 (1910), 107–12; W.F. Albright, in: BASOR, 19 (1925), 8; 35 (1929), 8; Yeivin, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archeology*, 36 (1950), 54, 58; Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 357; EM, 2 (1964), 594–5.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

IBN ABBAS, JUDAH BEN SAMUEL II (13th century), religious writer, probably a resident of Spain; to be distinguished from Judah ben Samuel ibn *Abbas, the liturgical poet. In the middle of the 13th century Ibn Abbas composed *Ya'ir Nativ* ("Enlightener of the Path"), also known as *Shevet Yehudah* ("Judah's Staff"), a moral treatise, which reflects the influence of *Maimonides, and which the author claims to have written at the age of 20. The work is extant in manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodl. 44). Chapter 15 of this work, which has been printed and translated into German by M. Guedemann (see bibl.), contains pedagogical instructions. According to Ibn Abbas, the student should begin with the study of Bible and Talmud, proceed to the study of ethics and the sciences – medicine, logic, astronomy, and physics, in that order – and finally to the study of metaphysics. Ibn Abbas also lists the outstanding works that he recommends for the study of the various sciences. For example, he suggests that in order to learn the principles of logic the student read the works of Al-*Farābī and *Averroes (A. Hyman, in: *Actes du quatrième congrès international de philosophie médiévale* (1969), 102). This list indicates which authors the Jews of the 13th century regarded as authoritative in the sciences. Ibn Abbas also wrote *Minḥat Yehudah*, or *Mekor Ḥayyim* (Ms. Bodl. 44; J.H. Loewe, *A Descriptive Catalogue… Louis Loewe* (1895), 59).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 35; M. Guedemann, *Das juedische Unterrichtswesen waehrend der spanisch-arabischen Periode* (1873), 147–55 (Ger. sect.), 58–62 (Heb. sect.).

[Isaak Dov Ber Markon]

°**IBN ABĪ AL-ṢALT** (**Umayya Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz**; 1068–1134), Muslim musician and student of the exact sciences. He was born in Andalusia and died in Mahdiyya (Tunisia). His writings were influential among the Jews of Spain as shown both by quotations and by complete Hebrew versions of his works, some of which have been preserved in Hebrew only. Apart from his medical activities, he was an expert in theoretical and practical music. Both of his interests are reflected in his writings: his medical "*Simplicia*," translated by Judah (Mae-

stro Bongodas Nathan ben Solomon; 14th cent.), and the extensive chapter on music from his lost encyclopedia *Sefer ha-Haspakah* (*Kitāb al-Kāfī*?), by two anonymous translators (Ms. Paris, Heb. 1037, fol. 1b–20b). The Arabic original was quoted by Profiat *Duran in his *Ma'aseh Efod* (ed. Friedlaender-Kohn, p. 37), and the chapter on optics in Ms. Munich Heb. 290 (margins of fol. 44b and 45b). The extensive treatise on music of ibn abī al-Ṣalt has come down to us in a Hebrew translation, but not in the original. This Hebrew translation represents an abridged compilation from two works of the famous Arab philosopher and theorist of music al-Fārābī: the chapter on music in *iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* (= Classification of the Sciences), which became known in medieval Europe through its several Hebrew and Latin translations, and large excerpts from part II of *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr* (*The Great Book of Music*). H. Avenary has published this version, which is one of the most extensive preserved in Hebrew.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke* (1900), 115, no. 27; Adler, in: *Yuval*, 1 (1968), 2–3, 9, contains an extensive bibliography; A. Shiloah, *ibid.*, 2 (1970). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Shiloah, in: *Teshurot la-Avishur* (2004), 341–47; H. Avenary, The Hebrew Version …, in: *Yuval*, 3 (1974), 7–82; M. Comes, "Umayya ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz," in EIS², 10 (2000), 836–37 (incl. bibl.).

[Hanoch Avenary / Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

IBN ABITUR, JOSEPH BEN ISAAC (10th–11th century), Spanish talmudic scholar and poet. Frequently mentioned under the name of "Ibn Shatanash," Ibn Abitur explains that this name was given to his great-grandfather "who wielded great power in Spain… including the power over life and death which none beside him ever had outside Ereẓ Israel, and because he was a scourge of evildoers he was called Shotanash" (*shot-enosh*, "scourge of man"); he usually signed as "Joseph ben Isaac ha-Sefaradi" (= the Spaniard), or "Meridi," after his birthplace Merida.

Ibn Abitur lived in Spain in the second half of the tenth century, and in Ereẓ Israel and neighboring countries at the beginning of the 11th century. He had studied in Cordoba under R. Moses b. Ḥanokh. After R. Moses' death, his place as rabbi and head of the yeshivah was taken by his son Ḥanokh, who was supported by the *nasi*, R. Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut. Upon the latter's death, Ibn Abitur claimed the position for himself; the Cordoba community was split into two camps, each trying to gain Caliph al-Ḥākim II's (961) support. Finally, Ibn Abitur was defeated, put under ban by his opponents, and forced to flee to the East. After a while, one of his supporters, Jacob ibn Jau, rose to power in Cordoba and decided to expel Ḥanokh and appoint the exiled scholar in his place. On this occasion, however, Ibn Abitur refused the offer, stating that "from Spain to Babylonia there was no scholar so worthy of the office as R. Ḥanokh." In the course of his travels, Ibn Abitur arrived in Babylonia, where he hoped to obtain help from R. Hai Gaon; but the latter refused to see him. He also spent some time in Ereẓ Israel and Egypt, where he enjoyed the friendship of the Palestinian *gaon* R. Samuel ha-Kohen and R. *Shemariah b. Elhanan, the head of the Egyptian academy, who defended Ibn Abitur against his detractors. Ibn Abitur composed a threnody, in verse, on the persecutions that took place in Ereẓ Israel at the orders of the Egyptian caliph al-Ḥākim (996–1021) in 1021 (*Kobez al Jad*, vol. 3, 1887). According to *Ibn Daud, Ibn Abitur died in Damascus; the year of his death is not known (Ibn Daud, Tradition, 68).

He was regarded as one of the great men of his age. Some of his responsa were included in the collections of the responsa of the *geonim* (*Teshuvot Ge'onei Mizraḥ u-Ma'arav, Ginzei Kedem* contains some of the responsa he issued during his Egyptian period). He also composed a commentary on Psalms, written in a midrashic style, of which only fragments are extant. He was a leading Spanish *paytan*; of the vast number of *piyyutim* that he composed, approximately 300 are known today. A few have been published in recent times; others are found in rare prints (in prayer books of Aragon, Catalonia, Sicily, etc.); but most are dispersed over hundreds of manuscripts. Among his outstanding *piyyutim* are *Ma'amad le-Yom ha-Kippurim*, a collection of *piyyutim* designed for the various portions of prayers on the Day of Atonement (he was the first Sephardi who composed a *ma'amad* prayer); **hoshanot*, for the Sukkot festival; and *yoẓerot, piyyutim* for the *Shaḥarit* prayer, which dealt with the weekly portion from the Torah. A scientific edition of Ibn Abitur's poems and a comprehensive study of them has been prepared by E. Fleischer (thesis presented to the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (1968)).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 66ff.; 2 (1922), 25, 59–60, 169; S. Assaf, *Mekorot u-Meḥkarim* (1946), 115–8; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 399–400; Lewin, in: *Ginzei Kedem*, 6 (1944), 25–26; Bernstein, in: *Sinai*, 31 (1952), 284–309; 32 (1953), 128; Zulay, in: KS, 30 (1954/55), 243–53; Schirmann, Sefarad, 1 (1959²), 53–65; 2 (1956), 677; idem, *Shirim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah* (1965), 149–56; Ashtor, Korot, 1 (1966²), 233ff.

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

IBN AL-BARQŪLĪ, family which played an important role in the Babylonian communities in the second half of the 13th century and of which several members served in government positions. The information available from literary sources deals with the members of the Ibn al-Barqūlī family in *Baghdad and Wāsiṭ. The head of this family was MEVORAKH. Judah *al-Ḥarizi dedicated his *Sefer Taḥkemoni* to the philanthropist, the *sar* (i.e., holder of government office) R. SAMUEL of Baghdad (beginning of 13th century); he also mentions his two brothers, the *sar* JOSEPH and the *sar* EZRA. In his report on the community of Wāsiṭ he mentions the *sar* R. SAMUEL, who was probably the wealthy Abu Naṣr Samuel; the Hebrew poet *Eleazar b. Jacob ha-Bavli praises him in several of his poems (in his *Divan*, ed. H. Brody (1935) no. 164). In one poem, no. 165, he mentions Samuel's son JOSEPH. The same poet also wrote some poems in honor of Joseph of Wāsiṭ. Numbers 113–7, 121–8, and 213–4 were written in honor of another Ibn al-Barqūlī, a wealthy Baghdad citizen. Eleazar also sent a poem, which has not been preserved, to ABU AL-GHANĀ'IM.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Alḥarizi, *Taḥkemoni*, ed. by A. Kaminka (1899), 14–15, 369; Assaf, in: *Tarbiẓ*, 1:3 (1930), 41, 49, 55–56; A. Ben-Jacob, *Yehudei Bavel* (1965), 25.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

IBN ALFAKHAR (Ar. "potter"), distinguished family in Spain, whose members included court physicians and communal leaders. Originally from Granada, most of the family moved to Toledo following the persecutions by the *Almohads in Andalusia during the 12th century. Notable were: ABRAHAM ABU ISḤAK IBN ALFAKHAR (d. 1240?), of Toledo, crown-appointed chief rabbi of Castile. Abraham ibn Alfakhar had a profound knowledge of Arabic, including the Koran; his style has been praised by experts. He composed poems in Arabic, including a eulogy of Alfonso VIII (1158–1214). Abraham was sent by Alfonso on a diplomatic mission to Abu Yakub, the sultan of the Almohads in Morocco. He was a patron of Hebrew poets; *Judah b. Isaac ha-Levi ibn Shabbetai dedicated his *Minḥat Yehudah* to him in 1208. Judah *Al-Ḥarizi, who was acquainted with Abraham some ten years later, mentioned him favorably in his *Taḥkemoni*. With Don Todros *Abulafia, and the support of the authorities, Abraham ibn Alfakhar took active measures to extirpate Karaism, which still had some adherents in Castile. In 1194, he married a daughter of Abba Amr Joseph *Ibn Shoshan. His wife was the sister-in-law of Meir ha-Levi Abulafia who composed the inscription on Abraham's tombstone, most of the text of which is extant. It states that Abraham died on 25 Tevet, 4000 AM, but the Hebrew date is open to question. JOSEPH (JOSI) IBN ALFAKHAR (d. 1195), physician to Alphonso VIII of Castile, and known by the honorific title *nasi* of the Jewish community of the kingdom. In 1178 he was instrumental in persuading the king to suppress the *Karaite community in Castile. Joseph was reputedly betrothed to a daughter of Judah ibn Ezra. Meir ha-Levi Abulafia composed an elegy on his death. His son, JUDAH IBN ALFAKHAR (d. 1235), was physician at the court of Ferdinand III of Castile. Judah was an opponent of the philosophical works of *Maimonides and lifted the controversy surrounding this subject on to an intellectual and theoretical plane. David *Kimḥi made an unsuccessful attempt to influence Judah and the Toledo community to join forces with the Maimonists. Judah's opinion that it was impossible to reconcile Judaism with philosophy is expressed in three letters written to Kimḥi. SOLOMON IBN ALFAKHAR (DON CULEMA; 14th century), mentioned as a tax farmer in Castile, was also appointed by the archbishop of Toledo to serve as rabbi and chief Jewish judge in the Toledo community. At the close of the 1350s he was residing in Seville, and was still a tax farmer on a large scale in 1387.

Several members of the family were tax farmers and held other public offices. One MEIR was the son-in-law of Meir *Alguades, and his widow was especially esteemed. According to a decision recorded in the communal statutes of Valladolid in 1432 she was exempted from taxes. The sources continue to refer to members of the family until the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, index; A. Ashkenazi, *Ta'am Zekenim* (1855), 1–12; Loeb, in: REJ, 18 (1889), 62; Steinschneider, in: JQR, 11 (1898/99), 590; I. Davidson, *Parody in Jewish Literature* (1907), 8, 33 (on Abraham); Cantera-Millás, Inscripciones, 65–67 (on Abraham); Brody, in: YMḤSI, 2 (1936), 7 (on Joseph); J. González, *El Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, 1 (1960), 135, 660 (on Joseph); Guttmann, Philosophies, index (on Judah); Baer, Urkunden, index (on Meir).

[Zvi Avneri]

IBN AL-HĪTĪ, DAVID BEN SE'ADEL (mid-15th century), Karaite chronicler. As his surname indicates, Ibn al-Hītī was a native of the ancient town of Hit in Iraq, some 90 miles (150 km.) west of Baghdad. He himself lived and studied in Egypt. Nothing else is known about his life. Ibn al-Hītī's only known work is a concise chronicle, in Arabic, of Karaite scholars from *Anan b. David (eighth century) to his own time. It follows no strict chronological arrangement, but is written in a factual manner, the author having carefully consulted a number of ancient manuscripts and used oral traditions and other sources which are no longer extant. His work is, therefore, of considerable historical value.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Poznański, *Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon* (1908), 82; Margoliouth, in: JQR, 9 (1896/97), 429–43 (text of the chronicle with Eng. tr.); L. Nemoy (ed.), *Karaite Anthology* (1952), 230–5 (new Eng. tr. of the chronicle based on a corrected text).

[Leon Nemoy]

IBN AL-RABĪB, ABRAHAM (also called Abu Isḥāk; first half of the 12th century), Hebrew poet who lived in Andalusia. Abraham was a close friend of *Judah Halevi who compiled three hymns of praise for him on the occasion of his marriage. Abraham *Ibn Ezra, too, was one of his admirers and presented him and his father-in-law the *nasi*, Isaac ibn Muhājir, with a joint hymn of praise. Only a fragment of a poem by him remains, a dirge in which he laments the death of his relations, the *nesi'im*, members of the Muhājir family. The poem is rhymed and has an alphabetic acrostic. The manuscript, however, only reaches the tenth letter of the alphabet. He was not considered a great poet, and his name is not mentioned in any of the medieval lists of significant Hebrew Andalusian poets.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Schirmann, *Shirim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah* (1965), 217f., 267, 272; Judah Halevi, *Diwan*, ed. by H. Brody, 1 (1894), 179–80; 2 (1909), 29–31, 276.

IBN ALTABBAN, LEVI BEN JACOB (**Abu l-Fahm**; late 11th century in Saragossa), poet and grammarian. Little is known of his life. Though extensively praised by contemporary poets, including Moses *Ibn Ezra and *Judah Halevi, the same as by *Al-Ḥarizi, his poems were forgotten for nearly 500 years. Those of his poems which were preserved were attributed to other poets, principally to Judah Halevi, because of the signature "Levi" and the similar poetic style. Around 70 poems of Ibn Altabban were collected from manuscripts and printed works and published, together with a detailed intro-

duction and notes by D. Pagis (1968), and some others were published after this edition. Only a few are secular poems, songs of friendship, among them an answer to Moses Ibn Ezra. All the rest are liturgical poems, distinguished by their lyricism, purity of thought, and delicate style. His hymns, supplications, penitential songs, prayers in time of drought, etc., reflect the influence of Solomon ibn *Gabirol and Judah Halevi. About half of them have a strophic structure. He expresses again and again the sorrow of the exiled people in the hands of Muslims and Christians. Some short lyrical poems take the form of a dialogue between Israel and God. His *piyyutim* became very popular in the synagogues of North Africa. Jacob ibn Altabban, his son, was also a poet, although none of his poems is known.

For many years Levi Ibn Altabban was remembered solely as a grammarian, the author of *Ha-Mafte'aḥ* ("The Key"), written in Arabic, which is mentioned in the *Moznei Leshon ha-Kodesh* of Abraham *Ibn Ezra; only a fragment of this treatise is extant. Saadia *Ibn Danan mentions him as one of the four great Hebrew grammarians of the 11th century. On some of the controversial topics discussed by *Samuel ha-Nagid and Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ, Ibn Altabban agrees with Samuel. Levi Ibn Altabban taught Hebrew grammar in Saragossa, having distinguished students like Ibrahim Isaac *Ibn Barun.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schirmann, Sefarad, 1 (1959²), 329f.; 2 (1956), 681f.; idem, in: YMḤSI, 4 (1938), 252–7; 6 (1945), 332; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 430, s.v. *Levi ben Ya'akov*; Pagis, in: *Leshonenu*, 27–28 (1963/64), 49–57. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E. Ashtor, *The Jews of Moslem Spain*, 3 (1984), 224–27; I. Levin and A. Sáenz-Badillos, *Si me olvido de ti Jerusalen…* (1992), 33–39; Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (1995), 496–503 (Heb.); A. Sáenz-Badillos and J. Targarona, *Gramáticos hebreos de al-Andalus* (1988), 155–6.

[Abraham Meir Habermann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN AL-TAQANA, MOSES (also **Abu al-Hasan**; in Arabic, **al-Tayyah** ("the perplexed"); 11th century), Spanish Hebrew poet. Ibn al-Taqana was a member of a noble Jewish family that probably lived in Saragossa; he received a broad education. He enjoyed the reputation of an outstanding satirical poet. *Al-Ḥarizi praised his poetic wisdom. Sometime after the age of thirty, he met with a fatal accident while on a voyage to Tudela. Except for one verse quoted in Moses Ibn Ezra's poetics, there is no poem extant which is specifically attributed to him. The verse is an imitation of Ibn Gabirol, substantiating the suggestion that Ibn al-Taqana may possibly be the author of a long satirical poem, published by Bialik in 1929, on the basis of a St. Petersburg manuscript, and similar in many ways to Ibn Gabirol's poetry. The author of the poem introduces himself as Moses b. Isaac, which may be Ibn al-Taqana's Hebrew name, and defends Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ against a prolific writer who could be *Samuel ha-Nagid. Zunz published a *bakkashah* written by him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Poesie, 215; Moses ibn Ezra, *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wal-Mudhākara*, ed. Halkin (1975), 36b, 92a; Steinschneider, in: JQR, 11 (1898/99), 624, no. 772; Simḥoni, in: *Ha-Tekufah*, 10 (1921), 174; Bialik, in: *Ẓiyyunim* (1929), 37–44; Brody, in: *Keneset*, 1 (1946), 410–5; Schirmann, Sefarad, 286–91; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 439. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Yarden, in: *Sinai*, 85 (1979), 28–33; Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (1995), 349–51 (Heb.).

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

IBN ARDUT, ḤAYYIM JOSEPH BEN AZRIEL HA-KOHEN (before 1750–1827), scholar of Salonika. Ibn Ardut was appointed rabbi of Salonika after the death of Raphael Ḥayyim Abraham *Covo in 1792. He was responsible for the printing of a large number of books, among them the *Yekara de-Shakhvei* (Salonika, 1774) and the *Ẓemaḥ David* (*ibid.*, 1785–1811) of his grandfather, *Joseph David. He wrote approbations to most of the books published in Salonika during his period of office. His responsa appear in the books of contemporary scholars, particularly in the responsa *Be'er ha-Mayim* (*ibid.*, 1836). The great influence he exerted upon his contemporaries is reflected in the poem "*Zemer*" composed by Aaron b. Moses Judah Ẓevi Ashkenazi, the emissary of the Holy Land, in honor of the community of Salonika.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosanes, Togarmah, 5 (1938), 148; 6 (1945), 86f.

IBN BALʿAM, JUDAH BEN SAMUEL (Ar. **Abu Zakariyyā Yaḥyā**; second half of the 11th century), biblical commentator and Hebrew grammarian. Ibn Balʿam came from Toledo from a respected family and settled later in Seville. Moses ibn Ezra, in his poems, extols his critical faculty, his wide knowledge, and his precise style, but criticizes his irritable temper in polemics. According to Ibn Ezra, Ibn Balʿam in his old age devoted himself to the study of the *halakhah* (*Shirat Yisrael*, ed. by B. Halper (1924), p. 73). Ibn Ezra's words are borne out by Ibn Balʿam's works: they present vehement polemics, especially against Moses b. Samuel ha-Kohen *Gikatilla, and, in marked opposition to the Spanish biblical commentators of his age, apply halakhic hermeneutics. In accordance with the Spanish school of exegesis, he analyzes the Bible text grammatically and makes comparisons with Arabic. He exerted great influence on later commentators, especially on Abraham ibn Ezra.

The following works by him, all composed in Arabic, are known: (1) *Kitāb al-Tārjiḥ* ("The Book of Decision"), a commentary on the Pentateuch, a considerable portion of which was edited by S.A. Poznański (to Lev. in ZHB, 4 (1900), 17ff.) and S. Fuchs (to Num. and Deut., in *Studien*…, iii–xxiii); (2) *Nuqat al-Miqra* ("Glosses to the Scripture"), a commentary on the Prophets and Hagiographa, parts of which were published in various places (see bibliography, Abramson, p. 55, notes 6–11); (3) *Kitāb Taʿdīd Iʿjāzāt al-Tawrāt wa-al-Nubuwwa* ("The Book of the Enumeration of the Wonders of the Pentateuch and the Prophets"), quoted by Moses ibn Ezra (*Shirat Yisrael*, 188) and by Ibn Balʿam himself in *Nuqaṭ al-Miqra*; (4) *Kitāb al-Irshād* ("The Book of Guidance"), quoted by Moses ibn Ezra (*ibid.*, 110). Steinschneider was wrong in identifying it with the *Horayat ha-Kore*, which apparently was

not composed by Ibn Balʿam; the same applies, it seems, to the *Sefer Taʿamei ha-Mikra*; (5) *Kitāb al-Tajnīs* ("The Book of Homonyms," also called *Kitāb al-Muṭābiq wa-al-Mujānis*); the Arabic original was edited by Kokowzoff (p. 69 Heb. pt.), and again by Abramson; (6) *Hurūf al-Maʿānī*, on Hebrew particles (see Kokowzoff, p. 203 Russ. pt. and pp. 109 ff., Heb. pt.); (7) *al Afʿal al-Mushtaqqa min al-Asmā'*, on denominative verbs (see Kokowzoff, p. 203 Russ. pt. and pp. 133 ff. Heb. pt.).

It is supposed that some poems with the acrostic of the name Balʿam were composed by Ibn Balʿam.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Fuchs, *Studien ueber Abu Zakaria Jachja…* (1893); W. Wickes, *A Treatise on the Accentuation of the Three So-Called Poetical Books of the Old Testament…* (Oxford, 1881), 102 ff.; P. Kahle, in: ZDMG, 55 (1901), 175; Poznański, *ibid.*, 70 (1916), 449–76; 71 (1917), 270 (mainly corrections by I. Goldziher); B. Kohlbach, *Jehuda ibn Balan* (Hung., 1888); P. Kokowzoff, *K istorii srednevekovoy yevreyskoy filologii i yevreysko-arabskoy literaturi*, 2 (1916); M. Zobel, in: EJ, 8 (1931), 316–21; S. Abramson, in: *H. Yalon Jubilee Volume* (1963), 51–149; Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1956), 298–300; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 388.

[Joshua Blau]

IBN BARUN, ABU IBRAHIM ISAAC BEN JOSEPH IBN BENVENISTE (c. 1100), Hebrew grammarian and lexicographer. He lived in Saragossa and Málaga and associated with Moses *Ibn Ezra and *Judah Halevi, who dedicated poems to him; the former called him *nasi* and *gevir* "prince." Ibn Barun wrote poems in Hebrew and in Arabic which are not extant. He was a pupil of the Hebrew poet and grammarian Levi *Ibn Altabban, and in his *Kitāb al-Muwāzana bayn al-Lugha al-ʿIbrāniyya wa-al-ʿArabiyya* ("The Book of Comparison between the Hebrew and Arabic Language"), he developed the comparative linguistic studies begun by *Ibn Quraysh, *Dunash ibn Tamim, and Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ. The book (fragments of which are extant) consists of two parts, the shorter one dealing with grammar and the longer one, called "The Book of Roots," a lexical work. Ibn Barun knew Arabic literature well and often quotes the Koran, and Khalīl ibn Aḥmad's *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* (the first Arabic lexicon), among others. According to Moses ibn Ezra who mentions Ibn Barun in his poetics (*Shirat Yisrael*, ed. by B. Halper 54, 76), Ibn Barun (like Ibn Quraysh) assumed a non-Semitic origin for some Hebrew words (in which assumption he was wrong, according to Ibn Ezra). Despite the excellent quality of Ibn Barun's work, it did not exert influence on other medieval authors and philologists. Joseph *Kimḥi is one of the few authorities who quote him. It was only in the 19th century that Jewish scholars discovered the importance of Ibn Barun for the development of Hebrew linguistics. Kokowzoff edited the fragments of Ibn Barun's *Kitāb al-Muwāzana* with a detailed Russian introduction (see bibliography). P. Wechter published a complete translation with a detailed introduction in English based on Kokowzoff, rendering this important work accessible to the English-speaking world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, in: ZAW, 14(1894), 223–49; Eppenstein, in: REJ, 41(1900), 233–49; 42(1901), 76–102; P. Kokowzoff, *K istorii srednevekovoy yevreyskoy filologii i yevreysko-arabskoy literaturi*, 1 (1893); 2 (1916), 155–172; Ashtor, Korot, 1 (19662), 203; P. Wechter, *Ibn Barun's Arabic Works on Hebrew Grammar and Lexicography* (1964). For the spelling of *Barun* see Stern, in JQR, 40 (1949–50), 189–91.

[Joshua Blau and Abraham Solomon Halkin]

IBN BARZEL, JOSEPH (12th century), Hebrew physician and poet. Ibn Barzel was a member of a well-known Spanish-Jewish family, but he was not considered in his time a very good writer. His contemporary, Moses *Ibn Ezra, does not mention him among the best poets of the epoch. He is mentioned in a letter of *Judah Halevi to his friend *Halfon ben Nethanel (published by Goitein and Gil Fleischer) as someone who was very close to him. He is also mentioned in the 13th century, together with Solomon ibn Almu'allim and Joseph ibn *Ẓaddik, by Judah *al-Ḥarizi (*Taḥkemoni* 3) who describes his poetry as outstanding: "iron penned smooth, spiced song iron-strong." The extant fragments of Ibn Barzel's poems, found among the Cambridge *genizah* fragments and in a manuscript of the E. *Adler Collection, reveal talent, and – even those composed in accordance with conventional poetic forms – also originality. Schirmann published the preserved part of two panegyrics with a strophic structure as well as a short *reshut* in which God proclaims the liberation of Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schirmann, in: YMḤSI, 2 (1936), 175–8; Schirmann, Sefarad, 1 (1959^2), 566–8; Goitein, in: *Tarbiz*, 25 (1956), 402, 409–10; J.M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Escrituras mozárabes de hebreos toledanos* (1930), 35; Al-Ḥarizi, *Taḥkemoni*, ed. by A. Kaminka (1899), 39, line 13 (cf. 475), and 42, line 12; Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (1995), 518–21 (Heb.); M. Gil and E. Fleischer, *Yehuda ha-Levi and His Circle* (2001), 324–26 (Heb.).

[Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN BIKLĀRISH, JUNAS (Jonah) BEN ISAAC (end of 11th century), Spanish physician and authority on *materia medica*. Ibn Biklārish worked as a court physician for the Hod dynasty of Saragossa. In 1106 he completed what is probably the most important Arabic pharmacological treatise, the *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī*. This was dedicated to al-Mustaʿīn bi-Allah, the fourth Hod governor of Saragossa (d. c. 1110). It is a work of close to 500 pages, larger than folio size, containing in tabular form the names of hundreds of medicaments; their nature and function; their names in Greek, Persian, Syriac, Latin, and sometimes in Berber; and lists of substitute drugs with their properties and methods of use. The introduction to the tables, which is rich in pharmaceutical explanations based on *Galen, *Dioscorides, and others, shows Ibn Biklārish to have been one of the outstanding medical men of his time. *Maimonides apparently made use of the *Kitāb* in his *Glossary of Medicines*, although without mentioning it by name. There are three manuscripts extant, at Leiden, Madrid, and Naples.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, 2 pt. 1 (1931), 235.

[Martin Levey]

IBN BILIA, DAVID BEN YOM TOV (first half of 14[th] century), Portuguese Hebrew scholar, translator, philosopher, exegete, and poet. Ibn Bilia wrote *Me'or Enayim*, a commentary on the Pentateuch quoted by Samuel Zarza, based upon his own research, with magical and astrological elements, of which only a fragment has been published. In his *Ta'amei ha-Otiyyot* he explains certain biblical letters in a philosophical-allegorical way. *Ha-Shi'urim* also has allegoric commentaries to the Bible beside philosophical sections and a philosophical poem. In addition, he wrote books on medicine, astrology, logic, polemics (*Ma'amar Magen David*), and theology. He translated from Latin a work on the skin of snakes by Johannes Paulinus. Of his works, only two have been printed: a treatise on the 13 principles of Judaism, called *Yesodot ha-Maskil* (in the anthology *Divrei Ḥakhamim*, edited by R. Eleazar Ashkenazi, Metz, 1849), and a composition, *"Derekh La'asot Ḥaruzim,"* published by N. Allony, containing among other things, a list of Hebrew meters with illustrations taken chiefly from his own poems.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Allony, in: *Aresheth* (1943/44), 377–86; idem, in: *Kovez ʿal Yad*, 6 (1966), 225–44; M. Steinschneider, *Die hebraeischen Handschriften, Muenchen* (1895[2]), 105; Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 499, 806. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** C. del Valle, *El Divan poético de Dunash ben Labrat* (1988), 344–8; D. Schwartz, in: *Kiryat Sefer*, 63 (1990–91), 637–45 (Heb.); idem, in: *Kovez al Yad*, 12 (1994), 171–206 (Heb.); A. Ackerman, in: *Kabbalah*, 1 (1996), 73–80.

IBN DANAN (Dannan), SAADIAH BEN MAIMUN (second half of 15[th] century), grammarian, philosopher, poet, and halakhist. He lived first in Granada, where he functioned as *dayyan*, and later, after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, in Oran (Algeria) where he died. Ibn Danan's responsa include one on the status of the Marranos (Edelman, *Ḥemdah Genuzah* (1856), 13a–16b), and *Ma'amar al Seder ha-Dorot* ("Treatise on the Order of the Generations"), listing a chronology of the Jewish kings (*ibid.*, 25a–31a). His *Al-Ḍarūri fi al-Lugha al-ʿIbrāniyya* ("The Necessary [Rule] of the Hebrew Language") contained a chapter on Hebrew prosody and was the first attempt at comparing the Hebrew meter with the Arabic. It was written in Arabic, and a part was translated by the author himself into Hebrew at the request of his pupils (published by A. Neubauer, in: *Melekhet ha-Shir* (1865), 1–18). Ibn Danan also wrote a talmudical lexicon called *Arukh* (in manuscript); several poems (e.g., one in honor of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*); a Hebrew dictionary in Arabic; and a commentary on Isaiah 53.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Arab Lit, 172, no. 139; Halper, in: JQR, 4 (1913/14), 153–224; Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1956), 665–6, 700; N. Slouchz, in: *Sura, Sefer Shanah Yisre'eli Amerika'i*, 3 (1958), 183–91.

IBN DAUD, ABRAHAM BEN DAVID HALEVI (known as **Rabad I**; c. 1110–1180), Spanish historian, philosopher, physician, and astronomer. Ibn Daud, the grandson of Isaac b. Baruch *Albalia, was born in Córdoba, and spent his formative years in the home of his maternal uncle, R. Baruch b. Isaac *Albalia who was his teacher. Though little is known of his life until 1160 it is evident from his writings that he received a well-rounded education, including rabbinics, Bible, Hebrew poetry, and Greek and Jewish philosophy. He was also familiar both with the New Testament and the Koran. In the wake of the Almohad conquest of Spain, he fled to Castile, where he settled in Toledo, the city with which he was most deeply associated, until his death there as a martyr in c. 1180 (cf. Sirat, 1977; see bibliography). Ibn Daud's major historical work, *Sefer* (or in some Mss. *Seder*) *ha-Kabbalah*, was written in 1160–61, the very same year in which his philosophical treatise, *Al ʿAqīda al-Rafiʿa*, was written. The two were intimately related to one another. Both were polemical treatises, the one defending Judaism through history, the other through philosophy. In actuality, *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* is only the first portion of a work that has three sections, although it is by far the best known of the three and had the greatest influence over the generations. It is essentially a history of Jewish tradition, oriented primarily against *Karaite teaching, and seeking to prove that it is only within Rabbanite traditions that Scripture fulfills itself. The work was primarily directed to those who had an understanding of Arabic scholarship. It is not the writing of history that was Ibn Daud's basic intent, but rather the utilization of history in order to dispute with the pious heretic of the time, the Karaite. The book opens with a survey of the very earliest generations and indicates the chain by which the Law was handed down from Moses, through the men of the Great Synagogue, the Babylonian exile, the Second Temple period, the time of the Hasmoneans, then the *tannaim, amoraim*, and *geonim*, the creation of new centers of learning in Egypt, Kairouan, and the western Diaspora, particularly Spain, to which a full third of the work is dedicated. The primacy of the Spanish center in the work is a reflection of Ibn Daud's stress on its independence from the Babylonian center. He mentions briefly contemporary talmudic scholars in France, and concludes his book with the destruction of the Andalusian communities by the Almohads and the founding of the new rabbinical center in Toledo. Of particular interest to historians through the ages is the story that begins the final chapter of the book, viz., that of the *Four Captives. According to the story, three great sages, R. Moses b. Ḥanokh, R. Shemariah, and R. Ḥushi'el were taken captive by a Moslem captain together with a fourth person who was not identified. They were then sold into slavery in Spain, Cairo, and Kairouan where they began new centers for the study of Torah. While historians have been divided in the past on the extent to which the story reflected historical reality, modern scholarship holds that the story is fictional and that it reflects the independence of the new centers of Torah from the Babylonian academies. Moreover, it also seeks to underline a religious message, that God will never abandon Israel. Appended to *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* are two additional historical compositions. The first of these is entitled *Zikhron Divrei Romi*, a history of Rome from the time of its foundation until the rise of the Muslim Empire. Its basic purpose was to attack Christian-

ity by claiming that the New Testament was a late fabrication of Constantine. The second appendix is called *Divrei Malkhei Yisrael be-Vayit Sheni* (a history of the kings of Israel during the Second Temple period). The latter work is also polemical in tone and is directed at the Sadducean heresy of the Second Temple period, the prototype in Ibn Daud's view of the Karaite heresy of his day. The text is the least original of his work, for it is essentially a paraphrasing of portions of **Josippon*, a tenth-century composition of an Italian Jew. Nonetheless it was the first to be translated into a European language and was known to European Christian readers. *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* had enormous influence down to modern times as an authority on the history of Spanish Jewry and its comments on the talmudic period particularly influenced the 19th-century Jewish historians. Although modern scholarship no longer accords it credence as objective history it remains a significant source for the life and thought of 12th-century Spain. The work was originally published in Mantua in 1514. The definitive critical edition of the text together with an English translation and commentary was published by G.D. Cohen (*Sefer Ha-Qabbalah*, 1967). Cohen has convincingly argued that Ibn Daud's account of Jewish history conveys a message of messianic redemption. Ibn Daud's book on astronomy, mentioned in Isaac Israeli's *Yesod Olam*, remains unknown. Similarly, he himself mentioned an anti-Karaite polemical treatise whose whereabouts are unknown.

Philosophy

Ibn Daud is commonly considered to be the first Jewish Aristotelian. His philosophical work *Al ʿAqīda al-Rafīʿa* represents the first systematic attempt to integrate the doctrines of the Muslim Aristotelians Alfarabi and Ibn Sina into Jewish philosophical thought. The Arabic original is presumably lost. It was translated into Hebrew twice towards the end of the 14th century, first by Solomon ben Lavi under the title *Ha-Emunah ha-Ramah* ("The Escalated Faith") (c. 1391–92), perhaps at the suggestion of Ḥasdai *Crescas, and a little later by Samuel ibn Motot at the suggestion of *Isaac ben Sheshet. This second translation, *Ha-Emunah ha-Nissa'ah* ("The Sublime Faith") was edited by A. Eran (1990) on the basis of the sole surviving manuscript (ms. Mantua 81). Eran determined that the second translation attempted to improve on the first, but that it is less accurate (Eran 1996). *Ha-Emunah ha-Ramah* was published in 1852 with a German translation by Simson Weil (1852; Hebrew text partially reprinted 1967) and in 1986 by N. Samuelson with an English translation by G. Weiss.

Ibn Daud's book was soon eclipsed by Maimonides' *Moreh Nevukhim* which may be why Ibn Daud was mentioned only occasionally by later Jewish philosophers, e.g., by Hasdai Crescas (*Or Adonai*, 1:1, introduction). Maimonides himself does not mention his predecessor by name, but the parallels between the two works with respect to specific doctrines, biblical exegesis, and intended audience suggest that Maimonides was familiar with *Ha-Emunah ha-Ramah*. Ibn Daud for his part refers only to Saadiah Gaon and Solomon Ibn Gabirol of the older Jewish philosophers. From his Aristotelian point of view he considered Saadiah's achievement inadequate, despite his respect for him, while he subjected Gabirol's neo-Platonism to severe criticism. Although he does not refer to *Judah Halevi, his thought displays several parallels with Halevi's *Kuzari* whereas his overall thesis concerning the relation between philosophy and religion can be explained as a response to Halevi's critique of philosophy.

Divided into three treatises *Ha-Emunah ha-Ramah* provides the beginning student of philosophy with a survey of Aristotelian philosophy as studied by the Muslim philosophers Alfarabi and Ibn Sina. Ibn Daud's aim is to demonstrate the harmony between philosophy and religion to those who, as a result of their study of philosophy, no longer know "how to hold two lamps," that is the lamp of religion and that of philosophy. In particular, the book seeks to solve the question of whether the human will is free or determined, since Scripture is not clear with respect to this issue, as Biblical verses can be adduced in support of either position (ER, Introduction, 2–4). To answer this question, Ibn Daud deals with a wide variety of philosophical themes. The first treatise (ER 4–43) is devoted to physics and metaphysics insofar as is necessary for an investigation of the Jewish religion, whereas the second (ER II 44–98) studies "the principles of religion" in light of contemporary philosophy. Whereas these two treatises are concerned with theoretical philosophy, the subject of the last treatise (ER III 98–104), is "practical philosophy," that is, moral conduct, since the end of philosophy is "action" (Introd. 2–4).

LOGIC AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHY. Ibn Daud was the first to introduce Aristotelian logic and a systematic survey of Aristotelian natural philosophy into Jewish philosophy. The book opens with a discussion of substance and accident (ER I. 1, based on al-Farabi's paraphrase of the Categories of Aristotle and Ibn Sina's *Maqaulaat* (*Shifaa'*). This discussion forms the basis for Ibn Daud's description of existing things in general and for his account of immaterial substances in particular. The next sections provide detailed expositions of the basic principles of Aristotle's philosophy that recur throughout ER: matter and form, the elements, motion, and infinity (ER I.2–5). Two theses are particularly relevant for his thought: firstly, that there is no motion without a mover, and secondly, that no infinite series can exist in actuality. Ibn Daud's primary source in these sections is Ibn Sina's *Shifaa'* and possibly also al-Ghazali's *Maqaasid al-falaasifa*, whereas Ibn Gabirol is criticized for his confused notions on matter and form.

Soul. The next topic, the soul (ER I.6–7) is of central importance to Ibn Daud, linked as it is with the preceding discussions on the one hand and to his treatment of immaterial substances, prophecy and ethics in parts II and III on the other. Ibn Daud adopts the Aristotelian definition of the soul as the perfection of a natural body that possesses life potentially. Contrary to what "the physicians" (i.e., Hippocrates and perhaps also Galen) claim, the soul is not an accident or mixture, but a substance in the sense of form. The soul is one but

manifests itself through many faculties. Ibn Daud's extensive survey of the various faculties of the vegetative, animal and human soul is based on the premise that these faculties constitute a hierarchy in which each lower level serves the higher. The highest level is the intellect, thanks to which man has a special position among natural beings on earth. Following Aristotelian arguments adduced by Ibn Sina, Ibn Daud argues that the human soul, being immaterial, does not perish with the body, but is immortal.

In line with his aim to establish the harmony between religion and philosophy, Ibn Daud concludes each of the topics discussed in these sections with a paragraph on biblical verses that, in his view, point to or prove the contents of the preceding philosophical discussion. This is also valid for the first four sections of Part II where he moves from the physical world to the heavenly realm (God, His unity, His attributes and the separate substances).

GOD AND ATTRIBUTES. To prove God's existence, Ibn Daud adduces the Aristotelian proof based on motion: all motions derive from a Prime Mover who is unmoved and incorporeal. To this he adds Ibn Sina's proof based on the distinction between necessary and contingent (accidental) existence. All contingents have their origin in a Necessary Existent, God, whose essence implies His existence. While God's essence remains hidden for mortals, His existence, manifested by His actions, can be known. God's necessary existence implies His unity, both in the sense of uniqueness and simplicity, because any plurality in God would contradict His necessary existence. Therefore, Ibn Daud, following the relevant discussions by Ibn Sina and al-Ghazali, adopts the neo-Platonic procedure of interpreting all attributes of God (God as one, existent, true, eternal, living, knowing, willing and mighty) as negations, or as expressing relations of God, for these do not imply plurality in the Divine essence (ER II.1–3).

INTELLIGENCES AND EMANATION. God's unity precludes that the multiplicity of things proceeds from him directly. From the One only one thing can proceed. Between God and the physical world Ibn Daud posits a hierarchically ordered series of incorporeal substances exists that act as intermediaries between the One and the sub-lunar world. These intermediaries are called "intelligences" in philosophical parlance and "angels" in Scripture. The existence of the lowest of them, the active intellect, can be deduced from the process of cognition in the human soul. Each of the spheres has a soul and an intellect that is its unmoved mover and the final cause for the soul of the sphere. Only the first intelligence emanates directly from God. Unlike God, it is not necessary *per se*, and this is where multiplicity enters the order of beings. Each intelligence gives rise to three things: the next intelligence, the next sphere and the soul of that sphere, until the emanation of the active intellect. The forms of species and the individual forms in the sub-lunar world emanate from the intelligences and the spheres (ER II.4). Ibn Daud borrows this account, a mixture of Aristotelian, neo-Platonic and Ptolemaic ingredients, from the Muslim philosophers, albeit with some reservations.

PROPHECY. Ibn Daud presents a naturalistic account of the phenomenon of prophecy (ER II.5.1). The active intellect provides the "keys of future things" to those whose intellect has been sufficiently prepared to receive such knowledge. Prophecy is a special form of knowledge that emanates from the active intellect on the imagination and the intellect. Ibn Daud follows his Muslim sources in claiming that prophecy will emanate on those whose soul is prepared. However, in a manner reminiscent of Judah Halevi, he restricts the actual occurrence of prophecy to the Jewish people and the Holy Land. The prophet represents the highest level of the hierarchy on earth and forms the link between the supernal and the sub-lunar world.

Interestingly, halfway in the first section on prophecy Ibn Daud gives up the usual procedure of supporting his philosophical account by biblical verses and starts to integrate biblical and rabbinic passages into the discussion itself. A. Eran (1998, 263 ff) has suggested that the section on prophecy originally formed an independent unit that was written together with *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, and was later incorporated into ER.

DEFENSE OF THE LAW. The second section on prophecy (ER II.5.2) consists of a polemic concerning the eternal validity of Biblical Law directed at Muslims, Christians and perhaps also against Karaites. Arguing in syllogistic fashion and using Muslim exegetical techniques Ibn Daud defends the authenticity of the Biblical text: the revelation received by Moses is the only true revelation and the Torah has neither been abrogated nor falsified. One of his unnamed Muslim addressees is the theologian and jurist Ibn Hazm.

FREE WILL. The problem of free will is discussed in connection with a number of topics that are relevant to it: causality, the position of the intelligences/angels as intermediaries between God and humans, divine omniscience, providence, and evil (II.6).

Building on Alexander of Aphrodisias's concept of providence, he argues that angels, heavenly bodies and nature act as intermediate causes between God and humans. Ibn Daud, following Ibn Sina, considers evil to be a privation and attributes it to matter. Man must aspire to overcome his matter and to connect with the angels. Man is free to choose to do so thanks to the existence of "free" causes. Human choice belongs to the realm of the possible. Contrary to earlier Jewish thinkers Ibn Daud safeguards free will by declaring that God knows the possible only as possible, while he maintains that this does not imply a deficiency in God's knowledge. Philosophy thus teaches us that human action is undetermined, which implies that Biblical verses that seem to teach the contrary have to be interpreted in accordance with the philosophical position.

ETHICS. The freedom of the will has as its corollary that man is free to choose the right moral conduct by which he will attain bliss. A combination of Platonic and Aristotelian ele-

ments on the one hand and of Biblical notions on the other, Ibn Daud's ethics (ER III) hinges on the concept of justice. It is a matter of justice that man serves his benefactor by fulfilling the commandments. In a manner reminiscent of Abraham Ibn Ezra, Ibn Daud argues that intellectual love leads to true service of God. The Biblical commandments offer the best way not only for the perfection of man's character and his relations with his fellow-men, and thus for the ideal society, but also for constant commitment to service of God.

Ibn Daud is certainly one of the most rationalistic of Jewish philosophers. Nonetheless, in his accounts of emanation and divine knowledge he criticizes the philosophers for not recognizing the limits of the intellect. Despite the promised harmony Ibn Daud's thought displays some inconsistencies and "loose ends," for example in his theories on matter, on divine attributes and on prophecy. Moreover, he retains the belief in creation without explaining exactly how it can be reconciled with the Aristotelian view of necessary emanation, and without evaluating the arguments in support of the eternity of the world, as Maimonides was to do a few decades later.

The question of the identity of the twelfth-century Arabic-to-Latin translator Avendauth who collaborated with Dominicus Gundissalinus has not yet been solved. Modern research, however, tends to confirm M. d'Alverny's hypothesis (1954) according to which the translator Avendauth and the philosopher Ibn Daud are one and the same person.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany) / Resianne Fontaine (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G.D. Cohen (ed.), *Sefer Ha-Qabbalah* (1967; Eng.); idem, in: PAAJR, 29 (1960/61), 55–131; J. Guttmann, Philosophies, 143–52; Husik, Philosophy, 197–235; J. Guttmann, *Die Religionsphilosophie des Abraham ibn Daud aus Toledo* (1879); idem (ed.), *Moses ben Maimon…*, 2 (1914), 233–42; S. Horovitz, in: *Jahres-Bericht des juedisch-theologischen Seminars Breslau* (1912), 212–86; J. Guggenheimer, *Die Religionsphilosophie des Abraham b. David ha-Levi* (1850); W. Bacher, *Die Bibelexegese der juedischen Religionsphilosophen des Mittelalters vor Maim–ni* (1892), 137–55; D. Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Attributenlehre in der juedischen Religionsphilosophie des Mittelalters von Saadja bis Maim–ni* (1877), 241–52, 341–60; Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 368–72. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Arfa, "Abraham Ibn Daud and the Beginnings of Medieval Jewish Aristotelianism" (Ph.D. diss., 1954); M.T. d'Alverny, in: *Homenaje a Millas Vallicrosa* I (1954), 19–43; H.A. Wolfson, *Studies in the History of Philosophy and Religion* (1973, 1977), index; C. Sirat, in: *Italia* (1977), 39–61; idem, *A History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (1985), 141–55; N.M. Samuelson (ed.), *Abraham Ibn Daud. The Exalted Faith* (1986); M. Schmelzer, in: R. Link-Saliger (ed.), *Of Scholars, Savants and their Texts*, (1989), 209–15; R. Fontaine, *In Defence of Judaism: Abraham Ibn Daud. Sources and Structure of ha-Emunah ha-Ramah* (1990); A. Eran, "*Mekorotav ha-filosofiyyim shel Avraham ibn Daud be-Sifro Al ʿAqīda al-Rafiʿa*" (Ph.D. diss., 1990); idem, in: *Daʿat,* 31 (1993), 5–26; idem, in: *Tarbiz,* 65 (1996), 97–107; idem, in: ASP, 7 (1997) 228–65; idem, *Me-Emunah Tammah le-Emunah Ramah* (1998); R. Fontaine, in: *Zutot,* 2 (2002), 156–63; A. Eran, in: *Tarbiz,* 73 (2004), 139–50; A. Fidora, in: M. Lutz-Bachmann and A. Fidora (eds), *Juden, Christen und Muslime. Religionsdialoge im Mittelalter* (2004), 10–26; R. Fontaine, in: B. Roggema and M. Poorthuis (eds), *The Three Rings* (2005), 19–34.

IBN EZRA, ABRAHAM BEN MEIR (1089–1164), one of the most important Jewish Bible exegetes; also a poet, composer of **piyyutim*, grammarian, translator, philosopher, astronomer, and astrologer. Exceptionally erudite, he was among the last creative geniuses of the Spanish "golden age." Nevertheless, despite the customary image of him, Ibn Ezra was neither a talmudic scholar (the suggestion that he studied in the yeshivah in Lucena has been refuted by Goldberg) nor a physician (his opposition in principle to medicine is detailed in his Long and Short commentaries to Exodus 21:19). He also lacked the requisite skills for business or public office, and therefore was unable to make a living in the accustomed professions of his social class – as a rabbi, *dayyan*, physician, businessman, or courtier. For lack of alternative, he became a professional poet, supported by patrons who loved poetry and sought fame. Ibn Ezra's dependence on a succession of benefactors is evident in the exaggerated praise he showered on them in his eulogies. The need to move from patron to patron, and his restless character forced Ibn Ezra to a life of wandering: besides his birthplace Tudela, we know that prior to 1140 he lived in Cordoba, Seville (where he raised his son Isaac), Christian Toledo (to which he apparently refers in his poem "*Mi ʿAlah Shamayim*" by the name "Edom," a rabbinic code-word for Rome and thus for Christianity), Gabes (Tunisia), Algeria, and Morocco. He did not, however, reach Egypt or the Land of Israel. His poetry (e.g., his poem "*Gavhu Sheḥakim*") refers to the adverse effect his prolonged wandering had on his family life.

Ibn Ezra was socially involved with the poets of his day, and was particularly close to *Judah Halevi, whom he frequently mentioned in his Bible commentaries, and who almost certainly was his in-law: his son Isaac married Halevi's daughter. Documents from the Cairo **Genizah* and from Isaac's collected poems attest to Isaac's accompanying Halevi on his sea voyage to Alexandria, where they parted: Halevi continued on alone to the Land of Israel, whereas Isaac went to Babylonia, where he eventually converted to Islam. Two of Ibn Ezra's poems, which are written in the first person, take the form of a father Abraham's elegy for his son Isaac, and refer explicitly to his death, but do not accord with the biographical and geographical facts in our possession regarding both Ibn Ezra and his son Isaac. Ezra Fleischer's conclusion, that Ibn Ezra wrote these poems about other deceased acquaintances and not about his son Isaac, must therefore be accepted. There is, therefore, no evidence that Isaac died during his father's lifetime or that Ibn Ezra knew of Isaac's apostasy in Babylonia.

In Jewish Spain, Hebrew was the language of poetry, and Judeo-Arabic was the language of prose. Ibn Ezra accordingly wrote only his religious and secular poems in Hebrew (many of which survived due to their popularity), but his Arabic works did not survive. We only know of their existence because of references to them in some of his surviving works, such as in his Introduction to his commentary to Lamentations and in one of his poems). These references indicate that his Arabic writings included both science and Bible exegesis. However, when he reached the age of 50, around the year

1140, his circumstances underwent a drastic change: for political reasons not entirely clear, he was forced to leave Muslim Spain and arrived alone in Rome (a fact to which he refers in the poem at the beginning of the Introduction to his commentary to Ecclesiastes, written in 1140). During the remaining quarter century of his life he wandered among the Jewish communities of Italy, Provence, North Africa, and England. Unlike the Jews of the Islamic countries, the Jews of Christian Europe did not know Arabic, and were, therefore, uninfluenced by Arabic science, philosophy, linguistics, and poetry. The appearance in their midst of a Spanish polymath, fluent in the sciences and in Hebrew grammar, and zealous in his rationalism and consistent *peshat* exegesis (i.e., philological and contextual interpretation), led to an ambivalent reaction: both admiration and hostility. Even Ibn Ezra's admirers failed to appreciate secular, courtier poetry. Nevertheless, affluent patrons supported him and enabled him to write his novel *peshat* exegesis, Hebrew translations of important works of grammar and astronomy, and Hebrew text books in his various areas of expertise, which exposed their children to Spanish-Jewish wisdom. The wandering poet thus became a wandering sage, combining personally and in his writings the intellectual and spiritual culture which flourished in the shadow of Islam from Babylonia to Andalusia. Ibn Ezra's wanderings during these years also resulted in our having two sets of commentaries to various biblical books and diverse versions of the same scientific work (as listed in the Bibliography). Different patrons would request the same book. However, because of his poverty, he no longer possessed the original, and therefore rewrote the book, with corrections and innovations. He now also had to write his exegetical and scientific works in Hebrew for his new readers in Christian Europe, and to coin new Hebrew terms in these disciplines, instead of the Arabic terms he had previously used. Unlike his earlier Arabic writings which were lost, most of his later writings survived, because they were written in Hebrew.

Ibn Ezra as an Exegete

Ibn Ezra probably did not write commentaries on every book of the Bible; the earliest (14th century) supercommentaries already attest that they did not have commentaries by Ibn Ezra on the Former Prophets, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Proverbs (the commentary printed as his in Rabbinic Bibles is actually by Moses Kimḥi), Ezra and Nehemiah (idem), and Chronicles. On the other hand, two commentaries (complete or fragmentary) survive on seven biblical books – Genesis, Exodus, the Minor Prophets, Psalms, Song of Songs, Esther, and Daniel.

Ibn Ezra summarized his exegetical method, with his characteristic brevity, in the rhymed introduction to his standard commentary on the Pentateuch: "This is *Sefer ha-Yashar* / by Abraham the poet;/ it is bound by the cords of grammar / and approved by the eye of reason; / happy are those who adhere to it." For Ibn Ezra, the word *yashar* (straight) included in his title was a synonym for *peshat* (comm. on Num. 22:28). He describes this method as satisfying the dual test of meticulous philology ("the cords of grammar") and strict rational plausibility ("eye of reason"); only this exegetical method can yield the spiritual joy that comes from the study of the Torah.

A significant portion of Ibn Ezra's commentary is devoted to precise and multifaceted linguistic clarifications, based on a critical adoption of the major achievements of the Spanish school of Hebrew philology. Particularly conspicuous is his tendency to apply the rules developed by his predecessors with extreme caution and stringency, and to limit to a bare minimum the prevalent recourse to exceptions and radical hypotheses (whenever he can do without them, he employs the expression: "there is no need"). For example, he rejects out of hand Ibn Janah's system of lexical substitution (that is, the legitimate interchange of similar words), and reduces to the minimum his method of consonantal substitution. Ibn Ezra demands that the exegetical enterprise be based on rational judgment, on the one hand, and on the master of all branches of knowledge, on the other: "Reason is the foundation, since the Torah was not given to those who have no knowledge, and the angel [i.e., mediator] between man and God is his intelligence" (Introduction to the standard commentary on the Pentateuch, the "Third Way"). He sought rationality not only in the rational commandments but even in the revelational commandments: "Heaven forbid that a single precept might contradict reason" (long comm. on Ex. 20:1). The narrative parts of the Pentateuch, too, must be interpreted in accordance with natural and psychological verisimilitude (comm. on Gen. 11:3, Ex. 20:1), except for miracles, which are utterly reasonable for one who believes in God's dominion over nature and is confident in the true testimony of Scripture. Miracles do contravene the laws of nature, but they do not contradict either reason (since God is omnipotent) or observation (by witnesses) (*Sefer ha-Ibbur* 10a). Accordingly, Ibn Ezra forcefully rejects the midrashic tendency to multiply miracles beyond those explicitly recounted in the Bible (long comm. on Dan. 1:15), but rejects doubts about the Noah pericope as the results of idle questions (comm. on Gen. 6:20).

The demand for plausibility extends to stylistic plausibility as well, by virtue of the rationalist assumption that Scripture is written in a language similar to "human language"; that is, that it is phrased in language to which the standard rules of syntax and rhetoric apply. The conventional gloss on "I am Esau your firstborn" (which goes back to a Midrash and was adopted by Rashi as a way to clear Jacob of lying) – "I am who I am, and Esau is your firstborn" – is rejected as "empty words" (comm. on Gen. 27:19), since the discrepancy between the text and the interpretive paraphrase is too great to conform to normal rhetoric and syntax.

Ibn Ezra also vigorously opposes ascribing significance to plene versus defective spelling. He grounds this opposition not only on the absence of any consistent usage in the matter in the various layers of the Bible, from the Pentateuch through Proverbs (introduction to the standard commentary on the Pentateuch, the "Fifth Way"), but also on the empirical fact that in day-to-day life plene and defective spelling have no

independent significance (long comm. to Ex. 20:1). Because the Bible does not employ supernatural language and its own unique rhetoric ("Heaven forbid that a prophet should express himself in numerology or obscure hints" (short comm. on Ex. 1:7)), and because human beings cannot transcend human concepts, it is only natural that the biblical style incorporate anthropomorphisms: human language necessarily uses metaphors drawn from the human realm to refer to the Divinity that is above man and to nature that is below him (long. comm. on Ex. 19:20).

Ibn Ezra's quest for the philological-contextual interpretation, controlled by reason and science, is accompanied by a strong methodological awareness. Relying on the fundamental principle, "let us pursue the text" (long comm. on Ex. 9:10), Ibn Ezra rejects midrashic expansions that are not anchored in the biblical text (short comm. on Ex. 16:4). He also feels a duty to vary his terminology to denote the degree of certainty he accords to his proposed interpretations: "but the correct [interpretation] is," "with clear proofs," "perhaps," "in my opinion," "a sort of proof," "this is only a conjecture." Similarly, he frequently offers alternative interpretations when he cannot make an unequivocal decision as to which is better; nor is he afraid to acknowledge his inability to understand some verses – an inability that stems, in part, from our limited knowledge of biblical history (Gen. 49:19), and our remoteness from the biblical world (long comm. on Ex. 30:23). Even though he rejects the exegetical validity of most Midrashim (as explained in his two introductions to the Pentateuch, the "Fourth Way"), sometimes he himself finds in the text an additional dimension (literary or conceptual) that he cannot adequately prove from the context; he characterizes this as a "sort of support" (short comm. on Ex. 21:1) or as "a sort of homily" (comm. on Deut. 16:18).

Ibn Ezra's exegetical method is marked by the fertile tension between belief in the sanctity and truth of the Bible, and extreme exegetical freedom. He acknowledges the limited and partial nature of human comprehension and the limits of science (short comm. on Ex. 23:20), but not the relativity of rational judgment. Hence, when the truth of the Bible contradicts the truth of human reason, the solution must be exegetical. His steadfast adherence to the rationalist assumption that a verse cannot be at variance with knowledge gained from sensory perception or from logical reasoning, just as it cannot contradict another verse, entitles (and obliges) the commentator to make difficult verses correspond to the demands of reason (in this he follows Saadiah Gaon; see *Beliefs and Opinions* 7:1–3). This radical exegetical intervention, which detaches a verse from its primary meaning – by means of metaphorization, allegorization, and other methods of extension – is what Koranic exegesis calls *tawil* and Ibn Ezra calls *tikkun* ("correction" or "adaptation"; introduction to the long comm. on Genesis, the "Fourth Way"). In view of the risks of arbitrary interpretations, however, and to ward off the danger – whose chief embodiment he saw in Christian exegesis – that *tikkun* might be applied to undercut the stories of the Patriarchs, the practical commandments, and messianic promises, he sets (again in the wake of Saadiah) a stringent limit for the commentator: plausible verses are not to be "corrected." The procedure is permissible only when it is absolutely necessary. At most, one may discover in particularly charged verses a second stratum that supplements rather than replaces the first meaning (Introduction to the Pentateuch, the "Third Way").

Another limitation of the exegete's freedom – meant to serve as a shield against the perils of Karaite anachronism – is the belief in the binding validity of talmudic tradition, whose status as revealed Oral Law parallels that of the Written Law. Belief in the truth of the received tradition (*kabbalah*) – by which he means a reliable tradition that is chiefly halakhic and only secondarily historical and exegetical – and in its harmony with the philological-contextual meaning of the verses was deemed utterly logical: the conspicuous absence of full and comprehensive information about most of the commandments and the disproportion between what is stated explicitly in the Torah and what is only alluded to, clearly attest that the Written Law was not meant to stand alone; from the outset it was intended to be rounded out by the Oral Law. Consequently, talmudic *halakhah* may not be ignored unless it is a disputed or lone opinion. But the homiletic expositions of the Sages do not belong to the category of the "received tradition," since they are merely the fruit of their efforts to find prooftexts in Scripture to support the received *halakhah* or to provide an underpinning for their own intellectual and spiritual creativity (short comm. to Ex. 21:8; *Safah Berurah* 5a–7a). Thanks to this sharp distinction (similarly maintained later by *Naḥmanides in his disputation with Pablo Christiani), Ibn Ezra does not have to deal with most Midrashim as binding interpretations: "one who has a heart [i.e., reason] can recognize when they say *derash* and when *peshat*" (*Yesod Mora*, ch. 6). This exegetical freedom entails a countervailing exegetical restriction. The perfect correlation between the received tradition and the philological meaning of the text keeps Ibn Ezra from recognizing the legitimacy of any *peshat* interpretation that contradicts *halakhah* (advanced with no qualms by Rashi, Rashbam, and Naḥmanides). Wherever he senses a tension between accepted *halakhah* and the text, his intellectual honesty compels him to acknowledge the fact; but his faith requires him to demonstrate that the gap can be closed by means of an alternative philological meaning (long and short comm. on Ex. 13:9, Lev. 21:2).

Just as the talmudic tradition elucidates and complements the Written Law but is not derived from it, Scripture should be understood in the light of the sciences and general knowledge, but they need not be based on it ("Here we have evidence that the world is circular rather than square, although there is no need for a verse, since this is known through manifest proofs" (comm. to Isa. 40:22)). This recognition that what is known through tradition and what is known through the intellect have separate origins and are independently valid can already be found in Saadiah Gaon. Ibn Ezra, however, derives from it the far-reaching conclusion that exegetes should re-

duce to the absolute minimum the projection onto Scripture of both *halakhah* and science (typical of geonic exegesis). The Torah was given to all Israel, "to be understood by the learned and the unlearned" (long comm. on Ex. 20:1); consequently it contains very few allusions to philosophy and the sciences, which must be learned separately, in a systematic manner (both Introductions to Pentateuch, the "First Way").

Like Ibn Janah and Judah Halevi, Ibn Ezra fiercely rejects even cautious attempts at conjectural emendation of the text, and holds that the work of the Masoretes was flawless: "Due to them the Divine Torah and Sacred Books stood in their perfection, without additions or omissions" (*Yesod Mora*, ch. 1). Accordingly, he insists that any interpretation respects the punctuational functions of the cantillation signs and the division into verses; rejects as a "lone view" the tannaitic tradition of the "eighteen emendations of the Scribes"; and deals with differences between *qere* and *ketiv*, alternate versions of parallel texts (such as the two versions of the Decalogue and of several Psalms), and the discrepancies between Pseudo-Jonathan and the Masoretic text as exegetical problems rather than textual phenomena.

Ibn Ezra's rejection of lower criticism seems to have provided a counterweight for his penchant for higher criticism. In other words, his utter confidence in the accuracy of the text and the reliability of the method provides him with a basis for his extreme exegetical independence and critical approach when it comes to the question of the authorship of the biblical books. He is greatly perturbed by anachronisms. Elucidating comments – like "the Canaanite was then in the land" (Gen. 12:6), "as it is said to this day, in the mount of the Lord it shall be seen" (Gen. 22:14), "his bedstead, an iron bedstead, is now in Rabbath of the children of Ammon" (Deut. 3:11) – are later additions, just like the last 12 verses of Deuteronomy, which were written prophetically by Joshua (comm. on Deut. 1:2, 34:1 and 6). Ibn Ezra's criteria for determining the date of composition of a text are exegetical and literary, not rhetorical and historical. The question that bothers him is, whether it is plausible that Moses and Isaiah wrote such things, and not (as scholars ask today) whether such passages had meaning for their own contemporaries. With regard to Daniel's prophecy of the end of days he stresses that the prophet himself did not understand the arcane mysteries spoken to him, but "when the end arrives, the learned will understand them" (long comm. on Dan. 12:8–9). It is not rhetorical considerations – that there was no sense or meaning for passages of redemption, return, and the rebuilding of Jerusalem in the days of Hezekiah, or for the proclamation of Cyrus the Mede as the Lord's anointed at a time when the Assyrian empire still reigned supreme – that lead Ibn Ezra to post-date the prophecies in the second part of the book of Isaiah (carefully veiled hints in his commentary to Isa. 40:1). His reasons are entirely exegetical: the fact that the prophet is described as present in the Babylonian exile when his consolations are realized (comm. in Isa. 49:7); the Babylonian milieu of the present-tense description of the imminent redemption (Isa. 55:6); and the exegetical advantage of reading "the servant of the Lord" prophecies as referring to the prophet himself (Isa. 53:12).

On the question of the authorship of the Psalms, discussed in the introductions to his two commentaries on that book, Ibn Ezra adopts the Sages' view that the Psalms were written by divinely inspired prophet-poets, some of whom are identified in the superscriptions, but does not present this view of "the ancients" as binding but as plausible. As for the book of Job, he disputes two talmudic opinions, that Job is a fictional character, or that Moses wrote the book. In Ibn Ezra's view, Job and his friends were historical figures: gentile prophets (except, perhaps, for Elihu), who lived before the time of Moses (comm. on Job 1:1), and whose language was not Hebrew, since the difficult language of the book indicates that it is a translation (on Job 2:11).

Ibn Ezra repeatedly stresses the paucity of our knowledge about the historical and biographical backgrounds of the prophetic books, and rejects the use of Midrashim to fill in the gaps; as long as they are not reliable traditions they are not to be drawn on as if they were historical evidence. For example, in the introduction to Joel he writes: "We have no way to know when he lived; on the basis of the *peshat* he is not the son of Samuel" (as a Midrash would have it). On the other hand, he is certain that Solomon wrote the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes, since this is explicitly stated in the text. As for the nature of the Song of Songs, he takes a clear traditional stance: it is not to be understood, in keeping with the surface meaning, as an erotic poem (since there was no disagreement among the Sages as to its sanctity), and its application as an allegory of the Jewish people is a binding tradition.

In Ibn Ezra's commentaries on the poetic chapters of the Bible, the literary and esthetic dimension is not developed to the extent one might expect from so great a poet. The custom of the liturgical and secular poets of Spain to indicate the melody to accompany a poem by citing, at its beginning, the opening words of another poem sung to that tune provides the basis for his brilliant conjecture that this is the significance of some of the opaque superscriptions, e.g., to Psalm 56:1, 57:1. He does not interpret them as part of the psalms, since their (forgotten) musical significance was their only meaning in these places. Occasionally he comments on poetic ornaments such as *inclusio*, antithesis, paronomasia, palillogy, and parallelism. In prose he notes that chiasmus is in accordance with "the custom of the holy tongue" (long comm. to Ex. 17:7), and that the use of homonyms "adds elegance" (comm. on Gen. 3:1).

To guard against the age-old exegetical tradition that all aspects of the text (from "superfluous" words to dotted letters) require a gloss, Ibn Ezra relies on a view of language that was accepted by many of the Jewish and Muslim scholars of Spain: "The words are like bodies and the meanings like souls … Hence it is the rule of scholars in every language to preserve the meaning; they do not worry about interchanging words if they have the same meaning" (long comm. on Ex. 20:1). The verbal expression is not considered to be an essential part of the meaning, but only one of its garments: "Essentially words

are but hints; knowledge of the language has no independent value, but is a vehicle of communication" (short comm. on Ex. 23:20). Style is even further removed from the sense; it is no more than an external ornament, pinned onto the garment to make it more attractive. Relying on these assumptions, Ibn Ezra can ignore a host of stylistic phenomena that provide the foundations for glosses he regards as remote from the *peshat*; they also enable him to explain to his own satisfaction the significant differences between parallel episodes (e.g., two reports of Pharaoh's dream and two versions of the Decalogue), by representing them as purely external (*Yesod Mora*, ch. 1). The price of this concept of literary expression as almost exclusively devoted to transmitting information is a notable neglect of fine turns of expression and stylistic niceties inherent in a particular formulation.

His audacious critical hints, and perhaps also his caustic language and polemical temperament, have given Ibn Ezra the reputation of a radical innovator who conceals the main points of his heterodox opinions behind a veil of traditional declarations of faith. But this picture is mistaken. His sacred poetry allows us to paint his portrait as a genuinely religious personality, steadfast in his allegiance to the Jewish faith and his love of the Jewish people. What is more, his final judgments in most of the fundamental debates of scriptural exegesis reflect a measured and reasoned middle course, motivated by the aspiration to achieve a synthesis of opposing stances. In the four-way polemic presented in his two introductions to the Pentateuch he does not reject the methods of his predecessors outright. Instead, he expresses his reservations about their one-sidedness so that he can incorporate their positive elements into his own multi-dimensional and balanced method.

[Uriel Simon (2nd ed.)]

Ibn Ezra as a Philosopher

Ibn Ezra's philosophy is Neoplatonic in orientation, and also manifests a Neo-Pythagorean fascination with numerology. Since most of his works are unsystematic in exposition, present ideas in various places, and are elliptical in style, his thought is frequently difficult to characterize systematically. His commentaries in particular sometimes note that "this is a mystery" (*sod*) or "the intelligent (*maskil*) will understand," which may merely indicate the profundity of the issue, or may at times serve to mute radical conclusions.

Philosophical exegesis of the Bible, for Ibn Ezra as for *Philo, became an integral literary genre for philosophizing, not only because (in the words of H.A. Wolfson) "Scripture has to be interpreted in the light of what is most evidently true in reason, and reason has to be corrected in light of what is evidently the true teachings of Scripture" (*Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, 1947, 2, 447), but also because it simultaneously provides the occasion for the religious philosopher, committed to both revelation and reason, to comprehend and make explicit the rationality underlying revelation, thus demonstrating the rational validity of religion within the philosophic community, and to expound philosophical ideas in the religious community studying Scripture. Philosophical Bible exegesis thus becomes both a philosophic and religious imperative. Although such philosophic works as Saadiah's *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* and Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* are replete with references to and exegesis of Biblical passages (indeed, Maimonides defines the first purpose of his book as an explanation of [perplexing] Biblical terms), Ibn Ezra was an outstanding example of medieval systematic exegesis of the Bible as a philosophical literary genre.

At its core, for Ibn Ezra revelation is a rational process, and not just a historical event. As mentioned above, "the judgment of reason is the foundation" (*shikul ha-da'at hu ha-yesod*) and the angel (mediator) between a person and God; the angels are of the "species" (*min*) of the human intellect. It is the underlying rationality of revelation, as well as rational plausibility, which leads Ibn Ezra to questions of higher criticism (discussed in the previous section), and also underlies his understanding of the meaning of revelation as recorded in Scripture. He uses the identical phrase, "reason cannot tolerate" (*ein ha-da'at sovelet*) these things, to reject what he regarded as unreasonable interpretations of Scripture, both by the Karaites and by the talmudic rabbis – in the case of the Karaites, their literalist understanding of "an eye for an eye" as physical punishment (long comm. on Ex. 21:24), and in the case of the rabbis, their midrashic view that both versions of the Decalogue were given simultaneously (*zakhor ve-shamor be-dibbur eḥad ne'emru*); since people cannot comprehend two different ideas spoken at the same time, a simultaneous revelation of both would have been incomprehensible and thus meaningless (long comm. on Ex. 20:1).

In Ibn Ezra's understanding, the structure of the Decalogue reflects this inherent rationality of revelation. Like Maimonides after him, Ibn Ezra interprets the opening phrase "I am the Lord your God" as a positive commandment, but for different reasons (in light of his Neoplatonic and Neo-Pythagorean conceptions of the One). There are commandments relating to speech ("the mouth" or "the tongue") and actions, but there are also "commandments of the heart," relating to human understanding. The existence of God "includes all the commandments of the heart and tongue and action, for whoever does not believe in God in his heart has no commandments," just as substance, the first of the ten Aristotelian categories, is the substratum for the other nine categories, which are accidents, and just as One is the source of all other numbers (long comm. to Ex. 20:1). The One, for Ibn Ezra, by which he frequently refers to God, is thus not a number or quantity at all, but the self-sufficient source of all number and quantity, upon which everything else depends.

The dependence of everything on God derives from their having been created by him. Creation, however, is not *ex nihilo* (as Saadiah and many other early Jewish philosophers believed), and the term *bara* (Gen. 1:1) means cutting (*gazar*), i.e., establishing limits or boundaries (*gevul nigzar*) among existing entities (comm. to Gen. 1:1, Isa. 40:28, 42:5). This cre-

ation, described in Genesis, applies only to the lowest (*shafel*) of three worlds. Ibn Ezra's three-fold cosmology is found in several different passages – e.g., in his long commentary to Exodus 3:15 (repeated in less detail in his commentary on Ex. 20:2–3), and his commentary to Daniel 10:21 – but with major differences between the two cosmologies, in terms of both direction and content.

Ascending Order (in Exodus)	**Descending Order (in Daniel)**
The lowest world *(olam shafel)*	The first world *(olam rishon)*
A. minerals	The One (= God)
B. plants	The second world (*olam sheni*)
C. animals	Bodiless angels
D. humans	Stars (imperishable matter)
The middle world (*olam tikhon*)	The third world (*olam shelishi*)
A. planets	Terrestrial, material world
B. stars and constellations	(including humans)
The upper world (*olam elyon*)	
angels	

When describing the ontological descending order of cosmology (the Neoplatonic downward way), Ibn Ezra begins with the One (i.e., God), the source of all being, from whom the second world emanates, consisting of the angels and the heavenly bodies. These are related, because the angels are the separate intelligences of the imperishable, but material, moving spheres of the stars. The second world, in other words, is the heavenly realm (both spiritual and material) transcending the third, terrestrial world in which we live. Conversely, when describing the spiritual ascending order of cosmology (the Neoplatonic upward way), reflecting the soul's progressive purification from corporeality and ascent to its sources, Ibn Ezra begins with material existence. The highest level attainable is wisdom, the rank of the angels (who, as stated above, are of the same species as the human intellect). That is the highest degree of perfection which the human soul can hope to attain, and therefore, the ascending order of cosmology does not include mention of God, the One, transcending all other reality.

In the Bible, the term *elohim*, the general term for God, is in the plural form, and often refers to the angels (as Neoplatonic intermediaries between the One and lower levels of reality), because "all of the actions of the Lord are by means of the angels who do his will" (regular comm. to Gen. 1:1). *Elohim* can thus refer to different realities, in contrast with the Tetragrammaton YHWH which is a proper, substantive noun referring only to the One (long comm. to Exod. 6:2–3, 32:1). In various passages in his commentaries, and in his monographs *Sefer ha-Shem* ("the Book of the Name") and *Yesod Mora ve-Sod ha-Torah* Ibn Ezra analyzes this unique name of God, including the numerical values of the letters when added to or multiplied by each other in various combinations.

Since the One is the source of all numbers, it is in all numbers (all numbers are composed of units) and all numbers are in it (as their source). This insight leads Ibn Ezra to a pantheistic equation of the One with "All": "he is the One which is everything (*hu ha-eḥad she-hu ha-kol*; long comm. to Exod. 33:21), and "he is all and all is from him" (*hu ha-kol u-me-itto ha-kol*; long comm. to Ex. 23:21), and "God is the One, he creates all, and he is all, and I cannot explain" (*Hashem hu ha-eḥad, ve-hu yoẓer ha-kol, ve-hu ha-kol, ve-lo ukhal le-faresh*; comm. to Gen. 1:26). As in other cases, Ibn Ezra's elliptical, pantheistic language makes it difficult to determine with certainty whether "*kol*" in these cases refers to God (as maintained by H. Kreisel), to the active intellect (as suggested by E. Wolfson), to a Neoplatonic notion of emanation, or to a Neo-Pythagorean description of One which itself is not number, but transcends number, containing all number and contained in all number.

Similar ambiguity surrounds Ibn Ezra's notion that the "All" knows all in a general way (*al derekh kol*) but not in a particular way (*ve-lo al derekh ḥelek*; comm. to Gen. 18:21; Ex. 33:14–21). These statements do not indicate an Aristotelian denial of divine knowledge of terrestrial particulars. Rather, they seem to mean that whereas our empirical knowledge always implies a clear distinction between the particular knower and the particular known object, in the "All" there can be no distinction between subject, act, and object of knowledge, and that the "All," by knowing itself, knows everything contained in itself as their source, and thereby knows all in a general and not particular way.

Just as the "All" knows all by knowing itself, so, in a sense, does the human being, because "the human body is like a microcosm (*ʿolam qatan*). May God be blessed who began with the macrocosm and finished with the microcosm" (comm. to Gen. 1:26); "one who knows the secret of the human [rational] soul (*neshamah*) and the composition (*matkonet*)" of his body, can know the things of the upper world, because the human is the image of the microcosm (*demut olam katan*)" (long comm. to Ex. 26:1). Knowledge of oneself is thus prior and essential to knowledge of God: a person "cannot know God if he does not know his soul (*nefesh*), his rational soul (*neshamah*), and his body; for whoever does not know the essence (*mahut*) of his soul, what wisdom does he have?" (long comm. to Ex. 31:18).

Such self-knowledge takes on additional significance in light of Ibn Ezra's astrological theories. His interest in astrology was not limited to the purely theoretical level, and extended to practical astrology as well. Ibn Ezra's astrology is a consistent element in the three-fold cosmological structure described above; it entails understanding the influences of the higher realms on the lower, particularly on human affairs. However, to worship the stars, which are "servants" (*meshartim*) possessing no independent will or conscious purpose, and whose activity is purely automatic and necessary, is out of the question (long comm. to Ex. 33:21). Ibn Ezra also argues against a magical or theurgic interpretation of the fiery serpent (*saraf*) in Numbers 21:8, although elsewhere he understands the cherubim and other sacred objects in the portable tabernacle as having astrological, and possibly also as-

tral magic, significance, and "after you understand these you will understand the secret of the brass serpent" (short comm. to Ex. 25:7). For Ibn Ezra, astrology (perhaps including astral magic) is thus a way of understanding how the various components of natural reality influence each other.

Astral influence is not merely a function of the arrangement or constellation (*ma'arekhet*) of the higher power (*koaḥ*). The influence of the higher power is determined no less by the constituent make-up or physical constitution of the receiver (*toledet ha-mekabbel*) below. As Ibn Ezra explains in his Introduction to Ecclesiastes, in the scheme of emanation, one agent can produce one effect, but these effects can differ according to differences among the receivers, just as the differences among the receivers reflect differences in the constellation of the astral agent affecting them (comm. to Deut. 5:26).

Astral effects cannot be changed, but it is precisely their pre-determined predictability that provides for an element of human free will, since the person who knows of a certain inevitable effect can take steps to avoid it, such as people who know through astrological prediction that there will be a flood, can opt to flee to high ground. Within this general scheme, however, there is an important exceptional feature. Picking up on the talmudic phrase that "Israel has no constellar sign" (*ein mazal le-yisrael*) (Shab. 156a, Ned. 32a et al.), Ibn Ezra states: "It is well established that every nation has a known star and constellation, and that there is a constellar sign for every city. But God gave Israel a great superiority by his, rather than a star's, being their guide, for Israel is God's portion" (comm. to Deut. 4:19).

Israel is thus ruled directly by God, and not by any astral intermediaries, and the Torah provides for the Jew a way to escape general astral influence. The stars, after all, belong to the intermediate realm, and exert influence on the lowest, terrestrial realm. The Torah, however, transcends the intermediate realm of the stars and their influences, and belongs to the upper realm of the angels and the rational soul. So in terms of Ibn Ezra's cosmology, the Torah is ontologically superior to the stars, and its power is superior to astral forces. The Torah thus provides the Jewish people, according to Ibn Ezra's astrological theory, a particular freedom from astral influence. This needs to be understood, however, naturalistically, rather than theurgically, in terms of the knowledge the Torah imparts to its adherents, a knowledge which enables them to understand the predictable influences of the stars, and thereby to escape them. "The servants [i.e., the stars] cannot change their path, and the subservience of each of them is the rule given it by God … Worshipping the works of the heavens cannot be beneficial for [a person], for whatever was decreed for him according to the constellation of the stars at his birth will happen to him, unless a power superior to the power of the stars protects him, and he cleaves to it, so that he will then be saved from the decrees" (long comm. to Ex. 33:21).

Israel's uniqueness is not, however, a function of any special physical power, as suggested by Judah Halevi's theory of a Jewish biological faculty for divine communication, the *amr ilahi* (Hebrew: *inyan elohi*). Such a physical faculty would be, for Ibn Ezra, a necessary component of one's physical constitution (*toledet*), which would then necessarily be subject to astral influence. It is only by living according to the Torah's teaching that Israel is exempted or saved from astral influence: "This is what the sages [meant when they] said, 'Israel has no constellar sign,' so long as they [i.e., the Jewish people] observe the Torah" (long comm. on Ex. 33:21). Without the Torah, there is thus no difference between Jew and non-Jew. Ibn Ezra and Halevi thus present us with opposite interpretations of Jewish distinctiveness. For Halevi, it is the biological or genetic distinctiveness of the Jewish people which makes possible the revelation of the Torah to them. For Ibn Ezra, it is the divinely revealed Torah which makes possible the existence of the people of Israel as a special group, governed directly by God's law rather than indirectly through a system of astral influences.

[Raphael Jospe (2nd ed.)]

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: (A) Ibn Ezra's commentaries (in biblical order): *Mikra'ot Gedolot Meḥokekei Yehudah* 1–5 (commentary on the Pentateuch, Song of Songs, Lamentations, and Esther with a supercommentary by J.L. Krinsky; Piotrkow / Vilna 1907–28); The Second Recension on Genesis (fragment) in: *Mikra'ot Gedolot "Ha-Keter"* 1 (Ramat Gan 1997); *Ibn Ezra's Commentary on the Pentateuch: Genesis, Exodus, Numbers & Deuteronomy,* tr. into English and ann. by H.N. Strickman / A.M. Silver (1988–2001); *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Commentary on Genesis 1–3*, ed. and ann. by L.H. Prijs (1990); *Abraham Ibn Esras Kommentar zur Urgeschichte* [*Genesis 1–11*]; *Langer Kommentar zum Buch Exodus*, tr. into German and ann. by D.U. Rottzoll (1996–99); The *Short Commentary on Exodus,* edition and supercommentary by J.L. Fleischer (1926); *The Commentary of Abraham Ibn Ezra on the Pentateuch: Leviticus,* tr. into English and ann. by J.F. Shachter (1986); *The Commentary of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah,* ed., transl. into English, and ann. by M. Friedlaender (1873–77); *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Two Commentaries on the Minor Prophets, An Annotated Critical Edition. 1. Hosea-Joel-Amos*, ed. U. Simon (1989); *The Commentary of Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra on Hosea,* ed. and transl. into English by A. Lipschitz (1988); the standard commentaries on Psalms, Job, the Five Scrolls, and Daniel are included in various editions of the Rabbinic Bible; "Ibn Ezra's Introduction and Commentary on Psalms 1–2: The First Recension" (fragment, ed. and transl. into English, in: U. Simon, *Four Approaches to the Book of Psalms* [see below], 308–30); *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Commentary on Canticles* (*First Recension*), ed. H.J. Mathews (1874); *El comentario de Abraham Ibn Ezra del Eclesiastes,* ed. and transl. into Spanish and ann. by M. Gómez Aranda (1994); *Abraham Ibn Esras Kommentare zu den Büchern Kohelet, Ester und Rut*, transl. into German and ann. by D.U. Rottzoll (1999); *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Commentary on the Book of Esther* (*Second Recension*), ed. J. Zedner (1850); *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Short Commentary on Daniel* ([1] ed. H.J. Mathews, in: *Miscellany of Hebrew Literature,* 2 (1877), 257–76; [2] ed. and ann. by A. Mondschein; M.A. thesis, Bar Ilan University; Ramat Gan 1977). **(B) Ibn Ezra's other writings:** (1) POETRY: *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Diwan*, ed. J. Egers (1886); D. Kahana, *Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra I–II* (1922); *The Religious Poems of Abraham Ibn Ezra I–II*, ed. I. Levin (1975–80); *Igeret Chay ben Mekitz by Abraham Ibn Ezra,* ed. I. Levin (1983); *Reime und Gedichte des Abraham Ibn Esra, Jahres-Bericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars Fraenckel'scher Stiftung* 1–4, ed. D. Rosin (1885–91/4). (2) THEOLOGY: *Ha-Shem* (on the Tetragrammaton), ed. G.H. Lippmann (1834); J.

Cohen, U. Simon (eds.), *Yesod Mora ve-Sod Torah* (2006[2]). (3) GRAMMAR: *Moznayim,* ed. W. Heidenheim (1791); *Safa Berurah,* ed. G.H. Lippmann ((1839); ed. M. Wilensky; *Devir,* 2 (1924), 274–302); *Zachot* (ed. G.H. Lippmann (1827); ed. and transl. into Spanish by C. dell Valle Rodriguez (1977); *Sefat Yeter* (ed. G.H. Lippmann; Frankfurt a. M., 1843; ed. I. Oshri; M.A. thesis, Bar Ilan University, 1988); *Yesod Dikduk,* ed. N. Allony (1984). (4) MATHEMATICS AND ASTRONOMY: *Ha-Eḥad* (on the numerals), ed. S. Pinsker (1867); *Ha-Mispar,* ed. and transl. into German by M. Silberberg (1895); *Ta'amei ha-Luḥot* (only the Latin version is extant – *Liber de rationibus tabularum,* ed. J.M. Millas Vallicrosa; Madrid-Barcelona, 1947); *Keli ha-Neḥoshet,* ed. H. Edelmann (1845). (5) JEWISH CALENDAR: *Ha-Ibbur,* ed. S.Z.H. Halberstamm (1874); *Igeret Ha-Sabbath,* ed. M. Friedlaender, in: *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England,* 2 (1894/5), 61–75. (6) ASTROLOGY: *Reshit Ḥokhmah,* ed. R. Levy & F. Cantera (1939); *Sefer ha-Te'amim A* (first version), ed. J.L. Fleischer (1951); *Sefer ha-Te'amim* B (second version), ed. N. Ben-Menachem (1941); *Sefer ha-Moladot,* ed. M.Y. Bakal; in: *Seder 12 ha-Mazalot*, 2 (1995), 193–248; *Sefer ha-Mivḥarim*, ed. J.L. Fleischer (1969); *Sefer ha-She'elot*, ed. M.Y. Bakal, in: *Goralot ha-Ra'aba* (1995), 6–39; *Sefer ha-Me'orot,* ed. J.L. Fleisher; *Sinai,* 5 (Romania, 1933), ixl–li; *Sefer ha-Olam*, ed. J.L. Fleisher; *Oẓar ha-Ḥayyim*, 13 (1937), 33–49; *Le Livre des Fondements Astrologiques*, ed. J. Halbronn (1977). (7) TRANSLATIONS FROM ARABIC INTO HEBREW: Three books on Hebrew grammar by Judah Chayyuj: *Sefer Otiyyot ha-No'aḥ*, *Sefer Pe'alei ha-Kefel* & *Sefer ha-Nikkud*, ed. L. Dukes (1844); Ibn al-Muthanna, *Commentary on the Astronomical Tables of al-Khwarizmi*, ed. and transl. into English by B.R. Goldstein (1967). (**C**) **Supercommentaries** (in addition to those mentioned above in section (A): Samuel Ibn Motot, *Megillat Setarim* (on the Pentateuch; Venice, 1554); Samuel Ibn Carca, *Mekor Ḥayyim* (on the Pentateuch; Mantua, 1559); Joseph ben Eliezer, *Ẓafenat Pane'aḥ* (on the Pentateuch; ed. D. Herzog, 1911–30); Y. Sherim, *Be'er Yizḥak* (on the Pentateuch) (1864); idem, *Hadar Ezer* (on the Prophets & Writings), 1865; Y. Pilvarg, *Benei Reshef* (on all Ibn Ezra's commentaries), 1900; M. Roth, *Mevasser Ezra* (on all Ibn Ezra's commentaries) (1968). (**D**) **Studies:** W. Bacher, *Abraham Ibn Esra's Einleitung zu seinem Pentateuch-Commentar* (1876); idem, *Abraham Ibn Esra als Grammatiker* (1882); N. Ben Menachem, *Ibn Ezra Studies* (Heb., 1978); L.R. Charlap, *Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra's Linguistic System* (Heb., 1991); J. Cohen, *The Philosophical Teaching of Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra* (Heb., 1996); F. Diaz Esteban (ed.), *Abraham Ibn Ezra and His Age* (1990); J.L. Fleischer, "Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra and His Literary Work in England," in: *Oẓar ha-Ḥayyim,* 7 (1931), 69–76, 107–11, 129–33, 160–8, 189–203 (Heb.); idem et al., *R. Abraham Ibn Ezra: Studies in his Life and his* Work (Heb., 1970); M. Friedlaender, *Essays on the Writings of Abraham Ibn Ezra* (1877); E. Goldberg, "Abraham Ibn Ezra in Lucena," in: M. Bar-Asher et al. (eds.), *Segulla to Ariella* (Heb., 1990), 96–97; H. Grieve, *Studien zum jüdischen Neoplatonismus: Die Religionsphilosophie des Abraham Ibn* Ezra (1973); R. Jospe, "Biblical Exegesis as a Philosophic Literary Genre: Abraham ibn Ezra and Moses Mendelssohn," in: E. Fackenheim and R. Jospe (eds.), *Jewish Philosophy and the Academy* (1996), 48–92; idem, "The Torah and Astrology According to Abraham ibn Ezra," in *Daat*, 2–33 (1994), 31–52 (Heb.); H. Kreisel, "On the Term *Kol* in Abraham Ibn Ezra: A Reappraisal," in REJ, 153 (1994), 29–66; I. Levin, *Abraham Ibn Ezra: His Life and His Poetry* (Heb., 1969); idem (ed.), *Studies in the Works of Abraham Ibn Ezra* (Heb., 1992); A. Lipshitz, *Ibn Ezra Studies* (Heb., 1982); Y. Maori, "The Meaning of the Term דברי יחיד in the Commentary of Ibn Ezra on the Torah: On Ibn Ezra's Attitude Towards Rabbinic Midrash," in: *Shenaton,* 13 (2002), 201–46 (Heb.); I.M. Millas, "The Work of Abraham Ibn Ezra in Astronomy," in: *Tarbiz*, 9 (1938), 303–22 (Heb.); A. Mondschein, "The Relation between the Commentaries of Ibn Ezra and Rashbam Reconsidered," in: *Te'udah*, 16–17 (2001), 15–46 (Heb.); idem, "A 'Third Version' of R. Abraham Ibn Ezra's Commentary on the Torah? On the Discovery of a New Fragment," in: Y. Hoffman & F.H. Polak (eds.), *A Light for Jacob* (1997), 167–79 (Heb.); idem, "The Library of Abraham Ibn Ezra: A Brief Glance," in: *Talpiyot,* 8 (1995/6), 259–73 (Heb.); L. Prijs, *Die grammatikalische Terminologie des Abraham Ibn Esra* (1950); J. Reifmann, *Studies in Ibn Ezra's Lore,* coll. and ed. by N. Ben Menachem (1962) (Heb.); D. Rosin, *Die Religionsphilosophie Abraham Ibn Esra's* printed in installments in: MGWJ, 42 (1898) and 43 (1899); J. Schirmann, E. Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Christian Spain and Southern France*, Chapter 1: Abraham Ibn Ezra (Heb., 1997), 13–92; D. Schwartz, *Astral Magic in Medieval Jewish Thought* (Heb., 1999), 62–91; idem, *Studies on Astral Magic in Medieval Jewish Thought* (2005); S. Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra and the Rise of Hebrew Science* (2003); U. Simon, "Ibn Ezra and Kimchi: Two Approaches to the Masoretic Text," in: *Bar Ilan Annual,* 6 (1968), 191–237 (Heb.); idem, "Ibn Ezra between Medievalism and Modernism: The Case of Isaiah XL–LXVI," in: VTSUP, 36 (1985), 257–271; idem, "R. Abraham Ibn Ezra: The Exegete and his Readers," in: *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (1988), 23–42 (Heb.); idem, *Four Approaches to The Book of Psalms: From Saadyah Gaon to Abraham Ibn Ezra* (1991); idem, "Yizchaki: A Spanish Biblical Commentator Whose 'Book Should be Burned,' According to Abraham Ibn Ezra," in: M. Brettler and M. Fishbane (eds.), *Nachum Sarna Festschrift*; JSOTSUP 154 (1993), 300–17; idem, "Ibn Ezra's Stance toward the Exegetical Independence of Latter Generations," in: *Sarah Yefet Festschrift* (2006), 67–81 (Heb.); M. Steinschneider, "Abraham Ibn Ezra," in: *Supplement zur Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik,* 25 (1880), 59–128; I. Twersky and J.M. Harris (eds.), *Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra: Studies in the Writings of a Twelfth-Century Jewish Polymath* (1993); P.R. Weiss, "Ibn Ezra and the Karaites on Halacha," in: *Melilah,* 1 (1944), 35–53; 2 (1945), 121–134; 3–4 (1946), 188–203 (Heb.); E. Wolfson, "God, the Demiurge and the Intellect: On the Usage of the Word *Kol* in Abraham Ibn Ezra," in: REJ, 149 (1990), 77–111.

IBN EZRA, ISAAC (**Abu Saad**, ca. 1109–after 1163), Hebrew poet. Born in Spain, the son of Abraham *Ibn Ezra, he was raised in Andalusia, probably in Córdoba, Seville, and Almeria, as a member of the cultivated young Jewish elite. He was very close to *Judah Halevi, perhaps serving him as a secretary, and many scholars believe that he married his only daughter. S. Goitein published some correspondence found in the **Genizah* between Isaac and *Halfon ben Nethanel (who visited Andalusia in 1127) on commercial topics; M. Gil and E. Fleischer published with commentary in 2001 various *Genizah* fragments that included an interesting correspondence between them; thanks to these eight documents we have much better information today about Isaac's adult years. In 1140 he accompanied Judah Halevi on his trip to Egypt, and they arrived at Alexandria in the fall. Like Halevi he sang the praises of the *nagid*, Samuel b. Hananiah and of other distinguished patrons. It seems that differences arose between Judah and Isaac. While Halevi continued his trip in the direction of Jerusalem (shortly before his death), Isaac stayed in Egypt. One of his poems of this time is dedicated to the death of Judah

Halevi. In 1142 he left for Damascus, and a few months later, in 1143, he continued to Baghdad, where he was court poet and secretary to the philosopher-physician *Hibat Allah Abu Albarakāt (Nethanel) Ben Ali Albaghdādī b. Malka. When his patron converted to Islam in his old age, around 1163, it seems that Ibn Ezra, under his influence, also changed his faith. In one of his poems he complains that people say that he has converted; in another, he confesses that he did become a Moslem, but in his heart of hearts remained a loyal Jew and continued to keep the commandments. In Gate Three of the *Taḥkemoni*, Judah *al-Harizi says of him: "His son Isaac drank deep, as well, from Song's pure well, but when he came to Eastern domains loosed faith's firm reins. He pierced his father's flesh with cruel barb, for he stripped off his garments and put on different garb." Some scholars, however, deny Isaac's conversion, and explain these words in a different sense. He died in exile in the Orient, far from Spain. Among the elegies written by his father, Abraham, there are two laments on the death of a son that some scholars think were written when Isaac died; however, as E. Fleischer has shown, it is very unlikely that they represent the personal feelings of the poet on the death of his son.

Scores of his secular poems have been preserved, part of them fragments of his *diwan* found in the Geniza; about a dozen poems, six of them strophic poems, were published by N. Ben-Menahem in 1950. M. Schmelzer's edition (1980) includes a rhymed prose letter and 44 poems (plus 12 dubious poems) taken mostly from the Silvera manuscript (after its acquisition by the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York), a copy of the selection of Isaac's poems written in Egypt and Iraq, prepared by *Abraham ben Mazhir, head of the Damascus academy, from 1142 on. Thanks to this edition, we know that Isaac kept alive the Andalusian tradition in the Orient, writing in a style very close to Judah Halevi's, faithful to the classical language and conventions of Andalusia. Although we do not know very much about the poetry that he wrote in Andalusia, in the Orient he wrote panegyrics, songs of friendship, complaints, letters in rhymed prose, etc., in the most classical manner. He was a poet of distinction, whose works were not inferior to those of his contemporaries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Habermann, in: *Sinai*, 14 (1944), 241–50; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 37 (1967/68), 279–81; J.L. Fleischer, *ibid.*, 21 (1947), 263–76; H. Schirmann, *Shirim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah* (1965), 277–81; idem, Sefarad, 1 (1954), 624–6; 2 (1956), 687–8. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Schmelzer, in: PJJ (1978), 369–72; M. Schmelzer, *Isaac Ibn Ezra, Shirim* (1980); Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (1995), 442–3 (Heb.); Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Christian Spain and Southern France* (1997), 71–92 (Heb.); M. Gil and E. Fleischer, *Yehuda ha-Levi and His Circle* (2001), 148–73 (Heb.).

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN EZRA, JOSEPH BEN ISAAC (c. 1560–1620), rabbi and author. Joseph ibn Ezra was born in Constantinople and at the age of seventeen he went to *Salonika, where he studied under Samuel di *Medina and Aaron b. Solomon b. Ḥasson in Salonika. He was active as a teacher in the yeshivah of Don David b. Yaḥya where he attracted numerous pupils, including Meir b. Shem Tov Melamed and Shabbetai Jonah. Later he served as rabbi of Larissa and of Sofia. He was among the most respected Turkish rabbis and halakhic authorities of his time. He was the author of *Rosh Yosef,* novellae on the Tur, *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, of which the part (to ch. 163) dealing with community taxation and administration was published with the title *Massa Melekh* (Salonika, 1601). He also wrote novellae to the Tur *Even-ha-Ezer*, giving them the same title *Rosh Yosef.* Other works include *Aẓmot Yosef* (Salonika, 1601, et al.), a commentary on tractate *Kiddushin* for practical *halakhah*; a commentary on *Bava Meẓia*; and responsa, some of which were published in the *Mishpat Ẓedek* (Salonika, 1799; Pt. 2 no. 31) of Meir Melamed, in the *Shai la-Mora* (Salonika, 1671; no. 2) of Shabbetai Jonah, in the responsa of Solomon ha-Kohen, and in Samuel Ḥayyun's *Benei Shemu'el*. Ibn Ezra died in *Sofia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Conforte, Kore, 39b f., 43b f., 46a, 47a; Michael, Or, 148; Rosanes, Togarmah, 3 (1938²), 55, 79, 106; M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1938), 508.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

IBN EZRA, MOSES BEN JACOB (also known as **Abu Harun**; c. 1055–after 1135), Spanish Hebrew poet and philosopher. Born in Granada, he was a pupil of Isaac ibn Ghayyat in Lucena, "the city of poetry." In his youth Moses acquired a very comprehensive Jewish and Arabic education. He appears to have held an honored position in the province of Granada, since his name is qualified by the Arabic title "*ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*" (lit. "head of the police", but also "his excellency"). Ibn Ezra encouraged Judah Halevi in his early poetic efforts and invited him to come to Granada where he supported him, and the two formed a lasting friendship. In 1090 a decisive change took place in his life: Granada was captured by the Almoravides, its Jewish community was destroyed, and the members of the Ibn Ezra family dispersed. It is not known why Ibn Ezra remained in Granada for a while. After much effort and suffering he also succeeded in fleeing to Christian Spain but he was not allowed to return to his native city for which he yearned all his life. Ibn Ezra's later years were full of misfortune and bitter delusions the cause of which it would seem, from the poet's own rather vague references, was his niece, daughter of his eldest brother, Isaac (an assumption which has, however, been disputed). He also suffered other disappointments: his brother Joseph deserted him when he was in trouble and his own children forsook him. He was obliged to seek the aid of munificent patrons in return for which he had to sing their praise. Ibn Ezra wandered through Christian Spain but could neither adapt himself to the manners of its Jewish population nor to their low cultural standard. He died far from his native city.

Poetry

Ibn Ezra is one of the most prolific poets of the Spanish school; his mastery of the language is attested by the beauty and versatility of his secular and sacred verse. He was also interested in the theory of poetics and was probably the greatest authority of his day on the subject; his treatise on rhetorics and poetry, *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa al-Mudhākara*, is one of the earliest works on Hebrew poetics and as such is unique in medieval Hebrew literature. It was written in his old age (after 1135) in answer to eight questions on Hebrew poetry posed by a friend and is thus correspondingly divided into eight chapters. Only a small part of the Arabic original was published by P. Kokowzoff (1895). B.Z. Halper translated it into Hebrew under the title *Shirat Yisrael* (Leipzig, 1924). A valuable historical source for Spanish Hebrew poetry in general and for biographical data on individual authors, the work also tries to establish a relationship between the poet and his environment. While much of the book is devoted to a general discussion on poetry, its essence, its nature, and its value, the last chapter (comprising about half the work) is a close study of what he called "poetic ornaments" (rhetorical forms and metaphorical language) as a means to embellish the content of the poem. Definitions of terms and linguistic and poetical (metrical) rules set down by scholars of Arabic literature form the basis of the work which is written in the Arabic *adab* form, an informal casual style. Ibn Ezra, in taking many of his examples of "ornaments" or metaphorical language from the Bible, shows an appreciation for its literary charm and beauty, a field neglected until modern times.

In his poetry Ibn Ezra pedantically observed the principles of prosody and some of his poems are models of prosodic perfection to which Al-Ḥarizi's statement "and the verse of R. Moses ibn Ezra appeals more than any other poetry to poets because of the rhetoric," bears witness. His exaggerated desire for a beautiful external poetic form and a rhetoric language, replete with "ornaments," at times restricts the flow of free poetic expression, especially in some of his secular poems; there are, however, a considerable number of poems that are perfect in every aspect. Many of the poetic images and linguistic patterns in Ibn Ezra are so intricate that only the discerning eye of a poet can unravel the complexity of their composition. Much of his poetry bears a note of personal grief which may be attributed to the troubles that the poet had experienced. His loneliness in "the exile of Edom" and his yearning for his native city are at times expressed with warmth and great simplicity.

Poems in celebration of life, whose main themes are love, wine, and nature, belong mostly to his early poetry, and form a considerable part of *Sefer ha-Anak*, sometimes called *Tarshish* (the Hebrew letters standing for the numerical value of its 1,210 verses). Ending in homonymic rhyme, these poems are the first of their kind in Hebrew literature. The work served as a model for medieval poets. It was first published by Baron David Guenzberg (Berlin, 1886) and is included in Brody's edition (see below); a commentary was written by Saul b. Abdallah Joseph in his book *Mishbeẓet ha-Tarshish* (1926). *Sefer ha-Anak* is divided into ten chapters and written in the Arabic poetic style *tajnīs* in which words recur in different stanzas but acquire a novel meaning in each repetition. Other themes in the work are: rural life, infidelity in friendship, old age, vicissitudes in luck, death, trust in God, and the beauty of poetry. Ibn Ezra's secular poetry is the most sensual in the Jewish Spanish school. It is in the tradition of Samuel *ha-Nagid, one of his favorite poets, in which the overall theme is also a zest for life. Both poets achieved an aesthetic blend of contradictory outlooks in which the negation is usually couched in clever witty language. Ibn Ezra celebrated the joys of life also in his later poetry: the exquisite verse on banquets and romance found in the introduction to poems written in his old age show his great mastery of prosody. This was a time when the poet was bitter and dejected yet this mood neither impeded his great poetic sense nor undermined his joyful poetry. Much of his secular poetry is included in the *diwan* (a collection of poems) which, together with *shirei ezor* (girdle poems called in Arabic *Muwashshaḥāt*) and letters, were published in a scientific edition by H. Brody in two volumes (1935–42).

His poetic power found its greatest expression in his reflective poetry: meditations on life and death. These poems are also in the tradition of Samuel ha-Nagid (in "*Ben Kohelet*," etc.) While Ibn Ezra is original neither in thought nor in approach he holds and moves the reader with the honesty of his emotions and the vigor of his style. In his epigrams on the vanities of the world and his poems on the feelings evoked at the sight of a cemetery, he skillfully blended direct aesthetic expression with analytical thought and ethical teaching.

Among Ibn Ezra's corpus of *piyyutim*, the *seliḥot* (penitential prayers) are the most impressive. Early scholars probably regarded them as the most consummate expression of his talent and called him Ha-Sallaḥ, the writer of *seliḥot*. Most of them show intricate artistic variation in their strophic form; their rhymes and rhythm evincing a very developed musical sense which by itself imparts great aesthetic pleasure. Ibn Ezra's penchant for analyzing and preaching at times, however, restrains, even in the *seliḥot*, direct poetic expression; he tends to be repetitive and uses cliché idioms and images, yet some of his religious verse is considered among the finest in the Hebrew *piyyut*. They are the aesthetic expression of a contrite soul who longs for his Maker. Introspection and meditation are focal points: Ibn Ezra calls on man to look at himself, at the absurdity of life, the bluster of worldly aspirations and achievements, the inevitable disenchantment of the hedonist, and the inexorability of divine judgment. Hope is found in penance and contrition. Some of his *piyyutim* also have a national motif. He condemns those who see the biblical messianic prophecies merely as a spiritual symbol and also those who interpret them rationally or are skeptical about the miracles that center around the redemption.

In Ibn Ezra's sacred poetry there are traces of ideas, images, and idioms from his secular verse which was directly influenced by Arabic literature. The Jewish religious and Ara-

bic secular elements are, however, very effectively interwoven. While many of his *piyyutim* are included in the *diwan* manuscript, most of them are scattered in the prayer books of different rites. Selected *piyyutim* by Ibn Ezra were published in various anthologies. H. Brody and S. Solis Cohen published a collection of selected poems of Moses ibn Ezra (Philadelphia, 1934) and an incomplete edition, containing 237 poems, was published by S. Bernstein in 1957.

[*Encyclopedia Hebraica*]

Philosophy

Although Ibn Ezra was an accomplished poet and literary critic, his philosophic attainments were minor. He expressed his philosophic views in an Arabic work entitled *al-Maqāla bi al-Ḥadīqa fī Maʿnā al-Majāz wa al-Ḥaqīqa* (D. Sassoon, *Ohel Dawid, Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the Sassoon Library, London* (1932), 410, and fragments at Leningrad). An anonymous Hebrew translation of a small part of this work appeared as *Arugat ha-Bosem* ("Bed of Spices," in: Creizenach's *Zion*, 2 (1842), 117–23, 134–7, 157–60, 175; see M. Steinschneider, *Catalog der Hebraeischen Handschriften in der Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg* (1878), 105; and Neubauer, Cat, 1180, 20). It deals with the position of man in the universe, the unknowability of God, and the intellect. Ibn Ezra's orientation was *neoplatonic, and he was influenced by Solomon ibn *Gabirol's *Mekor Ḥayyim* which he cites (for a discussion, see Pines in bibliography). His views are presented unsystematically and, consequently, are difficult to reconstruct in detail. He also uses many quotations, often wrongly attributed to Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, or Hermes (whom he identifies with Enoch).

Typical of Ibn Ezra's neoplatonic approach is his conception of man as a microcosm. The perfections of man's creation point to a wise Creator, who is described as a self–subsistent, unitary being preceding creation. It follows from the absolute unity of God that the Divine Essence cannot be comprehended by the human mind, but only described by metaphor. As our eyes cannot see the sun in its brilliance, so our minds cannot comprehend God in His perfection. The finite and imperfect human mind cannot know the infinite and perfect God. Whatever knowledge of God man can attain must begin with knowledge of his own soul, but this knowledge can be attained only after freeing himself from the senses and appetites.

Making use of the neoplatonic doctrine of *emanation, Ibn Ezra postulated the active intellect, a power emanating from the Divine Will, as God's first creation. The intellect is a simple and pure substance containing within itself the forms of all existing things. There is also an intellect in man, known as the passive intellect, but this intellect is different from and above the human rational soul. The rational soul is a pure substance giving perfection to the human body, and below it exists an animal soul in man. The rational soul is like the horseman and the body, like his weapon; as the horseman attends to his weapon, so the soul attends to the body.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Brody and S. De Solis Cohen (eds. and transl.), *Selected Poems of Moses ibn Ezra* (1934); Ḥ.N. Bialik and H. Rawnitzki (eds.), *Shirei Moshe ben Ya'akov ibn Ezra*, 1 (1928); Schirmann, Sefarad, 1 (1959), 25–37; 2 (1956), 683, bibl.; idem, *Shirim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah* (1966), 219–30; D. Yarden, *Sefunei Shirah* (1967), 25–37; D. Pagis, *Shirat ha-Ḥol ve-Torat ha-Shir le-Moshe ibn Ezra u-Venei Doro* (1970); A.M. Habermann, *Toledot ha-Piyyut ve-ha-Shirah* (1970), 180–2; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 439–43; H. Brody, in: JQR, 24 (1933/34), 309 f.; Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 59 ff., 83 f., 390 n. 36. IN PHILOSOPHY: S. Pines, in: *Tarbiz*, 27 (1957/58), 218–35; Husik, Philosophy, index; Saul ben Abdallah Joseph, *Mishbeẓet ha-Tarshish* (1926); W. Bacher, *Die Bibelexegese der juedischen Religionsphilosophen des Mittelalters vor Maim-ni* (1892), 95–105; A. Harkavy, in: MGWJ, 43 (1899), 133–6; A.S. Halkin, *Sefer ha-Iyyunim ve-ha-Diyyunim* (original Arabic in Hebrew transcription with a translation; 1975).

IBN EZRA, SOLOMON BEN MOSES (d. 1688), Turkish rabbi. A pupil of Joseph *Escapa, he became *dayyan* at Smyrna, where because of his knowledge of Turkish he was appointed secretary of the community as well as its representative (*kehaja*) in its dealings with the Turkish authorities. He adopted a lenient attitude toward the Karaites. Several of his novellae are included in *Battei Kenesiyyot* (Salonika, 1806), a book of novellae and responsa written by his grandson Abraham ibn Ezra of Salonika. Solomon wrote a number of introductions and edited and compiled indexes to the works of other authors, including Ḥayyim *Benveniste's *Keneset ha-Gedolah* (Leghorn, 1658), and Jacob *Berab's responsa (Venice, 1663).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Conforte, Kore, 32b; S. Ḥazan, *Ha-Ma'alot li-Shelomo* (1859), 93a, no. 19; Rosanes, Togarmah, 4 (1935), 168–9; A. Galanté, *Histoire des Juifs d'Anatolie*, 1 (1937), 52–53.

[Simon Marcus]

IBN FADANJ (**Fadanq**), an old and distinguished family of Toledo, Spain. The merchant brothers IBRAHIM and JACOB (mid-11th century) emigrated by Ereẓ Israel, where they joined the Karaite community in Ramleh. It is possible that they had Karaite convictions beforehand, as a Karaite community existed in Toledo. The story of their eventful trip and subsequent trials and tribulations comes from a letter – attached to a map of Jerusalem – written in 1053 by Simeon b. Saul ibn Israel to his sister in Toledo; it was found in the Cairo *Genizah*. According to the letter, the brothers were kidnapped on the way and brought to Constantinople, finally arriving as penniless captives in Ramleh. They wished to remain members of the Karaite community there, but several women from Toledo, who lived in Ramleh, informed Karaite officials that the brothers were married to two sisters, an act forbidden by the Karaite law. The case was handled in both Karaite and Rabbanite courts. Ibrahim then went to Jerusalem, settled on the outskirts of the city, and returned to Rabbanism. Jacob remained a Karaite. The story is important for its description of the legal proceedings, interactions, and life in Rabbanite and Karaite communities in Ereẓ Israel in that period. Descendants of the Ibn Fadanj family continued to live in Toledo and are mentioned in several documents dating from the Christian period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abraham Ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah – The Book of Tradition*, ed. by G.D. Cohen (1967), XLII–LXII; A. González Palencia, *Los Mozárabes de Toledo*, 3 (1928), 592–4, no. 1150; S. Assaf, in: *Zion*, 6 (1940/41), 32–44; Ashtor, Korot, 2 (19662), 141f; idem, in: *Sefarad*, 24 (1964), 47–59.

IBN GAON, SHEM TOV BEN ABRAHAM (late 13th to 14th centuries), kabbalist and halakhist. Ibn Gaon was born in Soria, Spain, and migrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1312, producing most of his work in Safed. His principal teachers were Solomon b. Abraham *Adret and *Isaac b. Todros. He was primarily influenced by the writings of *Naḥmanides, in which he saw the synthesis of the rational and the mystical (*halakhah*, Kabbalah, and scriptural commentary). He endeavored to set the writings of his teacher, Solomon b. Abraham Adret, in similar perspective, and cites a tradition to the effect that *Maimonides, toward the end of his life, became an admirer of the Kabbalah (*Migdal Oz, Yesodei Torah*, 1:10).

Ibn Gaon is best known for his *Migdal Oz*, a commentary on the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides, including a polemic on the strictures of *Abraham b. David of Posquières. It marks the first systematic attempt to determine Maimonides' sources. Published in all editions of the *Mishneh Torah* since 1524, it is an important contribution to halakhic research, despite its many errors stemming from an uncorrected manuscript or, as is more likely, inadequate editing. Although his commentaries on books 7–10, dealing with laws which are applicable in Ereẓ Israel only or which are no longer in force, are missing, their existence is evidenced by quotations from *Migdal Oz* in Joseph Caro's *Kesef Mishneh*. *Migdal Oz* came in for heavy criticism (principally by Solomon *Luria in his *Yam shel Shelomo*) because of its many irrelevancies and because it said nothing really new in respect of Abraham ben David's strictures.

Among Ibn Gaon's other works are (1) *Keter Shem Tov*, a popular kabbalistic supercommentary on Naḥmanides' commentary on the Pentateuch, written in Spain (printed in *Ma'or va-Shemesh*, Leghorn, 1839); (2) An illuminated Bible codex, completed in Soria in 1312, unique not only for its primitive illustration but also for its inclusion of kabbalistic elements (Sassoon Collection); (3) *Baddei ha-Aron u-Migdal Ḥananel* (Ms.), a kabbalistic work completed in Safed in 1325 (one chapter published in the *Sefer Tagin* of Zacks, 1866). In it are quoted a large number of his own and other works which are no longer extant; (4) *Shitot*, commentaries and novellae on a number of talmudic tractates, quoted in his *Migdal Oz* and *Baddei ha-Aron*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Scholem, *Ursprung und Anfaenge der Kabbala* (1962), index; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 6 (1934/35), 36ff.; D.S. Loewinger, in: *Sefunot*, 7 (1963), 9–39.

[David Samuel Loewinger]

IBN GHAYYAT (**Ghiyyat**), family of poets and halakhists. ISAAC BEN JUDAH (1038–1089), halakhic authority, commentator, and poet, was head of the yeshivah of Lucena, his home town. He was a friend of *Samuel ha-Nagid, who regarded him highly, and of his son Jehoseph. He composed an elegy in Aramaic on Samuel's death (1056). His many students included Moses ibn Ezra, Joseph ibn Sahal, and Joseph ibn Ẓaddik. When Jehoseph was murdered in 1066 (Isaac wrote two elegies on his death), his widow and young son Azariah escaped to Lucena where Ibn Ghayyat received them cordially, providing for the widow, and raising and caring for the child like a father; the expectations of Isaac concerning the important role that Azariah might play among Andalusian Jews came to naught when he died at the age of 20. At the age of 51, Isaac traveled to Córdoba for treatment of a severe ailment and died there. He was buried in Lucena.

About four hundred of his poems have been preserved; except for a few panegyrics, elegies, and wedding songs (some of them in Aramaic), most of them are *piyyutim*. They are among the best liturgical poems of the Spanish period, and, in contrast to the Oriental compositions, present many peculiarities of the Sephardi style. They do not contain many aggadic references, but there are many philosophical, cosmological, and astronomical allusions in them, as if the author, moved by a pedagogical goal, wished to increase the scientific knowledge of the believers at the same time that he expressed their feelings in the liturgical prayer. His disciple Moses Ibn Ezra expresses deep admiration for the master, for his large work in prose and verse, and confesses: "I have studied with him; the very little that I have is but a drop in his sea, and my scant knowledge is just a spark of his fire" (*Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wal-Mudhākara*, ed. Halkin, 39a). Judah al-Ḥarizi, who suggests that his poetry is too hard to understand, praises him in Gate Three of the *Taḥkemoni*: "The poetry of Rabbi Isaac towers like a rock; lo, his prayer for Yom Kippur is the song of a prophet, blinding pure." Ibn Ghayyat's *piyyutim* include a complete *ma'amad* (special prayer) for the Day of Atonement and a volume of *seliḥot* for the month of Elul. His *seliḥot* are simple and possess a charm of their own. Not a few of these liturgical poems are strophic. Among the anthologies of *piyyutim* that include his works, the most noteworthy are the Tripoli *maḥzor*, *Siftei Renanot* (Venice, 1711), and the Sicilian *maḥzor Ḥazonim* (Constantinople, 1580 or 1585). Several of his piyyutic texts have been published by Brody, Davidson, A. Marx, Bernstein, and others. Some of his secular poems were published by J. Reifmann in *Oẓar Tov*, 9 (1882), 3–8. M. Schmelzer edited a considerable number of Isaac's poems in his unpublished dissertation (1965), commenting on his philosophical and scientific sources, and prepared a list of all his poems. Based on this list, in 1987 Yonah David collected from manuscripts and printed books more than 360 poems (some of them doubtful) in a "tentative edition" of the *Shirei R. Yitsḥak Ibn Ghiyyat 1038–1089*, which is seen by the author as a first step toward a truly critical edition.

Only part of Ibn Ghayyat's work, *Halakhot Kelulot*, has survived. It was published from the only extant manuscript by Simḥah Bamberger under the name *Sha'arei Simḥah* (1861–62).

Hilkhot Pesaḥim was published by D. Zomber with an important commentary (1864), and a compendium of his *halakhot* on Tractate *Berakhot* was compiled from published and manuscript works of *rishonim* by C.Z. Taubes (1952) with his own commentary. The early authorities quote Ibn Ghayyat's *halakhot* on the Mishnah orders *Nashim* and *Nezikin*. His work comprised all laws that are of practical application. It is the only source for many quotations from the works of the *geonim*. Wherever they are in disagreement, he determines the definitive *halakhah*, and at times even decides contrary to both opinions. He notes the early customs of Spanish Jewry. He was primarily strongly influenced by the *Hilkheta Gavravata* (*Gavrata*) of Samuel ha-Nagid; although he seldom cites it, he often reproduces its language almost verbatim. Besides his halakhic work, he also wrote a commentary to the Talmud (see *Milḥamot Adonai* of *Abraham b. Moses b. Maimon) which he called *Sefer ha-Ner* ("Book of the Candle"; *Kitab al-Seraj* in Arabic) because its purpose is the illumination of difficult talmudic discussions; Maimonides quotes him in one of his responsa. Some of Ibn Ghayyat's responsa are extant. He also commented on the Bible, his commentary on Ecclesiastes being still extant (1884; republished in 1962 by Y. Kafaḥ who incorrectly ascribes it to Saadiah Gaon). R. Jedaiah ha-Penini refers to it (Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 418) as "a pleasing commentary revealing considerable wisdom." His commentaries to other volumes are often quoted in R. Solomon b. Melekh's *Mikhlal Yofi*.

JUDAH (ABU ZAKKARIYYA) IBN GHAYYAT (c. 1100), also a Hebrew poet, was a member of the same family (according to some later writers, his son). Moses ibn Ezra says that Judah ("original in poetry, and a very cultivated person," *Kitab* 42b) was born in Lucena and lived in Granada. He was there among the intimate friends of the Ibn Ezra family and of *Judah Halevi, and became one of the prominent members of Granada's community. Halevi corresponded with him even before he went to Granada, and sent him no fewer than nine poems (published in Judah Halevi's *Diwan* by H. Brody, 1 (1901): 43, 53, 60, 151, 174; 2:191, 263 and, very likely, 2:58–59); Judah ibn Ghayyat is also mentioned in two letters found in the *Genizah* related to Judah Halevi and his friend Halfon ben Nethanel. Among the few of Judah's extant poems, five secular and nine liturgical compositions, his songs of friendship to Judah Halevi, and his secular girdle poems are noteworthy; his panegyrics, following closely the classical Arabic models, show that he attained a deep knowledge of Arabic poetry. According to Al-Ḥarizi, "the poetry of Judah ben Ghayyat is by Wisdom upon Piety begot; lo, his brother's praise is Judah's lot." Shem Tov ibn Falaqera, Abraham Bedersi, and Menahem de Lonzano mention him among the good poets of their epoch. Some scholars suggest that it is possible that Judah once visited Narbonne and there translated a halakhic treatise by Isaac *Alfasi, but there is no way of proving this.

SOLOMON IBN GHAYYAT, another member of this family, sent a letter in prose and a poem to Judah Halevi, and received a similar answer, with a section in prose and a beautiful classical *qasida*. Some researchers believe, without serious arguments, that he was a son of Judah ibn Ghayyat. He has also been identified with the *paytan* Solomon b. Judah ibn Ghayyat, the author of some *piyyutim* that were probably written in the Orient.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ISAAC B. JUDAH IBN GHAYYAT: Assaf, in: *Tarbiz*, 3 (1931/32), 213 f.; Bernstein, *ibid.*, 11 (1940), 295–325; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 417; Habermann, in: *Mizraḥ u-Ma'arav*, 3 (1929), 352–8; M. Margalioth (ed.), *Hilkhot ha-Nagid*, (1962), 37–40, 67, index s.v. Yiẓḥak ibn Gi'at; M. Sachs, *Die religioese Poesie der Juden in Spanien* (1901), 255–69; Schirmann, Sefarad, 1 (1954), 301–26; 2 (1956), 681; idem, *Shirim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah* (1966), 185–95; Zunz, Lit Poesie, 194–200. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Vajda, in: JQRAV (1967), 518–27; idem, in: JSES, 27:1 (1982), 33–46; E. Ashtor, *The Jews of Moslem Spain* II (1979), 144–49; M. Schmelzer, "The Poetic Work of Isaac ibn Ghiyyat" (Heb.), unpubl. Ph.D. dissert. JTS (1965); idem, *Shai le-Heman* (1977), 329 ff.; idem, in: *Te'udah*, 1 (1980), 89 ff.; idem, in: *Of Scholars, Savants, and Their Texts* (1989), 209–16; I. Marcus, in: *Sinai*, 67 (1970), 257 ff.; A. Sáenz-Badillos, in: *MEAH*, 30:2 (1981), 5–35; idem, in: MEAH, 31:2 (1982), 31–52; idem, in: J. Peláez del Rosal (ed.), *Los judíos y Lucena* (1988), 103–27; S. Katz, *R. Yitsḥak Ibn Ghiyyat* (1994) (Heb.); T. Carmi, *The Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse* (1981), 317–18; Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (1995), 364–71 (Heb.). JUDAH B. ISAAC IBN GHAYYAT: Schirmann, in: *Tarbiz*, 9 (1937/38), 43, 220 f.; idem, in: YMḤSI, 2 (1936), 186–92; 6 (1945), 328–31. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Nir, *Yehudah Ibn-Gi'at: Monografiyyah* (1974); Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (1995), 506–517 (Heb.); A. Brenner, *Judah Halevi and His Circle of Hebrew Poets in Granada* (2005).

[Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN ḤABIB, JACOB BEN SOLOMON (1445?–1515/16), rabbinic scholar. Jacob was born in Zamora in Castile, Spain, where he is said to have been a pupil of Samuel Valency, and was one of the renowned scholars of Castile, heading a yeshivah in Salamanca which was one of the largest in Spain. On the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 he went to Portugal and before 1501 proceeded to Salonika where he became one of the leading scholars. First he taught in the Calabrian (native) community, and later was appointed rabbi of the Gerush community (of Spanish exiles), a position which he held until his death. His name appears among the first signatories on the early regulations of Salonika. He was personally responsible for some of these regulations, which would even seem to have been formulated by him. He also conducted a yeshivah in Salonika. His contemporaries and successors spoke of him in terms of the highest esteem and referred to him as *gedol ha-dor* ("the greatest of the generation"), *mofet ha-dor* ("the wonder of the generation"), and *ha-ga'on*. Individual responsa by him have been preserved in the works of contemporary and later scholars (Elijah Mizraḥi, Samuel de Medina, and in the collection of responsa *Zera Anashim* (1902), while others exist in manuscript. He is quoted at length in the works of the great scholars of the period (David b. Ḥayyim ha-Kohen of Corfu, Joseph *Caro, Joseph ibn Lev, and others). Remnants of his halakhic works have also been preserved. In his *Beit Yosef*, Joseph Caro gives quotations from Jacob's com-

mentary on the beginning of *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and the beginning of *Yoreh De'ah* of the *Arba'ah Turim*. Samuel de Medina in his responsa (YD, 44) gives a synopsis of his article on the law of *terefah*, and there are references to disputes between him and his contemporaries on halakhic topics. His extant responsa show his special concern with the problems that occupied the generation after the expulsion – such as the case of a childless widow whose brother-in-law, from whom she had to receive *ḥaliẓah*, had become converted to Christianity – as well as the new problems which had arisen as a result of the settling of the Jews of Spain in places where the religious customs (*minhag*) differed from those in vogue in Spain. Jacob took up a tolerant attitude toward the customs of these communities and their scholars and accepted compromises, instead of forcing his views upon them, as did the scholars of the following generation. He states explicitly that he had not studied philosophy and the sciences methodically, although he had occupied himself with these subjects in his youth. His knowledge of Kabbalah, toward which he took a positive attitude, was also the result of casual reading.

Jacob's fame, however, rests not on the fact that he was a halakhist and communal leader in Salonika, but on his *Ein Ya'akov*, in which he assembled the *aggadot* of the Babylonian Talmud and some of those of the Jerusalem Talmud. To this collection he added a commentary culled from the commentaries of Rashi and *tosafot* on the Talmud and from the novellae on the Talmud of Naḥmanides, Solomon b. Abraham Adret, Yom Tov b. Abraham Ishbili, Asher b. Jehiel, and Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi. He consistently and frequently quotes the words of "the Torah scholars," i.e., the commentators of the Talmud and the halakhists, on the *aggadah*. However, he purposely refrains from giving the explanations of philosophical works, the authors of which he consistently criticizes. Although quotations from early authorities are numerous in the first orders that were published in his lifetime, *Zera'im* and *Mo'ed*, his original contribution is extensive (particularly in *Berakhot* and *Shabbat*), and only in the remaining orders published by his son *Levi b. Ḥabib is the original part small and the vast bulk extracts. The commentary also contains quotations from the commentaries of *rishonim* not otherwise known. In his commentary he gives expression to his religious, social, and cultural aims, and where he sharply criticizes the philosophical school, he relies greatly upon such authorities as Naḥmanides and his school, Nissim Gerondi, and Ḥasdai *Crescas, whose works he regarded as authentic expositions of the Torah. He seeks to lead the reader to the plain meaning of the text and to simple uncritical faith. He takes every opportunity of stressing what he considers to be the correct outlook on problems of faith, disputing other views. At times one can detect both overt and concealed polemics against Christian views and beliefs.

Since the purpose of the work was to educate the general public to religious ways and true faith against the historical background of his time and events, the commentary is of great importance in revealing the problems facing his generation in the various spheres of faith and knowledge. Thus, for instance, in choosing what he determined to be the correct approach to the question of belief in the Messiah and the attitude to be taken to secular studies, Jacob at the same time takes note of the prevailing conditions and attempts to better them. It would seem, therefore, that the purpose of his work was identical with that of his communal and halakhic activity – to lead and reshape his generation in the right way, as he viewed it in the light of his experience. Despite his strong and decisive personality, Jacob's work reveals his humility and his care not to impose his way upon others, whether the scholars of the original community (the Romaniot) or his Spanish contemporaries. Jacob declared that from the time he began this work he withdrew from all his communal activity, and apparently from 1514 he devoted himself to his work, the first part of which was published in 1516. The *Ein Ya'akov* has been published in more than 100 editions and scores of commentaries have been written on it. Changes have taken place since the first edition, as a result of Christian censorship, and in order to adjust the text of passages to that in the standard edition of the Talmud. Although designed as a work for broad and popular circles, it is extensively used by scholars. An abridged translation into English (with Hebrew text) by S.H. Glick appeared under the title *Legends of the Talmud; En Jacob*, 5 vols. (1919–21).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Conforte, Kore, 32a, 33a–b; Rosanes, Togarmah, 1 (19302), 84–85, 101–5; A. Obadiah, *Ketavim Nivḥarim* (1942), 97, 101; I.S. Emmanuel, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique* (1936), 85, 86; A. Marx, *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore* (1944), 85, 89, 91; H.H. Ben-Sasson, in: *Sefer Yovel… Y. Baer* (1961), 222; idem, in: *Zion*, 26 (1961), 27, 50.

[Joseph Hacker]

IBN ḤABIB, MOSES BEN SHEM TOV (15th century), philosopher, grammarian, and Hebrew poet. Born in Lisbon, Moses lived in various towns in southern Italy – Naples, Bitonto, and Otranto. From his two works on Hebrew grammar, it is clear that he was influenced by Profiat *Duran, who based Hebrew grammar on logic. His *Peraḥ Shoshan* (Margoliouth, Cat, 3 (1915), 306 no. 980), was completed in Naples in 1484. His *Marpe Lashon*, in which he summarized the principles of Hebrew grammar, was published together with his *Darkhei No'am* (Constantinople, 1510–14?), completed in Bitonto in 1486. Like the later Spanish poets, Moses was much occupied with the study of prosody, and composed his *Darkhei No'am* for this purpose. He prefaces the list of meters with a detailed introduction on the nature of poetry and its forms, and forbids the use of secular poetic forms. In his view only sacred poetry, reproof, and moral guidance are permitted. He held that rhyme and meter were present in Hebrew poetry already in ancient times. Most of his poems were published in *Darkhei No'am*. While in Otranto he wrote a commentary to the *Beḥinat Olam* of Jedaiah ha-Penini Bedersi (Constantinople, 1520?). Also extant are medical writings which Moses translated into Hebrew.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Bacher, *Die hebraeische Sprachwissenschaft vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (1892), 100, 113; Marx, in: ZHB, 9 (1905), 123f.; M.B. Amzalak, *Portuguese Hebrew Grammars and Grammarians* (1928), 10–12; Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1956), 663f., 700; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 439.

[Abraham David]

IBN ḤASAN, JEKUTHIEL BEN ISAAC (d. 1039), statesman and philanthropist. He was the patron of Solomon ibn *Gabirol who dedicated many of his poems to him. At times, however, he withheld his generosity, and Ibn Gabirol complained about this in some of his writings. Ibn Ḥasan filled an important post in one of the Muslim princedoms in Spain, where he also held a key position in the Jewish community and defended Jewish rights. Well-versed in Torah and *halakhah*, he seems to have tried his hand at writing poetry also. In 1039 he was deposed and executed. The circumstances of his downfall are unknown, but a year later it became evident that he had been innocent, and those responsible for his death were executed. Ibn Gabirol wrote three dirges in his memory.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Schirmann, in: *Keneset, Divrei Soferim le-Zekher Ḥ.N. Bialik*, 10 (1946), 244–50; Ḥ.N. Bialik and Y.(H.) Rawnitzki (eds.), *Shirei Shelomo Ibn Gabirol*, 1 (1924), 41–80; Ashtor, Korot, 2 (1966), 161ff.

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

IBN ḤASDAI, ABRAHAM BEN SAMUEL HA-LEVI (early 13th century), translator and Hebrew poet in Barcelona. One of Maimonides' staunchest adherents, he corresponded with Judah ibn Alfakhar and Meir ha-Levi Abulafia to convince them to retract their opposition to *Guide of the Perplexed*. Together with his brother Judah, he addressed a letter to the Jews of Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Leon denouncing the zealotry of the opponents of Maimonides. He also defended David *Kimḥi who had been violently criticized because he supported Maimonides.

He is the author of a *maqāma* whose fragments were published by I. Davidson (in *Sefer Zikkaron A.S. Rabinovitz* (1924), 83–101), although, as E. Fleischer has proved, they were wrongly put together with another composition in rhymed prose found in a fragment of the *Genizah*, a part of the *Maḥberet Yemimah* (a love story that should be interpreted in an allegorical sense), written by Joseph ben Judah ibn Simon, a disciple of Maimonides.

Ibn Ḥasdai translated important scholarly works from Arabic into Hebrew: (1) *Moznei Ẓedek* ("Scales of Justice," ed. by J. Goldenthal, 1834–39), from the Arabic original *Mizan al-ʿAmal* by the Muslim philosopher Algazali; (2) *Sefer ha-Tappu'aḥ* ("The Book of the Apple," in *Likkutei ha-Pardes*, Venice, 1519; *De pomo, Hebrew.* Lemberg, 1873, etc.), attributed to Aristotle; (3) *Sefer ha-Yesodot* ("The Book of the Elements," ed. by S. Fried, 1900), by Isaac b. Solomon Israeli; (4) **Ben ha-Melekh ve-ha-Nazir* ("The Son of the King and the Nazirite," Constantinople, 1518, and reprinted in many editions, the last one with vocalization and annotations by A.M. Habermann, 1950), a translation and adaptation of an Arabic text of *Barlaam and Josaphat*, which is a romance about the youth of Buddha. The romance evolved from an Indian tale which, during the Middle Ages, was translated into Greek (under the title *Barlaam and Josaphat* – the first version known in Western Europe) and Oriental and European languages. Ibn Ḥasdai's adaptation was written in *maqāma* form and became a well-known work in medieval times. It was translated into a number of languages, and it was published many times in Hebrew as a very popular book; (5) Ibn Ḥasdai also translated Maimonides' *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* ("The Book of Precepts") and *Iggeret Teiman* ("Letter to Yemen"), preserved in two manuscripts and some fragments used by Halkin in his critical edition (1952).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Altmann and J.M. Stern, *Isaac Israeli* (1958), index s.v.; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 356; Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1956), 238–70, 691; Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 268, 342, 391, 863–7, 927, 930; Stern, in: *Oriens*, 13–14 (1961), 58–120; N. Weisslovits, *Prinz und Derwisch* (1890), 1st part. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A.S. Halkin (ed.), *Epistle to Yemen* (1952), xxxi–xxxvi, 1–3; D.J. Silver, *Maimonidean Criticism and Maimonidean Controversy 1180–1240* (1965); D. Pagis, *Ḥiddush u-Masoret be-Shirat-ha-Ḥol ha-Ivrit, Sefarad ve-Italyah* (1976), 222ff.; B. Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture in Transition* (1982), 61ff.; Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Christian Spain and Southern France* (1997), 256–73 (Heb.).

IBN ḤAYYIM, AARON (I; ben Abraham; 1545–1632), rabbi and commentator. Ibn Ḥayyim was born in *Fez and studied at the yeshivot of his father, of Vidal ha-Ẓarefati (II), and of Joseph Almosnino (I). He was appointed a member of the *bet din* of Vidal in Fez but in 1606 left for Egypt. In 1609 he went to Venice to publish his book, *Korban Aharon* (1609), and remained there at least three years. From there he traveled to the countries of the Orient and finally settled in Jerusalem, where he died. Among those who eulogized him were Azariah *Figo and Leone *Modena. Ibn Ḥayyim's fame rests on his book, which includes an extensive exposition of the *Sifra with an introduction entitled *Middot Aharon*, explaining the 13 hermeneutical rules of R. Ishmael and their development and application (see *Hermeneutics). The work was held in high esteem by Ibn Ḥayyim's contemporaries and in subsequent generations, and in fact was largely responsible for the *Sifra* becoming a subject of study. In the main it aims at a literal exposition of the text and even when Ibn Ḥayyim indulges in casuistic interpretations, his regard for the plain meaning is apparent. He also wrote commentaries to the *Mekhilta* and the *Sifrei*, to the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Song of Songs, but only his *Lev Aharon* on Joshua and Judges, giving both the literal meaning and aggadic exposition, has been published (Venice, 1609). Some of his responsa appear in the works of his contemporaries.

[Shmuel Ashkenazi]

IBN ḤAYYIM, AARON (II; before 1630–1688), rabbi and commentator. A grandson of Aaron ibn Ḥayyim I, Aaron II was born in Hebron. He lived in Cairo, Alexandria, and Rashid, Egypt, from 1670 to 1675. From there he proceeded

to Smyrna, where he was appointed *dayyan*. Aaron II corresponded with Ḥayyim *Benveniste, Solomon b. Isaac ha-Levy, and Ḥayyim *Algazi. He perished in an earthquake in Smyrna. Ḥayyim J.D. *Azulai saw many of Aaron II's works in manuscript, including a comprehensive commentary on *Ein Ya'akov* by Jacob *Ibn Ḥabib, responsa, and halakhic decisions. Many of his writings were preserved by his widow who lived in Jerusalem, and Moses *Ḥagiz frequently mentions them in his supplements to *Halakhot Ketannot* (Venice, 1709). Some of them were preserved in Rashid and others in Smyrna. Many of his responsa are contained in the works of his contemporaries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frumkin-Rivlin, 1 (1929), 120f.; J. Ben-Naim, *Malkhei Rabbanan* (1931), 19a–b (on Ibn Ḥayyim, Aaron (I)); Rosanes, Togarmah, 4 (1935), 177f. (on Ibn Ḥayyim, Aaron (II)).

IBN ḤAYYIM, ABRAHAM BEN JUDAH (mid-15th century), author of a remarkable treatise on the art of manuscript illumination, *Libro de como se facem as cores* (Parma Biblioteca Palatina, Ms. Parma, 1959). It was written in Portuguese using Hebrew characters, perhaps at Loulé in Portugal not later than 1462. The language shows Galician (Spain) tendencies and the work may derive from that area. In it, the author gives detailed information for the making and application of colors in book illumination, and it is evident that he was himself a professional book illuminator, not necessarily working for a Jewish clientele. The composition is the most important extant document in medieval Judeo-Portuguese. Abraham was probably of the same family as Joseph *Ibn Ḥayyim.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Blondheim, in: JQR (1928/29), 97–135; 20 (1929/30), 89–90, 283–4; idem, in: *Todd Memorial Volumes…*, (1930), 71–83; A. Moreira de Sá, *O livro de como se fazem as cores de Abraão b. Judah ibn Ḥayyim* (1960).

[Cecil Roth]

IBN ḤAYYIM, JOSEPH (second half of 15th century), manuscript illuminator. Joseph probably belonged to the same family as Abraham *Ibn Ḥayyim. The only work known by him is the illumination of the famous Kennicott Bible (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Kennicott 1) completed by the scribe Moses ben Jacob ibn Zabara at Corunna in Galicia (Spain) in 1482. This is one of the most lavishly and expertly illuminated of all medieval Hebrew manuscripts. Over one-quarter of the approximately 900 pages of the volume have some decoration, and there are 77 fully illuminated pages. The author shows a remarkable versatility and vivacity of imagination. The vast majority of the illuminations however are decorative, there being very few representations of the human figure, in accordance with the prevailing tradition of the Hispano-Jewish school of illumination. Some archaistic tendencies in the work are due to the fact that the illuminator had as his model a Hebrew Bible illuminated at Cervera in Spain in 1299–1300 by Joseph Ẓarefati (now in the National Library of Lisbon), which at the time was in the possession of a family domiciled in Corunna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Roth, *Gleanings* (1967), 298–319; Wishnitzer, in: REJ, 73 (1921), 161–72.

[Cecil Roth]

IBN JAMIL, ISAAC NISSIM (17th century), rabbinical scholar of Ereẓ Israel. Born in *Safed, Ibn Jamil lived for a considerable time in *Jerusalem. He was one of the signatories in 1657 to the letter of appointment of the Jerusalem emissary, Baruch Gad, who had traveled to *Iraq and *Persia to search for the Benei Moshe and who claimed to have met there a member of the lost Ten Tribes. The rabbis of Jerusalem made a copy of the letter which they sent to Nathan Shapira, an emissary of Jerusalem. In 1664 he moved to Hebron, where he remained until his death. His grandson, Ḥayyim *Abulafia, published his writings from a manuscript in his possession. Ibn Jamil was the author of *Be'er la-Ḥai* (Smyrna, 1729), homilies, appended to *Yashresh Ya'akov* by Ḥayyim Abulafia; and *Ḥayyim va-Ḥesed* (*ibid.*, 1736), homilies published together with the *Ḥanan Elohim* of Ḥayyim Abulafia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ḥ.J.D. Azulai, *Ma'gal Tov ha-Shalem*, ed. by A. Freimann (1921–34), 92; Frumkin-Rivlin, 2 (1928), 33 no. 13, 37 n.1; Rosanes, Togarmah, 4 (1935), 307; 5 (1938), 299; Yaari, in: *Sinai*, 6 (1940), 171 n. 15; idem, in: *Aresheth*, 1 (1958), 125 no. 17, 131 no. 39.

[Simon Marcus]

IBN JANĀḤ, JONAH (Abu al-Walid Marwan; first half of 11th century), Spanish Hebrew grammarian and Hebrew lexicographer. In his writings Ibn Janāḥ refers to himself in various ways: by his full name (*Luma*ʿ, 19), by Abu al-Walid (*ibid.*, 169, 284), by Marwan (Derenbourg (1880), lixff.), and by Ibn Janāḥ (*Luma*ʿ, 21). Similarly, contemporary Arabic-writing authors (e.g., *Samuel ha-Nagid, *Baḥya ibn Paquda, Moses *Ibn Ezra) referred to him by these several names. In Hebrew works he is called R. Jonah or R. Marinus, these names, given to him by Abraham *Ibn Ezra (*Devir*, 2 (1920), 277; see M. Wilensky, *Le nom d'Abou-l-Walîd* (1932), 55–58), being the Hebrew forms of his surname (Ibn Janāḥ = "the winged," and hence Jonah = "a dove") and personal name (Marwan = Marinus).

His Life

Information about his life is extremely scant. Even his birthplace, his birth and death dates, and his father's name, are not known with certainty. He may have been born in Cordoba or in neighboring Lucena (Wilensky, in *Tarbiz*, 4 (1932/33), 97–99). However, it is known that he was educated at Lucena and studied, according to his own statement, under R. Isaac b. Levi *ibn Mar Saul and R. Isaac ibn *Gikatilla. The former was, in his pupil's words, "one of the greatest philologists" (Derenbourg (1880), 333), whose poems Ibn Janāḥ read aloud to him, discussing their language with him as well as the meaning of various biblical words. Isaac ibn Gikatilla encouraged him to devote himself to the study of Arabic language and literature. Among other scholars of Lucena mentioned by Ibn Janāḥ are Abu al-Walid ibn Ḥasdai (*Luma*ʿ, 152; Derenbourg (1880), 317) and Abu Omar ibn Yaqūy (*Uṣūl*, s.v. א-ש-ד) who were likewise interested in grammar. Thus al-

ready in his youth Ibn Janāḥ devoted himself to philology, biblical exegesis, the language of the Mishnah, the Aramaic of the Targumim and the Talmud, as well as Arabic language and literature. He even tried his hand at writing poetry, but this he later abandoned (*Lumaʿ*, 305). In his youth he settled in (or returned to) Cordoba, where he lived until the persecutions of 1012. There he made a study of the grammatical works of Judah b. David *Ḥayyuj, with whom apparently he was not personally acquainted, either because Ibn Janāḥ was still a child at the time of, or came to Cordoba after, Ḥayyuj's death. Nor did he know Samuel ha-Nagid, with whom he later became involved in a written controversy on philological subjects. In Cordoba he studied medicine, which provided him with a livelihood throughout his life. The Arab historian Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa, in his biography of physicians (ed. August Mueller, 2 (1884), 50), mentions that Ibn Janāḥ was interested in logic and had an extensive knowledge of Arabic and Hebrew philology, and ascribes to him a no longer extant book on medicine, *Kitāb al-Talkhīṣ* ("The Book of Commentary"). Ibn Janāḥ left Cordoba when it was besieged by the Berbers (1012), and settled, after much wandering (Derenbourg (1880), 3), in Saragossa where he lived until his death. There, forming a circle of young scholars interested in linguistic questions, he wrote his philological works which, like his activities, aroused the opposition of some local talmudic scholars (*Sefer ha-Rikmah*, ed. M. Wilensky, 1 (1964^{2}), 11).

His Works

(1) *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq* (Heb., *Sefer ha-Hassagah*, "The Book of Criticism"), based entirely on Ḥayyuj's system of the triliteral root, criticizes his grammatical writings, dealing first with the weak, the geminative, and finally the quadriliteral verbs. Assessing and supplementing Ḥayyuj's statements under almost every root, Ibn Janāḥ, according to his own evidence (Derenbourg (1880), 245) deals with more than 50 roots not mentioned by Ḥayyuj, with some 50 meanings of roots which he overlooked, and with more than 100 verbal forms (conjugations, tenses), in addition to including about 50 interpretations and some 40 theoretical philological topics. He began writing the book in Cordoba, but because of the necessity to flee and his subsequent wanderings, completed it only after settling in Saragossa.

(2) *Risālat al-Tanbīh* (translated by Judah ibn Tibbon as *Sefer* (instead of *Iggeret*, "The Epistle") *ha-He'arah*, "The Book of Admonition") is a reply to a work which, written in Saragossa under the title of *Kitāb al-Istīfāʾ* ("The Book of Detailed Occupation," and known as *Sefer ha-Hashlamah*, "The Book of Supplement"), criticized Ibn Janāḥ's *Sefer ha-Hassagah* and his failure to include yet further criticism of Ḥayyuj's writings. He refuted its arguments by replying to them in the form of a letter to a friend in Saragossa.

(3) In *Kitāb* (sometimes: *Risālat*) *al-taqrīb wa al-Tashīl* (*Iggeret ha-Keruv ve-ha-Yishur*, "The Epistle of Bringing Near and Making Easy"), a work intended for beginners, Ibn Janāḥ sets out to explain some difficult passages in the introductions to Ḥayyuj's writings. But he ranges beyond this framework and deals with fundamental grammatical subjects from his own point of view.

(4) *Kitāb al-Taswiya* ("The Book of Rebuke"; called *Sefer ha-Tokhaḥat* or *Sefer ha-Hashva'ah* by Judah ibn Tibbon) is Ibn Janāḥ's reply to the criticism which Samuel ha-Nagid and his friends leveled against his *Sefer ha-Hassagah*. He learned of these criticisms from one of Samuel's friends who was on a visit to Saragossa. After first enumerating the criticisms conveyed at that meeting, Ibn Janāḥ sets forth his refutation.

(5) *Kitāb al-Tashwīr* (*Sefer ha-Hakhlamah*, "The Book of Shaming") which Ibn Janāḥ often mentioned with pride is an answer to Samuel ha-Naggid's criticism contained in the latter's *Rasāʾil al-Rifāq* ("The Epistles of the Companions").

(6) Of paramount importance is Ibn Janāḥ's last work, *Kitāb al-Tanqīḥ* ("The Book of Minute Research") which Judah ibn Tibbon translated as *Sefer ha-Dikduk*. It is the first complete book on Hebrew philology to be preserved in its entirety. In range and theoretical basis no other work of Hebrew grammar can be compared to it. The work consists of two parts: the first, a grammar, entitled *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ* ("The Book of Variegated Flower-Beds"); and the second, a complete dictionary of biblical Hebrew, called *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* (translated by Judah ibn Tibbon as *Sefer ha-Rikmah* and *Sefer ha-Shorashim* respectively). The work as a whole is prefaced by an introduction, and an additional introduction prefaces *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*. *Sefer ha-Rikmah* consists of 45 (46) chapters. The first chapter is a general survey of the parts of speech. Chapters 2–6 (7) treat the consonants, their accentuation, their function in a word as radicals or affixes, and their metathesis. Chapter 7 (8) deals with the transposition of vowels; 8 (9) apposition; 9 (10)–13 (14) etymology, and the formation and inflection of words; chapter 14 (15) vowel changes due to the gutturals; 15 (16) the function of the verb; 16 (17) pronouns; 17 (18) the copulative "vav"; 18 (19) the construct state; 19 (20) conjunctive and disjunctive forms; 20 (21) relative forms; 21 (22) elision; 22 (23) prevention of elision; 23 (24) the plural and the dual; 24 (25)–33 (34) linguistic irregularities: ellipsis, pleonasm, repetition, hapax legomena, inverted order, etc.; 34 (35)–35 (36) interrogation and vocalization of the interrogative *he*; 36 (37) the definite and indefinite articles; 37 (38)–42 (43) gender; and finally 43 (44)–45 (46) number. *Sefer ha-Shorashim*, a complete dictionary of biblical Hebrew, includes not only the words derived from roots but the pronouns and particles, as well as the names of weights and measures, birds and stones, but not, as a rule, personal or place names. The operative unit of the dictionary is the root, whose letters Ibn Janāḥ designates by their Arabic names, as for example, *al-alif, al-bāʾ, al-lām* (= א-ב-ל). The entire work, which also contains exegetical excursuses on difficult biblical passages, is divided into 22 sections arranged alphabetically according to the first root letter, while within each section the roots are arranged according to the alphabetical order of the second and third root letters, the exception being those with a duplicated letter which come at the beginning, e.g., בב before בדד, באל before בדא, and so on. Each

article has the different forms derived from the same root as also their Arabic translation, the affinity between which and the Hebrew word Ibn Janāḥ sometimes discusses. For an elucidation of grammatical questions he refers the reader to *Sefer ha-Rikmah*, to his other works, and to those of Ḥayyuj.

Manuscripts, Printed Editions, and Hebrew Versions

Ibn Janāḥ's works, with the exception of *Kitāb al-Tashwīr* (5), are extant in their original form in their entirety or almost so. Of *Kitāb al-Tashwīr* only a small fragment, comprising the end of the introduction and the beginning of the work itself, has been discovered. At present contained in the Firkovich collection in Leningrad, it was published by Derenbourg (1880, xlix–liii). Works 1–4 have been preserved together with those of Ḥayyuj in a manuscript completed in Cairo in 1316 by the copyist Joseph b. Solomon and now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Neubauer, 1453). This manuscript, which has the works in the order of 3, 1, 2, 4, was published by Derenbourg (1880) in the sequence given by Ibn Janāḥ in the introduction to his grammatical work (*Lumaʿ*, 16 = *Rikmah*, 27) and adopted in this article. In publishing *Kitāb al-Taswiya* (4) Derenbourg also used a manuscript from the Firkovich collection. According to Kokowzoff (1911, 1228), the second Firkovich collection has numerous fragments of these works belonging to eight or nine independent manuscripts, some of which are extremely early, one dating from 1119, another from 1126, and still another from 1144. *Kitāb al-Mustalhaq* (1), as published by Derenbourg, is deficient in the two articles ר-ו-ח and ס-ב-ב which are, however, contained in some of the Leningrad manuscripts (idem, 1229–132). Four of the five works have been translated into Hebrew. *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq* (1) was translated by Obadiah (12th century?) under the title of *Sefer ha-Hassagah,* published by D. Tenné (2005) on the basis of two extant manuscripts: one, known as the Epstein manuscript and which Isaac b. Yosht completed copying in 1225, was in the Library of the Vienna Community (Schwarz, 1931, 68) until the Holocaust and is now in the Yehuda collection of the National and University Library, Jerusalem. The second manuscript is in Rome, Casanatensa library (Kokowzoff, 3132 = Sacerdote, 209) and a copy of it is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Neubauer, 2509). *Risālat al-Tanbīh* (2) and *Kitāb al-Tashwīr* (5) were translated in 1254 at Béziers by Joseph b. Job, and *Kitāb al-Taqrīb wa al-Tashīl* (3) by Jacob b. Isaac *Roman (first half of the 17th century), but neither translation is extant. *Kitāb al-Tanqīḥ* (6) has been preserved in its entirety in both its Arabic original and Hebrew translation. Two manuscripts of *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, which together compose four-fifths of the work, are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Neubauer, 1459, 1462), and on their basis Derenbourg (1886), with the active participation of Bacher, published the work. An incomplete third manuscript in the British Museum (Ms. Or. 2595) was used by Derenbourg (1886) to supply the missing part of the two manuscripts, but not to determine the passages common to all three. Derenbourg also used a fragmentary manuscript of 1161/62 from the second Firkovich collection. In any case, the bulk of Derenbourg's edition (pp. 72–204, 292–349) is based on only one manuscript. The existence of four or five manuscripts of *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, some complete and very early, is mentioned by Kokowzoff (1911, 1235). Neubauer (1875) published *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* on the basis of a unique, complete manuscript (Neubauer, 1461) dated 1421 and two incomplete manuscripts, the Rouen manuscript and the Oxford manuscript (idem, 1462). W. *Bacher (1894) found an additional fragment in the Rainer collection, Vienna, while the existence of six or seven additional manuscripts, some complete, in the second Firkovich collection in Leningrad was reported by Kokowzoff (1911, 1235). In the meantime yet another manuscript was found in the British Museum, Ms. Or. 4837 (= Margoliouth, 953). The printed versions of Ibn Janāḥ's works are far from satisfactory, and hence the need for a scholarly edition of his complete writings based on all the known manuscripts. The two parts of *Kitāb al-Tanqīḥ* (6) were translated into Hebrew by Judah ibn Tibbon who finished the translation of *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* in 1171. (On other attempts at translation, see Bacher, 1894, xxxv–xxxvi.) The first of Ibn Janāḥ's works to appear in print, *Sefer ha-Rikmah*, has been published twice; first by Goldberg-Kirchheim in 1856. This edition, which is faulty and not to be recommended, is based on two Paris manuscripts (Zotenberg, 1216, of the 13th and 1217 of the 14th centuries respectively). It was published a second time by Wilensky (1929–1931) on the basis of the same two manuscripts as well as two additional ones, the Escorial manuscript (complete) and the Oxford manuscript (Neubauer, 2510), and issued in a second edition by Tenné (1964). *Sefer ha-Shorashim* was published by Bacher (1894, 1968^2) on the basis of a complete manuscript in the Vatican (Cod. Urbin. 54) and a fragmentary one in the Escorial.

Sources

Ibn Janāḥ complained that in his day there were no reliable texts in Spain (*Lumaʿ*, 238, 323 = *Rikmah*, 253, 338), and hence he based his readings on codices of the Bible, having, according to his own testimony, used the Jerusalem (Ereẓ Israel) and the Babylonian codices (*Lumaʿ*, 238 = *Rikmah*, 253; Derenbourg, 1880, 106), as well as a Damascus codex (*Lumaʿ*, 242 = *Rikmah*, 257). In some passages he also mentions unspecified codices of the Bible. He had a particularly high regard for a Jerusalem codex (*Lumaʿ*, 238, 323 = *Rikmah*, 253, 338) brought to Spain by Mar Jacob, a pilgrim from Leon. Ibn Janāḥ adhered strictly to the masoretic text, which he frequently mentions. He used the variant readings of the *ketiv* and the *keri*, the terms מלעיל and מלרע as employed in the masoretic literature, and the differences between *Ben-Asher and *Ben-Naphtali. The masoretic works he refers to are *Okhlah ve-Okhlah, Sefer ha-Kolot (Kitāb al-Muṣawwitāt)*, and *Dikdukei ha-Te'amim*. Ibn Janāḥ made extensive use not only of the Targumim on the Bible, Targum Onkelos on the Pentateuch and the Targum on the Prophets, but also of the language of the Talmud. In *Sefer ha-Shorashim* he compares the mishnaic and the biblical language 257 times and frequently mentions

the Tosefta. In *Sefer ha-Rikmah* he refers 67 times to the Babylonian Talmud and twice to the Jerusalem Talmud. While not mentioning the halakhic Midrashim by name, he quotes numerous statements from the Sifra, two from the Sifrei, and one from the Mekhilta. Under the name of Bereshit de R. *Hoshaiah, Ibn Janāḥ quotes from Genesis Rabbah, refers once to *Sefer Yeẓirah*, and mentions prayers, *piyyutim*, and a Palestinian *paytan*, *Yose b. Yose. In quoting geonic literature he refers to *Yehudai, *Saadiah, *Ḥefeẓ b. Yaẓli'aḥ Resh Kallah, *Sherira, *Samuel b. Hophni, and *Hai. In particular he used Saadiah's *Tafsīr* and *Sharḥ* without however mentioning them explicitly. Of contemporaneous poets he refers to *Menahem b. Jacob ibn Saruq, *Dunash b. Labrat, Isaac ibn Mar Saul, Judah b. Ḥaniga (?), and Isaac *ibn Khalfun. Ibn Janāḥ makes but scant mention of the grammarians before Ḥayyuj. Although he refers to Saadiah's *Kutub al-Lugha*, he states that he did not use it (*Rikmah*, 39, 193), the work having apparently not reached Spain. He also mentions Saadiah's *Pitron Shivim Millot* as well as philological topics from the latter's commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah*. Of the other grammarians who preceded him, Ibn Janāḥ mentions incidentally Judah *ibn Quraysh, Menahem b. Saruq, and Dunash b. Labrat. By contrast he cites hundreds of times Ḥayyuj and his works, to which his indebtedness was so considerable that he refers the reader to them, even advising the latter to study them before turning to his own great work.

His Influence

In the shaping of Hebrew philology, ibn Janāḥ's influence has no parallel in extent, depth, and persistence. In the 11th century he was already mentioned and/or quoted by Isaac *ibn Yashush, Moses b. Samuel Ha-Kohen *Gikatilla, Judah *ibn Bal'am, and Baḥya ibn Paquda, in addition to Samuel ha-Nagid with whom he became involved in a controversy. The 12th-century authors who mention and/or quote him are very numerous, among them being Abu Ibrahim Isaac *ibn Barun, Moses ibn Ezra, the Karaite *Jacob b. Reuben, Abraham *ibn Ezra, Abraham ha-Levi *ibn Daud, Samuel ibn *Jama, Joseph ha-Konstantini, Nathanel, the Karaite Judah (Ha-Avel) b. Elijah *Hadassi, Solomon b. Abraham *Parḥon, Joseph *Kimḥi, *Zerahiah b. Isaac ha-Levi Gerondi, Judah ibn Tibbon, *Maimonides, Menahem b. Simeon of Posquières, and Moses b. Sheshet. Ibn Janāḥ was likewise mentioned or quoted by authors of the 13th century onward, some of whom knew his writings in the original, others in the Hebrew translation. Thus from the 12th century all or some of his works were known not only to philologists, and those writers who had recourse to philology, but also to exegetes, both Rabbanite and Karaite, whether they wrote in Arabic or Hebrew. The exception to this dependency were commentators of the school of *Rashi who were unacquainted with the works of both Ḥayyuj and Ibn Janāḥ. The works of the Samaritan grammarian Abu Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Faraj b. Mārūth contain statements which are identical to those of Ibn Janāḥ, whom he does not, however, mention by name (see Ben-Ḥayyim (1957), 640, s.v. Jonah ibn Janāḥ). The philological works written in the 12th and 13th centuries, such as those of Abraham Ibn Ezra and David *Kimḥi, may with every justification be said to be popular editions or popularizations of Ibn Janāḥ's philology, particularly its practical aspect.

His Personality

From Ibn Janāḥ's writings there emerges the image of a scholar who made the quest for truth the sacred duty of his life. According to his own testimony, he read the Bible eight times when preparing his great work, and expended on oil for light what others did on wine. His devotion to truth can be epitomized in the dictum which he quoted: "Truth and Plato strove. Both of them are friends of ours, but truth is closer to us."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Wilensky (ed.), Ibn Janāḥ, *Sefer ha-Rikmah*, 2 vols. (1969); idem, *Le nom d'Aboû-l-Walid* (1932); D. Tenne, in: *Sefer ha-Rikmah*, 2 (1969), 691–710; J. and H. Derenbourg, *Opuscules et traités d'Abou-l-Walid ibn Merwan ibn Djanah de Cordoue* (1880); J. Derenbourg (ed.), Ibn Jannah, *Le Livre des parterres fleuris,…* (1886); W. Bacher, *Leben und Werke des Abulwalid Merwan ibn Ganach* (*R. Judah*) *und die Quellen seiner Schrifterklaerung* (1885); A. Neubauer (ed.), *The Book of the Hebrew Roots* (1875, repr. 1968). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** I. Eldar, "*Le-Toledot ha-Maḥloket ha-Dikdukit bein Ibn Janah li-Shemuel ha-Nagid, be-Ikvot Gilluyo shel Keta Genizah mi-Sefer ha-Hakhlamah le-Ibn Janah*," in: *Meḥkarim ba-Lashon ha-Ivrit u-vi-Leshonot ha-Yehudim Muggashim li-Shelomo Morag* (1996), 41–61; D. Becker, *Mekorot Arviyyim le-Dikduko shel Rabbi Yonah ibn Janah* (1998); A. Maman, *Comparative Semitic Philology in the Middle Ages from Sa'adiah Gaon to Ibn Barun* (*10th-12th cent.*) (2004).

[David Tenne]

IBN JAU, JACOB (d.c. 990), wealthy silk merchant and manufacturer, and *nasi* (leader) of the Jews in Muslim Spain (including parts of Morocco) after the death of *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut of Cordoba. The source of information on Jacob ibn Jau and his brother Joseph is the *Sefer-ha-Kabbalah* by Abraham ibn Daud. Residents of Cordoba, the Ibn Jau brothers sought the favor of al-Manṣūr, chamberlain to the caliph Hishām II, and virtual ruler of Muslim Spain, and presented a gift of gold and luxurious silk clothing to al-Manṣūr, thereby impressing him with their wealth and prestige. Al-Manṣūr appointed Jacob *nasi* of Jewry throughout the kingdom, and Cordoba Jewry made the office a hereditary position for Jacob's descendants. However, when one year later Jacob failed to produce the sum of money in taxes demanded of the Jews by al-Manṣūr, the latter had him imprisoned. After serving a year's sentence, Jacob was released by Hishām II, who reinstated him as *nasi*.

Ibn Jau is particularly noted for his vigorous support of Joseph *Ibn Abitur and his equally vehement opposition to Ḥanokh, head of the academy of Cordoba, regarding rabbinical authority. Ibn Jau attempted to give the control of religious matters to Ibn Abitur while he was in charge of fiscal matters. Ibn Daud states that during Ibn Jau's first year as *nasi*, he threatened Ḥanokh with violence should he render judicial decisions. Even after his reinstatement, Ibn Jau was neither

successful in undermining Ḥanokh's authority nor in removing him from his position of head of the academy. Despite his personal ambition and obsequiousness to Muslim authorities, Ibn Jau was remembered for his generosity to the poor, and was mourned by Ḥanokh who expressed his concern for the welfare of the poor at the loss of their benefactor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G.D. Cohen, in: PAAJR, 29 (1961), 55–123; Abraham Ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah – The Book of Tradition*, ed. by G.D. Cohen (1967), 68–70; Ashtor, Korot, 1 (1966), 245ff.; Baron, Social, 5 (1957), 44f.

IBN KAMMŪNA, SAᶜD IBN MANṢŪR (c. 1215–1285), philosopher, probably an oculist, who lived in Baghdad. Possibly a state employee for a time under the pagan Mongols, Ibn Kammūna was titled *ʿIzz al-Dawla*; his son, who served as an official, was titled *Najm al-Dawla*. When his life was in danger, high Muslim officials saved him.

In his studies on Islamic thought patterns (Avicenna, al-Suhrawardī, and Fakhr al-Dīn a-Rāzī) and in his use of the philosophical works of Judah Halevi and Maimonides, Ibn Kammūna's sympathies lay with the science-oriented rationalist trend of Hellenistic origin. This is indicated in the *Tanqīḥ al-Abḥāth lil-Milal al-Thalath* ("Critical Inquiry into Three Faiths"), a compendium of interfaith polemics written in 1280. This work begins with an introductory chapter on prophethood in general and is followed by individual chapters on Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, each with exposition and critique, presented with a conscious effort at objectivity and fairness toward all parties. The material is to a great extent a mosaic of quotations from Avicenna, al-Ghazālī, Maimonides (all unnamed), and al-Rāzī (named). Judaism is defended, or rather, arguments against it are rebutted; since the case for Christianity appears weak to the author, he considers it is his duty to improve upon it, for the sake of argument; and Islam, allotted the longest chapter, leaves an impression that is far from favorable. "The most interesting tract of inter-religious polemics in Arabic" (Steinschneider), the *Tanqīḥ* is remarkable for its freedom of discussion, presumably reflecting the fact that by the time it was written, Islam had been deprived of its dominant status for over two decades. However, the population was predominantly Muslim, and in 1284, a mob infuriated by a Friday sermon on the *Tanqiḥ* rioted against its author who had to be spirited out of the city in a cask; soon afterward he died.

One of three Muslim tracts against Ibn Kammūna has been preserved. A Christian, Ibn al-Mahrūma, wrote a tract against the chapters on Judaism and Christianity. Both tracts show respect and even admiration for Ibn Kammūna, and both return to arguments proffered by the 12th-century Jewish convert to Islam *Samawʾal al-Maghribī, whose *Ifḥām* is named, quoted, and rebutted by Ibn Kammūna.

Ibn Kammūna also wrote a tract on the differences between Rabbanites and Karaites. For internal use in the Jewish community, it is written in much the same spirit of detachment, rational analysis, tolerance, and humaneness as the *Tanqīḥ*. It includes chapters on the status and virtues of the talmudic sages; the Karaite arguments impeaching the sages; and the Rabbanites' allegations concerning the Karaites. Here, too, Judah Halevi and Maimonides are drawn upon extensively, and the author stresses that his is a new approach.

Among Ibn Kammūna's other writings are commentaries on the works of Islamic philosophers. A fine point in Islamic theology is known as Ibn Kammūna's query (*Shubha*). A number of his treatises and manuals of philosophical subjects are extant in manuscript, especially in Istanbul. However, there are apparently no references to him in Jewish sources.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Perlmann (ed.), *Saʿd b. Mansur Ibn Kammuna's Examination of the Inquiries into the Three Faiths* (1967), includes introd., bibliog., and Arabic text of the *Tanqīḥ;* D.H. Baneth, in: MGWJ, 69 (1925), 295–311; L. Nemoy, in: PAAJR, 36 (1968), 107–65. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Schmidtke, "Studies on Saʿd b. Mansūr ibn Kammūna (d. 683/1284): Beginnings, Achievements, Perspectives," in: *Persica* 19 (2003), 107–23; Y.T. Langermann, "Ibn Kammūna and the 'New Wisdom' of the Thirteenth Century," in: *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, 15 (2005), 277–327.

[Moshe Perlmann]

IBN KAPRON, ISAAC (10th century), poet and grammarian. In Latin and Spanish, the meaning of Isaac's name ("Cabron, Capron") is related to "goat"; he was called by this name, and others like it, in ridicule by his opponents. The Ibn Kapron family was an old and honorable one in Córdoba, the place where Isaac lived at the middle of the century, under the Caliphate of Abdarraḥman the III. He was a pupil of *Menahem b. Saruq. In a book of responsa written with Isaac ibn *Gikatilla and Judah ben Daud, disciples of Menahem, he defended his teacher against *Dunash ben Labrat, whom he attacked for introducing Arabic meter into Hebrew poetry without respecting the particular nature of the Hebrew language. In his opinion, for maintaining Arabic meter in Hebrew verses it was necessary to change the vocalization and the pronunciation of many Hebrew words. He was probably the author of the poem in praise of *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut, in the same meter and rhyme as Dunash's panegyric, which they included at the beginning of the *Teshuvot,* trying to show that the criticism of using Arabic meter in Hebrew was not because it was impossible to do so. Of Isaac's other poetic writings, a *seliḥah* deploring the vicissitudes of the Diaspora is known; it is the first known example of a new metrical technique meant to replace Dunash's innovation, with a fixed number of syllables (and without counting the shewas or half-vowels). In the school of Menahem this new syllabic technique was considered more respectful of the nature of the Hebrew language. As an alternative to Dunash's invention, it was adopted in many liturgical and some secular compositions in the Middle Ages.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Brody and K. Albrecht (eds.), *Shaʿar ha-Shir* (1905), 7–8; Schirmann, Sefarad, 1 (1954), 42–48; 2 (1956), 676; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 420; S.Z. Stern, *Teshuvot Talmidei Menaḥem* (1870, new ed. 1968), 9–17. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Benavente and A. Sáenz-Badillos, *Tesubot de los discípulos de Menahem contra Dunas ben Labrat* (1986); Ashtor, *Jews of Moslem Spain,* 1 (1973),

258–61; A. Sáenz-Badillos, in: *Sefarad*, 46 (1986), 421–32; Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (1995), 131–41 (Heb.).

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN KHALFUN, ISAAC (**Abu Ibrahim**; late 10th century), poet. Born probably in the last decades of the 10th century, either in Spain or North Africa, according to the *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wal-Mudhākara* of Moses *Ibn Ezra, "He was the only Hebrew poet to make poetry his tool of trade and to turn verse into a source of income, to receive payment for it. He wandered throughout the world for its sake and obtained from his patrons as much as he liked" (ed. A.S. Halkin (1975), 31b). Like other Arabic wandering poets, Ibn Khalfun, on his extensive travels through North Africa and the East, sang the praises of the wealthy, asking for gifts or demanding payment. It seems that he lived some years in Córdoba, where he developed a friendship with *Samuel ha-Nagid, who appreciated his talents and supported him. Of this friendship a poetical correspondence between the two writers has remained, preserved in the *diwan* of Samuel ha-Nagid. Practically ignored until the 19th century, all of Ibn Khalfun's extant poetry, around 70 poems, was edited and published together with an introduction and commentaries by A. *Mirsky (1961). An English translation has been published by A. Brenner (2003); Spanish versions were also published by M.J. Cano (1988) and C. del Valle (1992). A. Brener believes that the poems sent to North African and Eastern patrons found their way to a *diwan* in two parts, partially preserved in *Genizah* fragments, while the poems written for his friends and patrons in Andalusia (except those to Samuel ha-Nagid) have been lost. Besides more than 20 "payment poems" (A. Brener), we know today panegyrics, laments, rebukes, and didactic, farewell and friendship poems, apparently just part of a much richer poetic work. For this reason it is not easy to judge the quality of his poetry, which has been evaluated in very different ways by modern scholars. In any case, he can be seen in certain aspects as a pioneer of Andalusian poetry and as a direct predecessor of the great masters of the golden age.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Mirsky, *Shirei R. Yiẓḥak ibn Khalfun* (1961); Schirmann, Sefarad, 1 (1954), 66–73; 2 (1956), 667; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 7 (1935/36), 291–318; 28 (1958/59), 330–42; D. Jarden, *Divan Shemu'el ha-Nagid* (1966), 172–94; A. Scheiber, in: *Sinai*, 27 (1950), 217–20; Mann, Egypt, 2 (1922), 14–24. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Sáenz-Badillos, in: MEAH, 33:2 (1984), 21–43; M.J. Cano, *Yishaq ibn Jalfun: poeta cortesano cordobés* (1988); C. del Valle, *Isaac ben Jalfón de Córdoba: poemas* (1992); Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (1995), 173–82 (Heb.); A. Brener, *Isaac ibn Khalfun: a Wandering Hebrew Poet of the Eleventh Century* (2003).

[Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN KILLIS, ABU AL-FARAJ YAʿQŪB IBN YŪSUF (930–991), businessman and administrator of various Egyptian rulers. Tradition holds that Yaʿqūb ibn Killis was a scion of the al–Samawʾal family, of the famous pre-Islamic Jewish Arab poet of that name. He was born in *Baghdad and in his early youth settled with his father in Ereẓ Israel; the family resided at Ramleh. Yaʿqūb engaged in trade and banking but after several years of successful business he went bankrupt. In approximately 960 he fled to Egypt and established contact with Kāfūr, who was then the regent. He became a government supplier, and when the government treasury was empty, Kāfūr paid him notes which assigned him the taxes due from agricultural districts. In the course of collecting these taxes, Ibn Killis gained considerable knowledge of agriculture, became Kāfūr's economic adviser, and eventually his political adviser as well. After his appointment as head of the financial administration, Ibn Killis converted to *Islam in the hope of becoming vizier. These hopes, however, were frustrated by the vizier in power, Jaʿfar ibn al-Furāt, and when Kāfūr died in 968, Ibn Killis was imprisoned. He managed to escape and turned to the *Fatimids in *Tunisia who were preparing to conquer Egypt. He encouraged the Fatimid al-Muʿizz in his plans of conquest and provided him with important information on the situation in Egypt. When Egypt fell to the Fatimid army, Ibn Killis returned there with al-Muʿizz and, together with a Muslim minister, was put in charge of tax collection. He instituted a reform of the monetary system which brought great profit to the government; he gained a further rise in status during the reign of Caliph al-ʿAzīz (975–96) who appointed him vizier in 977. While holding this post, Ibn Killis reorganized the entire administrative system of the Fatimid caliphate. In 983 he was dismissed and arrested, but was reinstated after two months, retaining his post until his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 17–19; Fischel, Islam, 45–68; Hirschberg, *Afrikah*, 1 (1965), 74, 153. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY**: S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 6, index; M. Gil, *Ereẓ Yisrael ba-Tekufah ha-Muslemit ha-Rishonah, 634–1099* (1983), esp. vol. 1.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

IBN MAR SAUL, ISAAC BEN LEVI (early 11th century), poet and grammarian of the "second generation" that preceded the golden age. Born in Lucena (and hence known as Alyussani), Isaac was respected by other grammarians even though they occasionally disagreed with his opinions. There is a considerable amount of information about him and quotations of his poems in *Sefer ha-Shorashim* and *Sefer ha-Rikmah* by his pupil Jonah *Ibn Janāḥ. We do not know if he wrote any grammatical treatises; in any case, nothing has been preserved but the references of Ibn Janāḥ. According to Moses ibn Ezra, he was of the same epoch as Joseph *ibn Abitur and Isaac ibn *Gikatilla, although less expert than the latter in his knowledge of Arabic. Even if Ibn Mar Saul wrote mainly liturgical poetry, he is the author of the first known Hebrew poem dedicated to the male gazelle. His best-known liturgical poem is *Elohai Al Tedineni ke-Ma'ali* ("My God, judge me not according to my transgressions"), a *piyyut* recited for *Shaḥarit* on the Day of Atonement according to the Sephardi ritual. He was a prolific *paytan*, and developed some of the characteristics of Sephardi liturgical poetry. He introduced notable novelties, like strophic

poems with a structure similar to the Arabic *zajal*, and even in one case to the *muwashshaḥ* (as shown by E. Fleischer), employing in many cases the syllabic meter.

LEVI IBN MAR SAUL, also a *paytan*, who left the insecure Córdoba and lived in Tortosa in the first half of the 11th century, was apparently his son.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Simchoni, in: *Ha-Tekufah*, 10 (1921), 156; Schirmann, in: *Sefer Assaf* (1953), 496–514; Schirmann, Sefarad, 1 (1954), 49–52; idem, *Shirim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah* (1965), 157–8; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 418; E. Fleischer, in: *Sefer Schirmann* (1970), 285–318. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E. Fleischer, in: *Tarbiz*, 63 (1994), 403ff.; Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (1995), 144–50 (Heb.).

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN MIGASH, JOSEPH BEN MEIR HA-LEVI (1077–1141), greatest Spanish talmudic scholar of the third generation of Spanish rabbis. He studied first under Isaac b. Baruch *Albalia, and at the age of 12 went to Lucena where he studied under Alfasi for 14 years. His teacher encouraged him, ordained him as rabbi and greatly honored him, even nominating him his successor as head of the yeshivah, though his own son was a talmudic scholar. Ibn Migash occupied this post for 38 years, until his death.

Ibn Migash enjoyed an outstanding reputation among his contemporaries. *Maimon, the father of Moses *Maimonides, was apparently among his many pupils, and Maimonides, especially in his novellae on the Talmud, frequently relies upon the traditions of Ibn Migash, which, as he states, he had received from his father. In his introduction to his commentary on the Mishnah, he says of him, "The understanding of that man in Talmud was awe-inspiring… so that it could almost be said of him that never before had there been his like." Maimonides' attachment to Ibn Migash is so strong that for a long time he was erroneously thought to have been his pupil. *Judah Halevi, from youth the friend of Ibn Migash, composed poems of praise in his honor, and it was he who formulated the letter to the scholars of Provence in which Ibn Migash sought an acquaintance with them and their teachings. This letter is the earliest extant document on the ties between the centers of learning in Provence and Spain.

Very little of Ibn Migash's work is extant. His novellae to *Bava Batra* (Amsterdam, 1702) and *Shevu'ot* (Salonika, 1759) have been published, but his commentary must have embraced at least half of the Talmud, and even the portion published is not complete in itself. His novellae to *Bava Batra* are quoted more extensively and fully in the works of other *rishonim*, and are found in superior form in the *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* to that tractate, and in *Aghmati's work, *Sefer ha-Ner*. A relatively small number of his responsa (translated from the original Arabic) have been published (Salonika, 1786); some are included in the works of others (e.g., in the responsa *Pe'er ha-Dor*, Amsterdam, 1765), and more are extant in manuscript. He is known to have composed a book of comments (which is not, however, extant) on the *Hilkhot ha-Rif* of his teacher. The works of Ibn Migash decisively influenced the study of Talmud in Spain and Provence. Meir *Abulafia, who summed up the teaching of the Spanish scholars until the generation of Naḥmanides incorporates – mostly anonymously – many of Ibn Migash's comments in his work. So does Naḥmanides, who transmitted them to his pupils and followers, such as Solomon b. Abraham *Adret and *Yom Tov b. Abraham Ishbili (the Ritba). They were well known in Provence, too, already being quoted by *Abraham b. Isaac, who frequently relies upon them in his responsa. MEIR, the son of Joseph ibn Migash, was also a well-known scholar in Spain; his son Isaac served with Meir Abulafia on the *bet din* of Toledo in 1205. Among Meir's important pupils was *Jonathan ha-Kohen of Lunel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.L. Grajevsky, *Rabbenu Yosef ha-Levi ibn Migash* (1963²); B.Z. Benedict, in: *Tarbiz*, 22 (1950/51), 99ff.; idem, in: KS, 31 (1955/56), 264–5; I. Ta-Shema, in: KS, 46, 47 (1971–72).

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

IBN MOTOT, SAMUEL BEN SAADIAH (or **Matut**, **Matud**; active c. 1370), philosopher, kabbalist, and translator in Spain. He came from a well-known family in Guadalajara and was one of the members of the circle of Jewish intellectuals in Castile friendly with *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet. In his works, particularly in his trilogy (see below), Samuel engaged in numerous philosophical and kabbalistic speculations which testify more to his erudition than to any originality of ideas. For his essential material he ransacked the "Treatise of Reconciliation" of Joseph ibn *Waqar, but also did not hesitate to have recourse to the *Zohar. Of the authors of his generation, he made much use of Judah b. Nissim ibn *Malka. Along with a knowledge of Abraham *Ibn Ezra and *Maimonides, Samuel's Jewish sources included the commentary of *Dunash ibn Tamīm on the *Sefer Yeẓirah* and the *Olam Katan* of Joseph ibn *Ẓaddik, although he never mentions the latter two authors by name. It was through the Arab philosopher al-Fārābī (*Mabādīʾ al-Mawjūdāt, Hatḥalot ha-nimẓa'ot*), as well as through Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawsī, the Spanish Muslim philosopher, that he became directly acquainted with Muslim philosophy; it is very likely that he knew the works of the "Brethren of Sincerity" (*Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*) and *Avicenna, although it was from Ibn Waqar that he doubtlessly derived the bulk of his information. In his theories of cosmology and prophecy Samuel combines the teachings of Kabbalah with those of philosophy without too great a concern for consistency, taking for granted affinities between the two which Ibn Waqar with greater critical acumen had only suggested. In addition, under the combined influence of Muslim and Jewish neoplatonists and astrologers, Samuel advanced greatly the thesis of the correspondence between the microcosm (body and soul of man) and the macrocosm. He wrote *Megillat Setarim*, a supercommentary on Abraham ibn Ezra's commentary on the Pentateuch (Venice, 1553; certain manuscripts, however, contain a fuller and more accurate version; excerpts from it are found in the *Margaliyyot Tovah* of Jekuthiel Lazi, Amsterdam, 1721); an unpublished trilogy consisting of *Meshovev Netivot*, a commentary on the *Sefer Yeẓirah, Megal-*

lei Amukkot, a commentary on Exodus, and *Tehillot Adonai*, a commentary on the prayer book; and finally a dissertation on *Ha-Agullot ha-Ra'yoniyyot* of al-Baṭalyawsī.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 287; A. Marx, in: ZHB, 10 (1906), 175–8; Baer, Spain, index s.v. *Samuel Matut*; G. Vajda, in: *Archives d'Histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 27 (1960), 29–63.

[Georges Vajda]

IBN MUHĀJIR, ABRAHAM BEN MEIR (c. 1100; also called **Ibn Shortmeqash**), leader of the Jewish community in *Seville, Spain. A member of a prominent family, Abraham served at the court of the Abbadid king al-Mu'tamid, and was called by the title of "vizier." He is mentioned by the poets *Judah Halevi and Moses *Ibn Ezra. The latter speaks of his aid to the Jews in times of crisis, especially, his redemption of captives. Ibn Ezra dedicated his *Sefer ha-Anak* (*Tarshish*) to Ibn Muhājir, thus recognizing the latter's generous support and encouragement. Abraham was also well versed in astronomy and in Talmud. His brothers JOSEPH and the poet OHEB both called "ha-Nasi" (= "the Prince") are mentioned by the historian Abraham *Ibn Daud. Joseph apparently was host to Isaac *Alfasi when he first came to Spain. ISAAC IBN MUHĀJIR was an official; and his relative, ABU SULEIMAN, was a distinguished poet.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abraham ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah – The Book of Tradition*, ed. by G.D. Cohen (1967), index; H. Brody, in: *Ha-Goren*, 10 (1928), 60–80; Moses ibn Ezra, *Shirei ha-Ḥol*, ed. by Ḥ. Brody, 1 (1935), no. 183; J.H. Schirmann, in: *Tarbiz*, 9 (1938), 53; idem, in: YMḤSI, 6 (1945), 260; S.H. Stern, in: *Al-Andalus*, 13 (1948), 325f.; García-Gómez, *ibid.*, 15 (1950), 169f.; F. Cantera, in: *Sefarad*, 9 (1949), 225f.; Ashtor, Korot, 2 (19662), 291; idem, in: *Sefarad*, 24 (1964), 64ff.

IBN MŪSĀ, ḤAYYIM BEN JUDAH (1380?–1460), biblical commentator and physician born in Béjar, near Salamanca, *Spain. He became celebrated for his professional ability and served "in the courts of kings and nobles" for about 40 years. During his dealings with officials and clerics, Ibn Mūsā sometimes entered into religious *disputations. These led him to compose *Magen va-Romaḥ* in which he provided arguments for defense and attack for use in disputes with converts or Christian scholars. Its major purpose was to prove that the Messiah had not yet come. He determined 12 rules to be adhered to in religious debates, which if observed would unfailingly secure the victory of the Jewish side. According to Abraham *Zacuto, Ibn Mūsā was also a liturgical poet.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Kauffmann, in: *Bet Talmud*, 2 (1881), 110ff.; Baer, Spain, 2 (1966), 253–4, 260, 486 n. 9, 487 n. 16; A. Zacuto, *Yuḥasin ha-Shalem*, ed. by H. Filipowski (1857), 229; Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 706; Graetz-Rabbinowitz, 5 (1896), 399; 6 (1898), 419–20; A. Posnanski, *Schiloh* (1904), 251–6.

IBN PAQUDA (Pakuda, Bakoda), DAVID BEN ELEAZAR (first half of the 12th century), Spanish Hebrew poet. Moses *Ibn Ezra mentions among his contemporaries who worked in the East of Andalusia a poet, Abu Isḥaq ibn Paquda, and his relative Abu Suleiman, who may be identical with David (*Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wal-Mudhākara*, ed. A. Halkin (1975), 41a). Many scholars believe that this Abu Isḥaq can be identified as the well-known philosopher *Baḥya b. Joseph ibn Paquda. David, who also lived in Saragossa, could be his cousin. *Al-Ḥarizi praises David's verses twice in the third *maqāma* of his *Taḥkemoni*: "none as bright and hot as the songs ben Bakoda begot"; "and Rabbi David ben Bakoda – skill is his prelude, praise his coda." Numerous liturgical poems by him have been preserved. According to Zunz, David's authorship is firmly established in the case of 14 poems by the appearance of his full name in acrostics or in superscriptions; more than 20 other poems in various Spanish rites, which are signed simply "David" are for the most part also to be regarded as his compositions. One of David's peculiarities, which he shares with Yemenite Hebrew poets, is the *scriptio plena* spelling of his name (דויד). His poems are printed in the Sephardi *maḥzor*, the Tripoli *maḥzor*, the *Seder Rabbi Amram* (1865), and in J. Ettlinger's *Shomer Ẓiyyon ha-Ne'eman* (1846, new ed. 1963, p.261). His *seliḥah* of eight stanzas is particularly widespread, as is also his introduction to Gabirol's *Azharot*, which appeared in an annotated Spanish translation by A.S. Yahuda (1915). A large collection of David's unedited poems was published by J.H. Schirmann (1938). Specimens of his poems are also to be found in: S.D. Luzzatto, *Iggerot Shadal* (1882, 1967[2]), 513, 515; H. Brody and K. Albrecht, *Sha'ar ha-Shir* (1906), 133–5; H. Brody and M. Wiener, *Mivḥar ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit* (1934), 193; H. Schirmann, *Ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit bi-Sefarad u-vi-Provence* (1954), 355–7. Y. Yellin collected the poems included in Schirmann's list in an M.A. dissertation (1974); they are more than 40, but only the 14 already known by Zunz can be said with certainty to have been written by him. Most of them are *seliḥot*. David has been rightly characterized as a conservative liturgical poet. This is shown in his technique: he uses the syllabic meter more than the quantitative one (used only in two *bakkashot*), and sometimes he does not use any meter; he prefers monorhymed compositions to the strophic ones. He does not employ the novelties of Andalusian-Hebrew liturgical poetry; he prefers old paytanic structures and very simple forms.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Sachs, *Die religioese Poesie der Juden in Spanien* (1901), 274; Dukes, Poesie, 141; idem, in: *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 9 (1848), 403; 10 (1849), 760; S.I. Kaempt, *Nichtandalusische Poesie andalusischer Dichter*, 2 (1858), 197; Landshuth, Ammudei, 55, 60f.; Zunz, Poesie, 218; Zunz, Lit Poesie, 217; A.S. Yahuda, *Un capítulo sobre la poesía hebraica religiosa de España* (1915); Malter, in: JQR, 7 (1916/17), 606f.; Schirmann, in: YMḤSI, 4 (1938), 282–96; 6 (1945), 335–9; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 374. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Y. Yellin, "*Piyyutei David ibn Bakudah*," M.A. diss. (Tel Aviv Univ. 1974); Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (1995), 503–6 (Heb.).

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN PLAT, JOSEPH (12th century), rabbi. Some maintain that Ibn Plat originated from *Spain, but it seems almost certain

that he came from North Africa. He traveled to Spain and then to Provence and was in Narbonne and Lunel, where he transmitted several customs to *Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne, and it is known that he also gave information to other scholars there, including *Zerahiah ha-Levi (see *Sefer ha-Terumot*, Sha'ar 29, no. 2), *Asher b. Saul (in a number of places in his *Sefer ha-Minhagot*), and *Asher b. Meshullam (*Kol Bo* no. 8). Well-known is his responsum to a query addressed to him by Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne as to why the sages instituted blessings to precede the performance of some *mitzvot* and not over others. The responsum was frequently published in a fragmentary form and was already included in the works of early authors. It was published in full by S. Assaf (see bibliography). His rulings with regard to the recitations of blessings were included in the *Pardes* of Rashi (ed. by H.L. Ehrenreich (1924), 195–211). *Abraham b. David of Posquières wrote several critical responsa on Ibn Plat: one on the aforementioned responsum on blessings, published with Ibn Plat's responsum in the work of David *Abudarham; another on the subject of *sheḥitah* (*Temim De'im* no. 23); and a third on the laws of *ḥazakah*. In about 1170 *Benjamin of Tudela met him in Damascus where he held an important post in the yeshivah, and he may have proceeded to Ereẓ Israel. J. Mann conjectures that he is identical with Joseph b. Paltoi who wrote a commentary on the *halakhot* of Isaac *Alfasi, quotations from which are included in the commentary of *Peraḥyah b. Nissim to Alfasi on *Shabbat*. Peraḥyah lived in Damascus in the middle of the 13th century. A commentary to the *Halakhot* (of Alfasi) by Ibn Plat is explicitly mentioned in a list of **genizah* books published by Abramson (see bibliography).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Epstein, in: MGWJ, 44 (1900), 289–96; S. Assaf, *Sifran shel Rishonim* (1935), 199–206; Ch. and S. Albeck (eds.), *Sefer ha-Eshkol*, 1 (1935), 11 (introd.); Abramson, in: KS, 26 (1949/50), 84, 92n. 143; Benedict, *ibid.*, 28 (1952/53), 213 and n. 41; I. Twersky, *Rabad of Posquières* (1962), 17f.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

IBN QURAYSH, JUDAH (second half of the ninth century), Hebrew grammarian and lexicographer. He was a physician in Tahert, Algeria, presumably in the second half of the ninth century (though some antedate him to the end of the eighth, and others postdate him to the beginning of the tenth century). According to *Ibn Janaḥ he knew *Eldad ha-Dani and was interested in his travels. With Saadiah Gaon, Ibn Quraysh is regarded as one of the founders of comparative Semitic linguistics; knowing Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic, he recognized their similarity in both vocabulary and grammatical structure. When the community of Fez in Morocco decided to abolish the custom of reciting the Aramaic Targum in synagogues, Ibn Quraysh addressed to them an epistle (*risāla*), in the preface of which he urged them to retract their decision, since the recitation was an old tradition and contributed to the comprehension of the Bible, while the Aramaic language in general, as well as Arabic, was important for the understanding of the Bible and the Hebrew language. The main body of the epistle falls into three parts: in the first part, biblical Hebrew in the form of a vocabulary is compared in alphabetical order with Aramaic, in the second with mishnaic Hebrew, and in the third with Arabic. The second section of the third part also treats of the similarity of structure of Arabic and Hebrew, as well as the correspondence of consonants and the structure of prohibitions. He also deals with non-Semitic words in the Bible. This work, which was edited by D.B. Goldberg and J.J.L. Bargès and translated into Hebrew by M. Katz (see bibliography), apparently had no special title. A critical edition has been published by D. Becker (see bibliography) along with a modern Hebrew translation. Because of its preface, it is as a rule called *Risāla*, but it is also referred to by other names. Abraham Ibn Ezra calls it *Sefer ha-Yaḥas* and *Av va-Em*; Isaac b. Samuel ha-Sephardi called it *Agron Av va-Em* (the third part of the work which was apparently the most widespread, begins with the words *'av* and *'em*). Menahem b. Saruq referred to it as *Sefer Pitronot*. Ibn Quraysh also composed religious poems (*piyyutim*), some of which were published by H. Brody in HHY, 2 (1912/13), 63–83. The authorship of other works attributed to him is quite uncertain. The assertion that ibn Quraysh was a Karaite was first refuted by P. Frankel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Yehuda ben Koreisch, *Epistola de studii Targum utilitate*, ed. by J.J.L. Bargès and D.B. Goldberg (1857), preface (Arabic with notes in Latin); Eppenstein: in: MGWJ, 44 (1900), 486–507; J.M. Toledano, *Ner ha-Ma'arav* (1911), 15; EJ, 8 (1931), 1007 (bibliography); M. Katz (ed.), *Iggeret R. Yehudah ben Kuraish* (1950), preface (bibliography 31ff.); Vajda, in: *Sefarad*, 14 (1954), 385–7; Baron, Social, 2, 7 (1958²), 225–6, n. 17. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Becker, *The Risāla of Judah b. Qurayash, A Critical Edition* (1984); A. Maman, *Comparative Semitic Philology in the Middle Ages from Saadia Gaon to Ibn Barun (10th–12th cent.)* (2004), 180–1.

[Joshua Blau]

IBN SAHL, ABU ISḤĀQ IBRĀHĪM (d. c. 1259/60), poet. He converted to *Islam during the *Almohad persecution, but reconverted to Judaism after the Christian conquest of Seville in 1248. Part of his biography is to be found in *al-Maqqarī* (tr. by P. de Gayangos, 1 (1840), 158ff.). His poems in Arabic are mostly of religious content and some are in the form of *muwashshaḥ* (odes or poems using strophic form with a refrain; the last refrain is sometimes in slang or a foreign language). Three editions of the poems appeared (1875, 1885, and Beirut, 1885). The Muslim publisher Ḥasan ibn Muhammad al-ʿAṭṭār prefaced the poems with a detailed biography of the author.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hajji Khalifa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, 3 (1842), 241; Steinschneider, in: JQR, 11 (1898/99), 315.

IBN SAHL, JOSEPH (Abu-ʿAmr) BEN JACOB (d. c. 1124), Spanish-Hebrew halakhist and poet. Descended from an aristocratic family, Joseph is described by Moses Ibn Ezra as one of the most distinguished disciples of Isaac Ibn Ghayyāt of Lucena. After the death of Isaac al-Fāsī, he was the spiritual leader of the Jewish community in Córdoba, occupying for 11 years the position of *dayyan*, from 1113 until his death. As a

poet Joseph must have been held in unusual esteem. His verses are quoted in the *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wal-Mudhākara* of Moses Ibn Ezra who, in the fifth chapter of this work, describes his popularity and versatile poetic talent (ed. A. Halkin (1975), 41a, 142b, 155b). He reserves special praise for Joseph's biting satires against the enemies of poetry. Both poets were very close and maintained a poetical correspondence with mutual expressions of admiration. In addition, Abraham *Ibn Daud has the highest praise for him ("a great scholar, a great poet, and a pious man," *Sefer ha-Kabbalah*, ed. G. Cohen (1967), 82; see also 103, 137); so does *Al-Ḥarizi, in the Third Gate of his *Taḥkemoni*: "None of greater variegation than those [poems] of Joseph ben Sahal's creation," and "Rabbi Joseph ben Sahal shall ever please, for Poesy is born in Joseph's knees." In later times, he deserved also the praises of Moses of *Rieti and of other Jewish literary critics. Of all Joseph's works, only a few poems have been preserved, in complete or fragmentary form: a panegyric and an elegy of Isaac Ibn Ghayyāt, three songs of friendship addressed to Moses Ibn Ezra included in the *diwan* of the great poet, a lament on his separation from a friend, a facetious song on fleas, a girdle poem with conclusion in Arabic imitating a love poem of Samuel ha-Nagid, and a liturgical poem. Among his lost works is a Hebrew translation of Isaac b. Jacob *Alfasi's Arabic responsa, from which Bezalel *Ashkenazi (16th century) quoted one item (*Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, BM 102a).

In a Leningrad manuscript, the *maqāma* called "The Utterance of Asher b. Judah," usually attributed to *Ibn Zakbel, is ascribed to a certain Abu-Ayyūb ibn Sahl; the same thing happens with a Cambridge fragment of the *Genizah* (T.-S., A.S. 111.169), where the *maqāma* is attributed to Solomon ben Sahl; this is clearly another member of the Ibn Sahl family, to which the well-known Arabic (Converso) poet Ibrāhīm (Abraham) *ibn Sahl also belonged.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schirmann, Sefarad, 1 (1954), 358–61; 2 (1956), 682; idem, in: YMḤSI, 2 (1936), 148–51; idem, *Shirim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah* (1966), 209–16; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 400; S. Abramson, *Bi-Leshon Kodemim* (1965), 56–79; D. Jarden, *Sefunei Shirah* (1967), 24. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R. Sheniak, "*Yosef Ibn Sahl: Monografiyyah*," M.A. diss. (Tel Aviv Univ. 1978); Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (1995), 483–88 (Heb.); A. Sáenz-Badillos, in: *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica,* 30 (1981), 218.

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN SAʿĪD (Sid), ISAAC (c. second half of the 13th century), Spanish astronomer. Isaac lived in Toledo where Isaac *Israeli called him "*he-Ḥazzan*" so he was probably the cantor of the synagogue at Toledo. He may well have been the otherwise unknown "Aben Çayd" or "Rabbi Zag," and King Alphonso X refers to him in official documents as "our learned Rabbi Çag." At the king's request Isaac, together with Judah ben Moses Cohen, headed a group of Jewish scholars, at the initiation and production of the "Alfonsine Tables" (1252–56), which King Alfonso of Spain commissioned to be compiled at Toledo, since discrepancies were often being found between astronomical computations and observations in his day. Consequently Isaac and his assistants not only utilized the tables of Arzarchel but also conducted their own observations of the sun, stars, and planets over some years. Their tables finally included a complicated armillary sphere showing the heavenly movements (see also *Astronomy). Alfonso also encouraged his translation from the Arabic into Spanish of several treatises concerned with astronomical instruments. Isaac ibn Saʿīd added the instructions for their correct use in observations. These were partly his own original contributions, and partly taken from other sources. His works are contained in the monumental book *Libros del Saber de Astronomia del Rey Don Alfonso X de Castilla* (5 vols. by Rico y Sinobas in Madrid, 1863–67). Certain records in his handwriting of his observations of lunar eclipses still in existence testify to his versatility.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 617, 975–6; Singer, in: L. Finkelstein (ed.), *The Jews, their History, Culture and Religion*, 2 (1960^3), 1394–95; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, 2 (1931), 843–4; E.R. Bevan and C. Singer, *Legacy of Israel* (1928), 224–5.

[Arthur Beer]

IBN SĀQAWAYH (wrongly **Ibn Saquya** or **Ibn Saquyah** or **Ibn Sakuyah**; early 10th century), Karaite scholar in Babylonia or a neighboring country, contemporary of Saadiah *Gaon. In his objections to the Oral Law and those who rely on it, Ibn Sāqawayh used the Mishnah and Talmud to prove that in their commentaries the *Rabbanites distort Scripture and that the Oral Law was not revealed to Moses at Sinai. He cites a number of talmudic legends to demonstrate that the Rabbanites invested God with human attributes. He collected the legends from the Talmud and *midrashim* which he considered curious in order to support his arguments against the Oral Law in *Kitāb al-Faḍāʾiḥ* ("Book of Shame"). Saadiah Gaon answered his allegations in *Kitāb al-Radd ʿalā Ibn Sāqawayh* ("Response to Ibn Sāqawayh") in which he rejects Ibn Sāqawayh's arguments against the Oral Law and his objections to several *halakhot*. Saadiah's *Kitāb al-Radd ʿalā al-Mutaḥāmil ʿala al-Mishnah wa-al-Talmūd* ("Response to the Challenger of the Mishnah and the Talmud") is possibly also an answer to Ibn Sāqawayh. However, the interrelationship of these writings is not clear. Passages from Saadiah's writings were found in the Cairo *Genizah whereas Ibn Sāqawayh's are known only through quotations made by his opponents.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Poznański, *Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon* (1908), 4–8; Assaf, in: *Tarbiz*, 4 (1932/33), 35–53, 193–206; Mann, Texts, index; Zucker, in: PAAJR, 18 (1949), 1–4; L. Nemoy, *Karaite Anthology* (1952), 70, 234, 376.

IBN SASSON, SAMUEL BEN JOSEPH, Castilian poet during the reign of Alfonso XI (1312–50). He lived in Carrión de los Condes and Frómista, small towns in the north of Castile, having modest means and being almost crushed by economic problems. It is possible, but not certain, that he spent some time in Toledo, but in any case he was not an important member of the community. Between 1330 and 1340 he

exchanged poems with Shem Tov Ardutiel (*Santob de Carrión), although only those sent by Ibn Sasson are preserved. In addition to the elegies and panegyrics devoted to the notables of the time, the poetry of Samuel ibn Sasson abounds in examples of the poetic correspondence that was usual among Hebrew intellectuals of the time. Thanks to his work we can speak today of the existence of a circle of intellectuals and poets in the area of North Castile during the first half of the 14th century, a time in which poetical activity was almost lacking in Toledo itself. His poems have also some historical importance since they refer to personal matters, current events, and the affairs of his contemporaries. Among them are poems for special occasions. Ibn Sasson reflects in his poetry the situation of the Jewish communities under the pressure of Christian society, alluding to the fate of some of the most important Jewish courtiers of the time. In particular, the conversion of Abner of Burgos (c. 1270–c. 1340), a physician familiar with philosophy and Kabbalah who after a long period of doubt, some time after the age of 50 embraced Christianity and took the name Alfonso de Valladolid, left deep traces in Ibn Sasson's literary production. This creation includes a rhymed prose composition, imitating the structure of the "dream" described by Abner in his *Mostradór de Justicia* (1330) in which the sufferings of the Jews in that generation are considered as punishment for their many sins, as a divine ordeal before the imminent redemption. This was directed against Abner of Burgos, the apostate, who justified his apostasy by stressing the sins of the Jews. Ibn Sasson dedicated a poem to Isaac ibn Polqar, Abner's adversary. Ibn Sasson's varied verses, in the style and spirit of his contemporary poets, were collected by Ḥ. Ḥamiel in *Avnei ha-Shoham*, (1962). More a rhetorician than a poet, Ibn Sasson regarded himself as the best poet of his time and boasted in one poem: "The wonders of other tongues compared with my tongue is as the light of a torch to that of the sun." Although in many cases poetic inspiration is almost lacking, Ibn Sasson devoted a great deal of effort to demonstrating his mastery of the technical aspects of Hebrew poetry, in a typical mannerist attitude. He wrote "reversible" verses, poetry with echo, multiple internal rhymes, and used other very sophisticated rhetorical techniques that are almost unique in Hebrew poetry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Margoliouth, Cat, 3 (1915), 248f.; Baer, in: *Minḥah le-David… Yellin* (1935), 197–204; Baer, Toledot, 191, 212f., 514 n.23; Ḥ. Ḥamiel (ed.), *Avnei ha-Shoham* (1962), introd.; idem, in: *Sinai*, 35 (1954), 45–54, 134–42; Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1956), 524–8, 697. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Esteban, in: WCJS, 9 (1986), 69–76; idem, in: *Exile and Diaspora* (1991), 98–102; R. Brann, J. Targarona, and A. Sáenz-Badillos, in: *Prooftexts,* 16 (1996), 75–103; Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Christian Spain and Southern France* (1997), 555–61 (Heb.).

[Abraham Meir Habermann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN SHEM TOV, ISAAC BEN SHEM TOV (15th century), Spanish rabbi and philosopher. Isaac ben Shem Tov was the son of the anti-Aristotelian mystic, Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov, but his intellectual temperament differed severely from his father's. He became a loyal Aristotelian rationalist, more so than his older brother Joseph Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov and as much as his nephew Shem-Tov b. Joseph Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov. He taught philosophy in Aguilar de Campóo, Castile, and was an erudite and prolific writer in Hebrew on Aristotelian themes, specializing in commentaries on philosophic classics. He wrote at least 14 works, eight of which are extant. These include four commentaries on Averroes' "Intermediate Commentary on Aristotle's Physics" and a favorable commentary on the book singularly decried by his father – Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*. He was an eager critic of Ḥasdai *Crescas, but generally, the subtleties of Crescas' revolutionary thought on such subjects as actual infinity seem to have eluded him. On the other hand, he may have been the first Hebrew author to distinguish between the categorematic and syncategorematic infinities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.A. Wolfson, in: *Studies… A.S. Freidus* (1929), 279–90; idem, *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle* (1929), index; S. Rosenberg, *He'arot be-Mussag ha-"Einsofiyyut"* (1969), 31–2.

[Warren Zev Harvey]

IBN SHEM TOV, JOSEPH BEN SHEM TOV (c. 1400–c. 1460), Spanish philosopher. A son of Shem Tov ibn Shem *Tov, Joseph, in contrast to his father, was a devotee of philosophical and other secular studies. He served in the Castilian court of King John II and his successor Henry IV. While it is not clear what his function was at the court of the former ruler, he served in the court of the latter as physician and auditor of accounts. His political position provided him with the opportunity to debate religious and philosophical questions with Christian scholars. In 1452 he was sent by Henry to Segovia in order to suppress an antisemitic movement. After apparently falling into disfavor with the king around 1456, he wandered restlessly around the country giving lectures to audiences on the Sabbath, parts of which he wrote down. In a manuscript of his *Ein ha-Kore* there is a note that states that because of blindness Joseph dictated the work. From a remark by Isaac Alḥākim, the first publisher of Joseph Jabez's *Or ha-Ḥayyim*, it appears that Joseph suffered a martyr's death. Although Joseph was an exceptionally productive author, only three of his works were printed. His major work, *Kevod Elohim*, was written in 1442 (Ferrara, 1556). He also composed a commentary on Profiat *Duran's polemical letter *Al Tehi ka-Avotekha* (edited and printed together by Isaac Akrish, Constantinople, c. 1577; reprinted in A. Geiger's *Koveẓ Vikkuḥim*, 1884); and in Alcalá de Henares in 1451 he prepared a Hebrew translation and explication of Ḥasdai *Crescas' anti-Christian work *Bittul Ikkarei ha-Noẓerim* (Frankfurt on the Main, 1860; ed. by E. Deinard, 1904).

Commentaries on Aristotle and Averroes

Joseph wrote the following commentaries on *Aristotle and *Averroes:

(1) a very detailed commentary on the Hebrew transla-

tion of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, written in Segovia in 1455 and preserved in manuscript;

(2) a twofold commentary on Averroes' "Epistle on the Possibility of Conjunction" (on the conjunction of the human intellect with the agent intellect): an extensive commentary written shortly before 1454, in the manner of Averroes' long commentaries on Aristotle; and a shorter commentary, completed in Segovia in 1454, in the manner of Averroes' middle commentaries. Only two incomplete manuscripts of this twofold commentary are extant. In addition, the long commentary is extant in a manuscript of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, and a complete manuscript of the shorter commentary, entitled *Be'ur Efsharut ha-Devekut ha-Kaẓer*, exists in the Bodleian Library;

(3) a commentary on Averroes' paraphrase of *Alexander of Aphrodisias' work on the intellect, completed in Segovia in 1454. To this commentary Joseph added the following appendices, found in the Oxford manuscript: an explanation of *Moreh Nevukhim* 1:68; a section on the unification of the intellect, the intelligence, and the intelligible, according to Averroes; the explication of a passage in *Moses of Narbonne's commentary to Averroes' "Epistle on the Possibility of Conjunction"; and finally, a presentation of the Aristotelian view of the intellect as interpreted by Averroes in his long commentary on Aristotle's *De Anima* (Book 3). Prominent as a Bible commentator, Joseph wrote a commentary on Lamentations in 1441 in Medina del Campo de Leon (Parma, de Rossi Ms. 117, 4). Joseph's *Ein ha-Kore*, on the fundamental principles of the art of preaching, was written after 1455 (Paris, Ms. héb. 325, 2; Oxford, Ms. Mich. 350). This work, probably the only one of its kind in the literature of the Middle Ages, is rich in quotations from Muslim and Christian sources. In *Sefekot be-Ikkarim al Ma'aseh Yeshu ha-Noẓeri* Joseph set forth the results of his religious disputations, criticizing the Christian dogmas of original sin, incarnation, and salvation (see D.S. Loewinger and B.D. Weinryb, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Library of the Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar in Breslau* (1965), 250, 2; 345, 2). Benjacob claims that this work is merely an extract from Joseph's commentary on Profiat Duran's *Al Tehi ka-Avotekha* (Benjacob, Oẓar, 424, no. 479).

Works no Longer Extant

A number of Joseph's works are no longer extant: a commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge; Hanhagat ha-Bayit*, presumably a commentary on Aristotle's *Economics*, cited in Joseph's *Ein ha-Kore*; a commentary on *Jedaiah ha-Penini's *Beḥinat Olam*, also cited in *Ein ha-Kore; Da'at Elyon*, a refutation of the deterministic attitudes expressed in *Sod ha-Gemul* by the apostate, *Abner of Burgos, together with polemical remarks directed against Ḥasdai Crescas. This work is cited in Joseph's commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics* (originally contained in the Oppenheimer manuscript collection, see Wolf, Bibliotheca, 3 (1727), 428); homilies on individual passages from the Pentateuch, probably components of a larger collection of sermons, excerpts of which are found in Schorr's *He-Ḥaluẓ* (4 (1869), 85n.); a commentary on his father's *Sefer ha-Yesodot* (identified by some as *Sefer ha-Emunot*), quoted in *Ein ha-Kore*. Steinschneider identified this work with *Kevod Elohim*.

Philosophy of Religion

Joseph's religious-philosophical views are set forth in his *Kevod Elohim*, in which he compares the Aristotelian and Jewish conceptions of the greatest good (*summum bonum*). Polemicizing against his father's *Sefer ha-Emunot*, Joseph advanced the opinion that the results of philosophical inquiry can be of valuable service to religious knowledge. He maintained that the philosophizing Jew is superior to the Jew who practices his religious duties blindly. Yet, in spite of this, he delineated some of the major differences existing between Aristotelianism and Judaism. The attempt of Maimonides and his successors to bring these two divergent systems into agreement at any price was firmly rejected by Joseph. Following *Naḥmanides, he was of the opinion that the deeper meaning of religious commandments is inaccessible to rational investigation and is capable of being comprehended only by means of mystic intuition or esoteric tradition such as the Kabbalists claim to have. Joseph, together with his son Shem Tov (see *Ibn Shem Tov, Shem Tov ben Joseph ben Shem Tov) and Isaac *Arama, is representative of the school of Jewish philosophy which was influenced by the Kabbalah. In opposition to the Aristotelians, who perceived the greatest good of man in intellectual perfection, Joseph maintained that the immortality of the soul in no way follows from the development of the intellect, but is dependent on the conscientious observance of religious precepts. Joseph's philosophical system represents a compromise between Aristotelian-Maimonidean rationalism and the anti-philosophical tendency of which his father was representative. Joseph took a mediating position on the question of the study of secular disciplines. Following the teachings of Solomon ben Abraham *Adret, he wanted to restrict the study of philosophy and the sciences to those who were mature. While Joseph's *Kevod Elohim* was not as popular as the *Ikkarim* of his older contemporary Joseph *Albo, it was widely read (Kaufmann, Schriften, 2 (1910), 260–1) and copiously quoted by later authors, as were his other works. Joseph's philosophical views exerted a strong influence on the dogmatic and speculative Hebrew literature of the following centuries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Guttmann, Philosophies, 252–3; Husik, Philosophy, 429–30; M. Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature* (1965[3]), 97, 100, 104, 127, 309, 317; idem, in: MGWJ, 32 (1883), 459–77; Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, index, s.v. *Josef ben Schemtob*; Graetz, Hist, 7 (1949), index, s.v. *Joseph ben Shem Tob Ibn-Shem Tob*; H.A. Wolfson, *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle* (1929), index; Ghirondi-Neppi, 152, no. 37; Fuenn, Keneset, 512–3; D. Neumark, *Geschichte der juedischen Philosophie des Mittelalters*, 1 (1907), index, s.v. *Josef ben Schemtob*; Guttmann, in: MGWJ, 57 (1913), 336–40, 418–47.

[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

IBN SHEM TOV, SHEM TOV (c. 1380–c. 1441), Spanish rabbi, kabbalist, and anti-Maimonidean polemicist. A wit-

ness to the persecutions and conversion movements of the late 14th- and early 15th-century Spain, Shem Tov held Maimonidean Aristotelianism responsible for facilitating apostasy. In his Hebrew work *Sefer ha-Emunot* ("Book of Beliefs," Ferrara, 1556; photoedition, 1969) he attacks Jewish rationalists from Abraham ibn Ezra through *Levi b. Gershom and Isaac *Albalag, but especially Maimonides. He wrote unabashedly against the esoteric doctrine of the *Guide of the Perplexed*, as he understood it. Although he revered Maimonides for his talmudic writings, he considered his philosophy a thousand times more pernicious than Aristotle's, because it came from an adherent of the Torah. Unlike his contemporary Ḥasdai *Crescas, he does not seek to undermine philosophically the foundations of Maimonidean Aristotelianism, nor does he seek to provide an alternative philosophy: he argues almost exclusively from faith. According to Shem Tov's explication, Maimonides taught that the soul is non-substantial; that there is neither divine reward for the righteous nor punishment for the wicked; that there will be no resurrection; that the only human immortality is that of the intellect, achieved by philosophers alone; that there is no providence save that occasioned by intellectual conjunction with God; that the world is eternal and immutable, and there have been no miracles; that the commandments are merely means for the development of the intellect, and human excellence is attained only upon mastery of logic, mathematics, natural sciences, and metaphysics; and that the stories of the Torah were designed for the multitude, for were the truth publicized, it would annihilate all political order. Shem Tov was unsuccessful in winning many adherents to his fideism. His sons Joseph b. Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov and Isaac ben Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov and his grandson Shem Tov b. Joseph b. Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov adhered increasingly to Maimonides' views. Moses ben Isaac *Alashkar (late 15th–early 16th centuries) wrote a vehement attack on the *Sefer ha-Emunot, Hassagot* ("Animadversions," Ferrara, 1556). These animadversions, however, are little more than citations of Maimonides' exoteric pronouncements as supposed disproof of the existence of his esoteric doctrine. Because of his unmitigated, non-philosophic attack on Maimonidean philosophy, Shem Tov was often caricatured as a fanatical warrior for faith against reason. Yet, his undeniable zeal does not invalidate either his analysis of Maimonideanism or his testimony that Maimonidean intellectualism facilitated Jewish apostasy in Spain. In the history of the *Kabbalah, Shem Tov is known for maintaining that *Keter* ("Crown") is not one of the ten **Sefirot* but above them, that consequently *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom") is the first *Sefirah*, and that Da'at ("Knowledge") is a *Sefirah*. He is not considered, however, a creative contributor to the Kabbalah, his views being essentially elaborations of those of Shem Tov ibn Gaon. Shem Tov also wrote a treatise on the *Sefirot* and a commentary on *Avot*, the sixth chapter of which was published (Y. Daitch, *Perush Rabbenu Baḥya al Massekhet Avot… u-Ferush Rabbenu Shem Tov ben Shem Tov al Perek Shishi*, 1962).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 2 (1966), 234–9; G. Scholem, in: KS, 8 (1931/32), 398–400; J. Guttmann, in: MGWJ, 57 (1913), 177–95, 326–36.

[Warren Zev Harvey]

IBN SHEM TOV, SHEM TOV BEN JOSEPH BEN SHEM TOV (15th century), Spanish rabbi, philosopher, and preacher. Shem Tov was the namesake of his grandfather, the militant anti-Maimonidean kabbalist (see Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov), and the son of the moderate Maimonidean Joseph ben Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov. He became a vigorous defender of Aristotelian and Maimonidean philosophy. He wrote several Hebrew works on philosophic subjects, including one on the distinction between matter and form, one on teleology, and commentaries on *Averroes' intermediate commentaries on Aristotle's *Physics* and *De Anima*. Only two of his works have been printed, *Derashot ha-Torah* ("Homilies on the Torah"; Salonika, 1525) and a commentary on Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, which is printed in most Hebrew editions of the *Guide*. As a preacher, Shem Tov, following Maimonides, taught that only the man of intellect is in the image of God. Perhaps influenced by his fideist grandfather, he also called for uncompromising loyalty to Torah and for sacrifice unto death for the Jewish people and its inheritance. In an age when many influential Jews chose baptism, he praised Moses who forfeited his status with Pharaoh and jeopardized his life by slaying the Egyptian taskmaster. It is for his commentary on the *Guide* that Shem Tov is generally known. Although not remarkable for its profundity or originality, it is a clear and extensive work which for centuries has been helpful to students of the *Guide*. Shem Tov extols the *Guide*: "He who knows this book and observes it meticulously is beloved above and pleasant below, and he is assured that he is a member of the world to come." His devotion to Maimonides included a religious acceptance of Aristotelian science. In commenting on the Aristotelian propositions that Maimonides held necessary for the proof of God's existence, unity, and incorporeality, he roundly ridiculed Ḥasdai Crescas for arguing against them. However, like his uncle Isaac b. Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov, he was apparently too immersed in Aristotelianism even to recognize the force of Crescas' revolutionary critique.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.A. Wolfson, *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle* (1929), index; J. Guttmann, in: MGWJ, 57 (1913), 447–51.

[Warren Zev Harvey]

IBN SHOSHAN, family of *nesi'im* in *Toledo, especially prominent from the 12th century. However, even in the 11th century *Samuel ha-Nagid addressed one member of the family in a poem. Leaders of the Jewish community, the Ibn Shoshan family lived in the "upper quarter" of the northeastern part of the Jewish quarter of Toledo, near the mosque which became the Church of San Roman under Christian rule. In contemporary sources this spot was called the "plaza" of Abu Suleiman

David ibn Shoshan. The Ibn Shoshan family included scholars, kabbalists, poets, grammarians, philosophers, physicians, rabbis, and court ministers. Todros b. Judah ha-Levi *Abulafia praised the members of the family in his poems. After the expulsion from Spain they emigrated to such places as Avignon, Tunis, Turkey (Magnesia, Constantinople, Salonika), and Ereẓ Israel (Jerusalem and Safed).

ABU OMAR JOSEPH (1135–1205) was called *ha-nasi* ("the prince") and was treasurer (*almoxarif*) in the court of Alfonso VIII of Castile. In recognition of his services to the state, Joseph received an estate with privileges of immunity which gave to its bearers absolute control within its borders. He was very influential in domestic and foreign affairs of state and built a synagogue in Toledo. Judah *Al-Ḥarizi, *Abraham b. Nathan of Lunel, and Meir ha-Levi *Abulafia praised him. One of his daughters married the last mentioned and another, Abraham Alfakhār.

MEIR (13th century) was born in Toledo and became treasurer to Alfonso X of Castile (1252–84) while still young. He received estates in Seville in 1253 and Jerez de la Frontera in 1266, when these cities were conquered from the Muslims. He also owned land in other places. In 1276 he went on a diplomatic mission to Morocco, perhaps in order to draw up a treaty. In Arabic documents he is called "vizier." His personal enemies tried in vain to harm him. His friend and fellow townsman Todros b. Judah Abulafia lavishly praises Meir in his poems, not only for his political influence but also for his wisdom and talent in poetry.

ABRAHAM, son-in-law of Don Meir, was tax collector in Toledo in the late 13th and early 14th centuries. In 1276 Abraham, Don Isaac de Melija, and a Christian merchant farmed the taxes on livestock in the entire kingdom of Castile and the fines payable by those who violated the privilege of the shepherds' guilds (Mesta). These agreements were canceled several months later. During the reign of Sancho IV (1284–95) Abraham worked with the administrator of financial affairs, Don Abraham al-Bargeloni. However, for the most part he served as treasurer (*almoxarif*) of the queen. In December 1286 the Cortes decided to restore to the crown all property and privileges that it had lost during the civil war and Abraham was appointed as executor of this task, but was replaced by Abraham al-Bargeloni in June 1287. During the reign of Ferdinand IV (1295–1312) Abraham and his partners received authority for tax collection in Castile. In sources of the period several biblical comments and dicta are attributed to him, attesting that he devoted time to study and was considered by his contemporaries as an outstanding scholar.

JACOB BEN JOSEPH was a *dayyan* in Toledo in the early 14th century. A tax suit against the community of Valladolid was brought before him and Abraham ibn Shoshan. He was one of the signatories of the Barcelona ban on secular studies in 1306, and is also mentioned in the dispute between *Asher b. Jehiel and Israel b. Joseph ha-Yisre'eli regarding matters of inheritance.

SAMUEL BEN ZADOK (14th cent.) was a scholar and a liturgical poet. He wrote an abridgment of Jacob b. Asher's *Tur Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (*Sefer Eẓ Ḥayyim*, Ms. Paris 444) and the *piyyut mi-khamokha* for the Day of Atonement (begins with the words *Shime'ah ammi*, "Hear, my People"; Davidson, Oẓar, 3 (1930), 489, no. 1762).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Naḥmanides, *Responsa*, passim; Freimann, in: JJLG, 12 (1918), 282; Brody, in: *Ẓiyyonim, Kovez le-Zikhrono shel J.N. Simḥoni* (1929), 45–57; idem, in: YMḤSI, 2 (1936), 5, 8, 25, 36; Baer, Urkunden, index s.v. *aben Xuxen*; Baer, Spain, index; idem, in: Todros b. Judah Abulafia, *Gan ha-Meshalim ve-ha-Ḥidot*, ed. by D. Yellin, 2 (1936), xliii; Teicher, in: *Essays and Studies presented to S.A. Cook* (1950), 83–94; Cantera-Millás, Inscripciones, index s.v. *Sošan* and *Sušan*; F. González, *El Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII* (1960), 249f.; Ashtor, Korot, 2 (19662), 140f.

[Zvi Avneri]

IBN SHOSHAN, DAVID (late 16th century), scholar and talmudist of Salonika, descended from a family expelled from Spain. David *Conforte states in his *Kore ha-Dorot* that David was blind and very wealthy and praises him as a rabbi of comprehensive wisdom, learned also in astronomy, philosophy, and geometry. He was known not only for his great talmudic erudition but also for his considerable knowledge of Muslim religious books, and Muslim scholars and judges studied books of their religion with him. He later moved from Salonika to Constantinople, where he died. He is mentioned in the responsa of contemporary scholars, *Solomon b. Abraham ha-Kohen (Maharshakh), Samuel b. Moses de *Medina (Rashdam), and *Elijah b. Ḥayyim (Ranaḥ). He is to be distinguished from another David ibn Shoshan who lived in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 16th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Conforte, Kore, 336, 399, 409, 459; Rosanes, Togarmah, 2 (1938), 32; Frumkin-Rivlin, 1 (1929), 80 n. 2.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

IBN SHUAIB, JOEL (15th century), rabbi and preacher in Spain. Ibn Shuaib lived in the region of Navarre, and he was in Tudela in 1485, and, apparently, in Saragossa shortly before the expulsion in 1492. He was considered an important preacher in his time, and his extant works revealed both an extensive rabbinic knowledge and broad general culture. Some of his works were published, but a number are known only from their mention in the other works. His weekly Sabbath sermons, *Olat Shabbat*, were published in Venice in 1577. Of his commentary to the Bible only that to a few books is known: *Doresh Tov* on the Pentateuch; on Isaiah; *Ein Mishpat* on Job; and *Nora Tehillot* (Salonika, 1569) on Psalms. Of his commentary to the five *scrolls, only that on Lamentations (Salonika, 1521) has been published. The commentary to the Song of Songs, fragments of which were published with Abraham Tamakh's commentary to the Song of Songs (Sabionetta, 1558–59), has been wrongly ascribed to him. Its author was another member of the family, Joshua *Ibn Shuaib. Joel ibn Shuaib also compiled a commentary to *Avot* called *Sekhel Tov*. Those works, espe-

cially his *Nora Tehillot*, reveal his opposition to the Spanish Marranos whom he regarded as apostates. His sharp criticism of the Marranos apparently resulted in bringing many of them to return openly to the Jewish faith. His work also gives an interesting description of the organization of sacred societies for communal needs in the community of Saragossa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 1400f.; H.H. Ben-Sasson, in: *Zion*, 26 (1961), 26, 38, 50f., 57, 59, 62; idem, in: *Sefer Yovel le-Y. Baer* (1960), 216; Baer, Spain, 2 (1966), 507; B. Netanyahu. *The Marranos of Spain* (1966), 172–5; S. Abramson, introd. to: *Derashot al ha-Torah le-R. Yehoshu'a ibn Shuaib* (1969), 41–43 (facsimile of the Cracow 1573 ed.).

[Abraham David]

IBN SHUAIB, JOSHUA (first half of 14th century), Spanish scholar. Few biographical details are known of him. He was a pupil of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret (the Rashba), whose statements and customs he frequently cites. He lived and was active in Navarra, where *Menahem b. Aaron ibn Zeraḥ was his pupil (1328); according to some scholars he resided in Tudela. Ibn Shuaib's fame rests upon his book, *Derashot…*, containing sermons on the Pentateuch – a collection of the weekly sermons which he delivered in the local synagogue. The first edition appeared in Constantinople in 1523; the second in Cracow in 1573 (both editions are very rare, but a photostatic copy of the Cracow edition was published in Jerusalem, 1969). The book is replete with *halakhah*, Jewish thought, *Kabbalah, and *musar* and its many epigrams give it a special charm. Ibn Shuaib reveals a complete mastery of the works of Ibn Gabirol, Judah Halevi, Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Maimonides, and Baḥya ibn Paqūda, and many of the halakhic works from the geonic period to his own day. He was unusually well-versed in the Kabbalah, and his interest in it is pronounced in this work. He quotes from the *Sefer Yeẓirah, Sefer ha-Bahir*, and the Zohar, from the kabbalist *Ezra b. Solomon of Gerona, and also from kabbalistic passages in the Bible commentary of *Naḥmanides. He regarded Naḥmanides' work as the ideal combination of philosophy and Kabbalah, both of which had a special attraction for him. As a result he frequently quotes Naḥmanides, sometimes anonymously. In addition he makes extensive use of the two Talmuds and the aggadic Midrashim and extensively and frequently quotes the prevailing customs of Catalonia and France. He delivered his sermons, at least in part, before 1310, as is evident from his mention of Adret as a living contemporary. His chief aim in the sermons was to urge the observance of precepts which were disregarded or neglected, and he also frequently stressed the importance of the synagogue, the need to have recourse to Jewish courts of law, and the like. Ibn Shuaib also wrote a commentary on kabbalistic passages in Naḥmanides' commentary, and some scholars think that the commentary published in the name of Meir ibn *Sahula (*Be'ur Perush ha-Ramban al ha-Torah*) is basically that of Ibn Shuaib adapted by Ibn Sahula. It is known that other pupils of Solomon b. Abraham Adret similarly applied themselves to commenting on these passages of Naḥmanides and they criticized Ibn Shuaib's commentary, accusing him of distortion and misunderstanding the true meaning of the passages. Both editions of the sermons are full of printers' errors and rare but they have been in the possession of scholars down to the present day.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Scholem, in: KS, 6 (1929/30), 109–18; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 24 (1954/55), 294f.; A. Freimann, in: *Annuario di Studi Ebraici*, 1 (1934), 149–52; Loewinger, in: *Sefunot*, 7 (1963), 11; S. Abramson, introd. to facsimile edition of *Derashot al ha-Torah le-R. Yehoshu'a ibn Shua'ib* (1969).

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

IBN SHUWAYK, ISAAC (Ar. **Alm al-Fath**) **BEN ISRAEL** (before 1167–1247), *gaon* and Hebrew poet. Isaac ibn Shuwayk flourished in Baghdad, and was a friend of *Eleazar b. Jacob ha-Bavli, who corresponded with him and composed a long elegy on his death. Abraham b. Moses b. Maimon also addressed a letter to Isaac. Judah *al-Ḥarizi, who made his acquaintance during his stay in Baghdad (c. 1220), spoke disapprovingly of Isaac's poetry (*Taḥkemoni*, gate 18), an opinion which is not justified: "Now the pick of their poets was the academy head Isaac bar Israel, few of whose poems were whole and hale; most, pinched and pale, showed weal and wale. He penned a book of *maqāmāt* cold and remote, filled with songs and letters were best unwrote, that tax the eye and tight the throat. There folly rested, nested, and sickly themes egested, all maggot-infested. Silence had suited Isaac better: he penned neither song nor letter, but worms and fetor." (tr. D.S. Segal, 188) He states that Isaac was the author of a *maqāma* collection, which has not been preserved. Six of his *piyyutim* are known today.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Landshuth, Ammudei, 122; Zunz, Lit Poesie, 204, cf. 504; J. Schirmann, *Die hebraeische Uebersetzung der Maqamen des Hariri* (1930), 116f.; Fischel, in: MGWJ, 79 (1935), 308–10; A. Ben-Jacob, in: *Zion*, 15 (1950), 56–58; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 419; S. Poznański, *Babylonische Geonim…* (1914), 42–46, 61, 68, 75ff.; A. Neubauer, in: *Israelietische Letterbode*, 3 (1878), 51.

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN VERGA, JOSEPH (d.c. 1559), Turkish scholar. After escaping to Lisbon with his father, Solomon *Ibn Verga during the expulsion of the Jews from *Spain, Ibn Verga emigrated to Turkey. Settling first in Constantinople, he later moved to Adrianople, where he was rabbi and *dayyan*. In about 1550 he published here his father's *Shevet Yehudah*, together with supplementary material. Ibn Verga translated some of the supplementary material from Latin but some of it he heard from Moses *Hamon and from Abraham ibn Arama (otherwise unknown). In addition, he described the persecution of the Jews in Christian countries, and reproduced Isaac *Abrabanel's account of the expulsion of the Jews from Castile, at the beginning of his commentary on the book of Kings. He also incorporated accounts of blood libels in Cairo and *Amasia (Turkey), and a valuable 13th-century chronicle which he found in the library of Yom Tov Sanzolo. Joseph also wrote *She'erit Yosef* (Adrianople, 1554) on talmudic principles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosanes, Togarmah, 2 (1938), 71–73; M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1937), 226; S. ibn Verga, *Shevet Yehudah*, ed. by A. Shochat (1947), index.

[Simon Marcus]

IBN VERGA, SOLOMON (second half of 15th–first quarter of 16th century), Spanish-Jewish historiographer. In addition to his extensive rabbinical and philosophical learning, Ibn Verga had a wide knowledge of the non-Jewish literature of his time, and while in Spain also devoted himself to community affairs. After the conquest of Málaga in 1487 by Ferdinand and Isabella, Ibn Verga was sent by the Spanish communities to raise funds for ransoming the Jews taken captive there, and also received official authorization to proceed with this undertaking. On the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, Ibn Verga settled in Lisbon, Portugal. From 1497, when a large number of the Jews in Portugal were forcibly baptized, he was compelled to live as a Converso but apparently was one of those "who did not come under the waters" (Resp. Radbaz no. 1137). When in 1506 the Conversos were permitted to leave Portugal, he went on to Italy, evidently staying some time in Rome.

During the 1520s, Ibn Verga wrote his *Shevet Yehudah*, a compilation of accounts of the persecutions undergone by the Jews from the destruction of the Second Temple until his own day. At times, the author intersperses the historical account with disputations and deliberations, of which some are authentic and others imaginary. By means of these, he tried to clarify the problem of the hatred against the Jews, to examine their special destiny, to offer answers to the claims of their enemies, to rebuke his people for their social and moral faults, and to voice his objection against certain philosophical opinions. After concluding with a description of the misfortunes which had overtaken his people in his time, Ibn Verga devoted a lengthy chapter to a description of the Temple and the service for Passover and the Day of Atonement. He had intended to complete his work at this point, but then added further chapters. His son Joseph *Ibn Verga, who took care of its publication, also introduced supplements. The work was first published in 1554, perhaps in Adrianople.

The name of the work, *Shevet Yehudah*, may be explained in several ways. *Shevet* may either mean a "staff" or is the term applied to one of the twelve tribes of Israel. *Yehudah* can equally be explained as indicating Spanish Jewry, which claimed its origin from the tribe of Judah, or R. Judah ibn Verga, a relative or the uncle of the author, in whose work Solomon found some of the "persecutions and decrees" which he sought to commemorate in his own work.

The author drew his historical material from *Josippon, the *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* of Abraham *Ibn Daud, from the narrative of *Nathan ha-Bavli, and from *Maimonides' letters including *Iggeret Teiman*. He also utilized a brief Hebrew chronicle dealing with the general expulsions and religious persecutions, probably that of Profiat *Duran, which was widely known in various versions, and consulted the writings of Isaac *Abrabanel. In addition to all these, he gathered information from sources now unknown; some may be of his own creation. For his own period, he mentions some of the events which he heard of or witnessed and for which he is sometimes the only source.

The work has special importance in the annals of Jewish historical thought. The thoughts and reflections which the author interweaves in his imaginary discussions, that is in the literary and not the historical section of the work, reflect his dissatisfaction with the traditional outlook and opinions of the Middle Ages. He treats the *galut* in general and the problem of expulsion as natural phenomena subject to the laws of causation, is dissatisfied with traditional answers concerning the relationship between Israel and the Creator and the Will which determines history, and does not willingly accept suffering, refusing to consider it exclusively as a sign of the Jews' superiority. He offers the opinion that hatred of the Jews is simply a popular inheritance, due principally to religious fanaticism and the jealousy of the populace, both of which stem from lack of education. His conclusion, partly explicit and partly implied, is that the Jews should remove the causes of jealousy and fanaticism by modest and humble behavior toward their non-Jewish neighbors, and try to break down some of the barriers separating them by preaching religious tolerance and similar efforts. But the author realizes in advance that all his remedies and opinions are of no avail: "It is in the nature of Creation that the evil exist beside the good." The root of all this evil is in the exile itself. However, his faith has lost its naïveté. He does not believe that Redemption is near at hand and derides the "messiahs," without suggesting an alternative Redemption. All he is finally left with is hope for the mercy of Heaven. The loss of simple faith leads him to seek the natural causes of the original downfall, i.e., the beginning of exile with the destruction of the Second Temple. The conclusion is that with respect to the Second Temple, faith was a negative factor. This postulate concerning the negative role of faith was an innovation of contemporary Italian political thinkers.

In the style of the humanists who scorned theological tradition and the learning of the schoolmen, Ibn Verga also derides, either openly or covertly, the philosophical opinions of the scholars of his own people. He parodies the philosophy of *Judah Halevi and treats the teachings of Maimonides in a fashion not far removed from mockery. Ibn Verga challenges medieval allegorical exegesis and natural science, as if intending to demolish the whole medieval spiritual edifice. He also sometimes attacks the Talmud and is thus a forerunner of the anti-talmudic movement which erupted about a century later among the Conversos.

Ibn Verga's critical and empirical approach to the phenomena of history makes him a herald of a new era in Jewish history. Nevertheless there is definite evidence that the author remained a loyal Jew. He thus expresses his sympathy for Jewish martyrs; when mentioning the persecutions which overtook German Jewry, he concludes: "They nevertheless stood firm for the sanctity of God and His Torah and did not abandon their honor," which might imply a silent criticism of Span-

ish Jewry which did not reach such a standard. His sympathy also goes out to those Conversos who endanger their lives in observing the Torah and its precepts. He is proud of the fact "that they have a heart sufficiently courageous to accept death by burning without changing their religion."

Shevet Yehudah is one of the outstanding achievements of the Hebrew literature of the Renaissance. Some of its imaginary dialogues show exceptional literary gifts; the narrative is interspersed with ideological argumentation by means of dialogue, a device apparently forced upon Ibn Verga because he did not dare openly express some of his radical ideas. He therefore invented situations occurring in the court of a Christian where the majority of the debaters were Christians, attributing to them statements on Judaism which he could not put into the mouth of a Jew. However, the work was written in Hebrew and was clearly intended to promote internal reforms; indeed it was highly esteemed by Jews and many read it. The text was published by M. Wiener (1855) and by A. Shochat (1947).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, index s.v. *Solomon ibn Verga*; idem, *Galut* (1947), 77–82; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 6 (1935), 152–79; idem, *Untersuchungen ueber Quellen und Komposition des Schebet Jehuda* (1923); Neuman, in: *L. Ginzberg Jubilee Volume* (1945), 253–73; Ḥorev, in: KS, 24 (1947/48), 173–8; B. Netanyahu, *Don Isaac Abravanel* (Eng., 1953), 266, 271.

[Azriel Shochat]

IBN WAQAR, family living in Castile, Spain, in the 13th and 14th centuries. Its most renowned members were ISAAC and ABRAHAM, physicians in the service of King Sancho IV of Castile (1284–95). They acted as stewards of the palace, and with the regent, Don Juan Manuel, witnessed the king's testament in the presence of a cleric. Isaac also served the king as *alfaquim* (secretary). After the town of Elche had been captured from the Muslims, he received estates there and acted as intermediary between the courts of Aragon and Castile on administrative matters concerning the town. In his old age, the infante advised his son to continue to employ a physician from the family of Don Isaac as he had never found such another trustworthy man or skillful physician. Isaac and Abraham were loyal friends of Todros b. Judah ha-Levi *Abulafia, the author of *Gan ha-Meshalim ve-ha-Ḥidot*. Another member of the family, JOSEPH, translated into Hebrew *al-Taṣīf*, the work of the physician al-Zahrāwī. Isaac's son JUDAH also served as physician to the regent Don Juan Manuel. Empowered by the regent and after consulting *Asher b. Jehiel, he introduced the hearing of criminal cases by Jewish courts. On several occasions he meted out severe corporal punishment (1320). This was done with the intention of raising the dignity of Jewish law, since among Christians such punishment was customary and Judah feared that respect for Jewish law would suffer if similar methods were not adopted by Jewish courts.

SAMUEL of Toledo was a physician, astronomer, and director of the mint in the service of Alfonso XI of Castile (1312–50). He obtained the concession to the royal mint, which previously had been held by trusted members of the Estates, in 1330. The Christian public accused Samuel of having inflated prices by issuing debased coinage, and claimed that he and his colleagues had purchased all the merchandise in the kingdom at a high price and exported it abroad in order to acquire silver for minting. It was also alleged that Samuel had sought to lease all the revenues of the southern frontier region (the "Frontera") but that Don Joseph de *Écija had offered the king a higher sum. In order to injure his rival, Samuel advised the king to prohibit all exports by Muslims to the kingdom of Granada. As a result the customs revenues from the region diminished. The restriction infringed the commercial agreement between Granada and Castile and, according to a Christian source, was the origin of the war between the two countries. The sultan of Morocco hastened to the aid of Granada and besieged Gibraltar. In 1332 he invaded the Spanish mainland. Nevertheless Samuel retained his position and it was only in 1336 that he and Joseph de Écija fell from royal favor. They were imprisoned and delivered to Gonzalo Martínez de Oviedo, who was elevated to their positions. On his orders, both were tortured to death in prison. Samuel's remains were not given up for burial for a whole year. According to Steinschneider, Samuel may be the author of "Royal Castilian Medicine by Practical Methods" in Arabic. He is possibly also the "Jewish physician of the king and the great astrologer" who attended the queen and saved her life when she gave birth to Don Pedro (1333). Joseph ben Abraham *Ibn Waqar (14th century) was a kabbalist.

JOSEPH, physician to Henry II of Castile (1369–79), traveled to Granada on a diplomatic mission. He wrote an epitome of the history of the Spanish kings and gave it to a Muslim scholar of Granadan origin to assist him in his work on Spanish history. JOSEPH BEN ISAAC BEN MOSES prepared astronomical charts in Arabic for determining the geographical extent of Toledo (1357–58), which he himself translated into Hebrew (1395–96; Ms. Munich 230).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, index, s.v. *first names*; *Sefarad*, index to vols. 1–15 (1957); Graetz, Gesch, 7 (1900), 288ff.; Scholem, in: KS, 20 (1944), 153ff.

[Zvi Avneri]

IBN WAQAR, JOSEPH BEN ABRAHAM (14th century), Spanish philosopher and kabbalist. Ibn Waqar, a member of a distinguished family, lived in Toledo. He expounded his kabbalistic ideas in a poem titled *Shir ha-Yiḥud*, which he himself annotated. His chief work is the Arabic treatise *Al-maqāla al-jāmiʿa bayn al-falsafa wa-al-sharīʿa* ("The Treatise of Reconciliation between Philosophy and the Revealed Law"), extant only in manuscript (Vatican Ms. 203), in which he attempts to reconcile philosophy and astrology with the revealed law, or more exactly, with the religious tenets of Judaism which he identifies completely with the Kabbalah. The purpose of this reconciliation is not to make the Kabbalah conform to rational principles, but, as the author says, "to make it triumphant." Ibn Waqar endeavored to prove that Jewish theosophy, which in-

troduced a series of intermediary entities, the *Sefirot*, between the unknown God and the intelligible world of the philosophers, could be, if not rationally validated, at least linked to the philosophical concept of an intermediary being between the first cause and the prime mover, a notion postulated by Abu Ḥāmid al-*Ghazālī in one of his esoteric treatises. Ibn Waqar believed that he could, by mere dialectic, establish a fundamental agreement between astrology, philosophy, and Kabbalah, each of which is, in its own way, attuned to the harmony of the universe. Astrology provides sound information concerning events in the sublunar world; philosophy is valid in its teachings concerning the structure of the world intermediary between the separate intelligences and the celestial bodies; the Kabbalah is authoritative as a symbolic expression of the knowledge that is available to man concerning the divine world. Ibn Waqar's philosophical sources were chiefly *Maimonides, *Averroes (whose rules for allegorical exegesis, *ta'wīl*, he adopted), and to a lesser extent *Moses ben Joseph ha-Levi, al-*Fārābī, *Avicenna, al-Ghazālī, and Ibn Ṭufayl; *Aristotle was known to him only through Averroes. In astrology he drew on works ascribed in his day to Ptolemy. Although Ibn Waqar's exposition of the Kabbalah is unmistakably adapted to suit the taste of the philosophers, he derived its essential features from the writings of *Isaac b. Jacob ha-Kohen and *Jacob b. Jacob ha-Kohen. Ibn Waqar was very circumspect, however, in dealing with demonology and metempsychosis (**gilgul*). He also used the *Sefer *Yeẓirah*, the *Sefer ha-*Bahir*, the writings of the Gerona school, and the responsum falsely ascribed to *Hai Gaon, but he distrusted the *Zohar, citing it only once. The synthesis attempted by Ibn Waqar was not very successful, and subsequent references to his work are rare. Samuel *Ibn Motot, who refers to Ibn Waqar as the author of a work on the reconciliation of philosophy and Kabbalah, titled *Ma'amar ha-Kovez*, or *Ha-Kolel* (the Hebrew for *Al-maqāla al-jāmiʿa bayn al-falsafa wa-al-shariʿa*), was the only one in the following generation to make any extensive, though often injudicious, use of him. However, that part of the treatise containing an exposition of the Kabbalah and a lexicon of kabbalistic symbols was more widely read, as is evident from the fact that many copies of its Hebrew translation are extant (Vatican, Ms. Heb. 384; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. héb. 793; Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud. 119).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Steinschneider, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 1 (1925), 171–80; Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 921–2; Steinschneider, Arab Lit, 168; G. Scholem, in: KS, 20 (1943), 153–62; A.M. Habermann, *Shirei ha-Yiḥud ve-ha-Kavod* (1948), 99–122, 191–2; G. Vajda, *Recherches sur la philosophie et la Kabbale dans la pensée juive du moyen âge* (1962), 115–297, 385–91; idem, in: *Oẓar Yehudei Sefarad*, 5 (1962), 17–20; G. Sed-Rina, *ibid.*, 9 (1966), 11–23.

[Georges Vajda]

IBN YAḤYA, DAVID BEN JOSEPH (1465–1543), rabbi, grammarian, and philosopher, born in Lisbon. His father JOSEPH B. DAVID (1425–1498), was one of the leaders of Portuguese Jewry, and an advisor to the kings of Portugal. When his father learned of the intention of the king of Portugal to enforce baptism on the Jews, he fled with his sons to Italy. David's teacher was his cousin, David b. Solomon *Ibn Yaḥya. After spending some time in various Italian towns (Pisa, Florence, Ferrara, Ravenna, Imola, Rome) David became rabbi of Naples in 1525. There exists an interesting responsum which he addressed to the Jewish community of Naples in 1538 claiming the arrears of his salary, which had not been paid for many years. He also put his case before Meir *Katzenellenbogen of Padua who in his reply (Responsa, no. 40) addressed R. David in terms of great esteem. After the expulsion of the Jews from Naples in 1540, he returned to Imola. David wrote various works on grammar and philosophy as well as poems. Some letters and poems have been preserved, e.g., the *kinah A'orer Yegonim* on the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal. He abridged his cousin's *Leshon Limmudim* (Rome, 1540). David's son Joseph ben David *Ibn Yaḥya in his *Torah Or* describes a heroic act of his mother who, when six months pregnant with him, was prepared to sacrifice her life in order to escape an assault.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Davidson, Oẓar, 1 (1924), 318, no. 7004; Marx, in: HUCA, 1 (1924), 605–24.

[Hirsch Jacob Zimmels]

IBN YAḤYA, DAVID BEN SOLOMON (c. 1440–1524), grammarian and Bible commentator of *Portugal and *Turkey. In 1477 Ibn Yaḥya was appointed rabbi in his native Lisbon, where he delivered sermons on Sabbaths and festivals. As a result of his efforts on behalf of the Spanish exiles who went to Portugal, he was denounced before the Portuguese king but succeeded in escaping with his family to Naples. Shortly after, Naples was conquered by the French, who deprived Ibn Yaḥya of all his possessions and put him and his family on board a boat to Corfu. After much hardship he arrived in Constantinople where he devoted his time to study and where he was held in great esteem by local scholars. He provoked a controversy when he ventured to question a decision of Elijah *Mizraḥi, chief rabbi of Turkey. Mizraḥi, in his reply, referred to him "as the aged and pious scholar" and emphasized that he had taken upon himself to reply "because I acknowledge that his motives are honorable" (Responsa (1938), 89–102). Ibn Yaḥya wrote biblical commentaries and works on grammar and *halakhah*, as well as a commentary on Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*. The following have been printed: *Hilkhot Terefot ha-Sirkhah* (Constantinople, 1519); *Leshon Limmudim* (*ibid.*, 1506), a Hebrew grammar; *Kav ve-Naki* (Lisbon, 1492), on Proverbs; *Shekel ha-Kodesh* (Constantinople, 1506), on poetry, written for his relative and pupil David b. Joseph *Ibn Yaḥya (a Latin translation of the last two sections was published in Paris, 1562); *Tehillah le-David* (Constantinople, 1525), on the principles of Judaism, completed by his son Jacob *Tam Ibn Yaḥya.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no. 780; Rosanes, Togarmah, 1 (1930^2), 89–90.

[Ephraim Kupfer]

IBN YAḤYA, GEDALIAH BEN DAVID (1436–1487), physician and philosopher. Born in Lisbon, he left Portugal with the intention of settling in Ereẓ Israel, but on the way stopped in Constantinople, where he became head of a yeshivah. His attempt to accede to the Karaite request to be accepted into the fold of rabbinic Judaism was thwarted by the opposition of the other rabbis. He subsequently set out for Ereẓ Israel, but died on the way, and was buried in Safed. He wrote several books, one of which, *Sheva Einayim*, was published (Constantinople, n.d., and Venice n.d.). It is so called ("Seven Eyes," cf. Zech. 3:9) because it deals with seven motives which the author regards as cardinal to Judaism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gedaliah ibn Yaḥya, *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* (Warsaw, 1877), 85; Rosaries, Togarmah, 1 (1930²), 47; E. Carmoly, *Divrei ha-Yamim li-Venei Yaḥya* (1850), 16–17.

[Hirsch Jacob Zimmels]

IBN YAḤYA (or **Ibn Yihyah**), **GEDALIAH BEN JOSEPH** (1526–1587), historiographer and talmudist in Italy. Born in Imola, Gedaliah lived most of his life in the papal cities in Italy. He studied at several yeshivot including these of R. Jacob Finzi and of R. Ovadia Sforno and was ordained as rabbi and *dayyan*. When Pius V expelled all the Jews from his domains in 1569, Gedaliah, who lost much of his possessions, wandered for some time from city to city in Italy. In 1575, after living in Ferrara for a few years he settled in Alessandria in Piedmont (northern Italy) and in 1579 became the local rabbi.

Of Gedaliah's more than 20 books only three, including *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah*, a very significant work, is extant. From a list of his other writings which he appended to this work, it seems that Gedaliah was master of rabbinic literature and was also interested in magic and history. The list mentions a commentary on the tractate *Avot*, a collection of 180 sermons, a book on dreams and their interpretations, a homiletical exegesis on the Torah, ethical writings, and numerous other works. *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* ("The Chain of Tradition," Venice, 1587, and many subsequent editions) became one of the most famous Hebrew chronicles, and was used by later Hebrew historiographers, just as Gedaliah himself made use of several earlier Hebrew historiographical works, notably the *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* by Abraham *Ibn Daud. The book became popular because of the many stories included in it, but Joseph Solomon Rofe of Kandia (YaSHaR) criticized it as "a chain of lies."

Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah has three parts. The first is a short history of the Jewish people from the Creation to the time of the author. Gedaliah generally lists historical facts but always tries to include as many stories as possible. He retells the biblical history, with the addition of many non-biblical stories, mostly midrashic, but some from medieval works, such as **Sefer ha-Yashar* and **Josippon*. The history of talmudic and geonic times is based upon the chronicle by R. *Sherira Gaon and *Sefer ha-Kabbalah*. While most of the information about medieval sages and scholars is taken from other Hebrew historiographers, some biographical and bibliographical notes are included which are not known from any other source. In this work, Gedaliah also made extensive use of hagiographical stories which he either read or which he heard (e.g., the cycle of stories about Naḥmanides). Historically, the greatest importance of this work lies in the many biographical and bibliographical facts it contains about scholars whom he knew personally, or contemporaries or other scholars whom he heard about first-hand. *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* thus constitutes one of the main sources for Renaissance Jewish history, especially in Italy. The second part of the work consists of a collection of short scientific tractates unconnected with the historical orientation of the book as a whole. Among the subjects of these tractates are magic, angels, heaven and hell, ghosts, medicine, heavenly spheres, coins and measurements, the formation of the embryo, and the making of paper. In most of these discourses, Gedaliah also includes stories of his own personal experience in the various fields. From this it seems that he was a typical Renaissance scholar, who considered all fields of knowledge as his own concern both in his life and in his writings. The third part of the work is again a chronicle, from the Creation to the 16th century, with the emphasis, however, on the history of the other nations: Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and medieval empires and popes. Although in the main the material in this section is more mythological and legendary in nature than historical, it is, nevertheless, one of the earliest Hebrew works in the field of world history. Jewish history establishes the chronological framework of this section, events within the Jewish world being correlated with those outside it. The vivid and interesting stories in this part undoubtedly contributed to the popularity of *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Benjacob, Oẓar, 590; Michael, Or, 303; A. Marx, in: HUCA, 1 (1906), 605–9; Neubauer, in: *Israelietische Letterbode*, 10 (1886), 139; M.A. Shulvass (Szulwas), *Ḥayyei ha-Yehudim be-Italyah bi-Tekufat ha-Renaissance* (1955), passim; E. Carmoly, *Divrei ha-Yamim li-Venei Yaḥya* (1850); Waxman, Literature, 2 (1960), 476–9. A. David, "Mifalo ha-Historiografi shel Gedaliah ibn Yahya Baal Shalshelet Ha-Kabbalah" (diss., 1976).

[Joseph Dan]

IBN YAḤYA, GEDALIAH BEN TAM (16th century), physician and patron of learning in *Salonika. Ibn Yaḥya was said to have introduced new remedies into medical practice. He was friendly with *Amatus Lusitanus, who dedicated to him his seventh *Centuria Curationum* ("Hundred Medical Cases"). During a plague in 1548, he translated writings of the scholastic philosopher, Albertus Magnus, from Latin into Hebrew. His Spanish translation of the *Dialoghi di Amore* of Judah *Abrabanel (Venice, 1568) was dedicated to Philip II of Spain. He and his friend Aaron *Afia exemplify the high standard of general culture among descendants of the Spanish exiles of 1492.

[Cecil Roth]

IBN YAḤYA, JOSEPH BEN DAVID (1494–1534), exegete and philosopher. Ibn Yaḥya was born in Florence, *Italy, his parents having fled to that country from *Portugal. The family

finally settled in the city of Imola. He studied in the yeshivah of R. Judah *Mintz in Padua. Of his works only two have been preserved: (1) *Perush Ḥamesh Megillot u-Ketuvim* (Bologna, 1538); and (2) *Torah Or*, on eschatology (Bologna, 1538), the introduction to which contains interesting autobiographical details. Two other works, *Derekh Ḥayyim*, commentary on talmudical sayings, and *Ner Mizṿah* on the commandments, which, according to Benjacob, were parts of his *Torah Or*, were accidentally consigned to the flames at the burning of the Talmud in Padua in 1554. Joseph had three sons, one of whom was Gedaliah ben Joseph *Ibn Yaḥya, the author of *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah*. His request to his sons that he be buried in Ereẓ Israel was fulfilled ten years after his death, Joseph *Caro arranging for his burial in Safed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Benjacob, Oẓar, 116, no. 415; 404, no. 314; 465, no. 290; 644, no. 444; Graetz, Gesch, 9 (1891^{3}), 199.

[Hirsch Jacob Zimmels]

IBN YASHUSH, ISAAC ABU IBRAHIM (also known by his Arab name, **Abū Ibrāhīm ibn Kastār**; d. 1056), Hebrew grammarian and Bible commentator. Born in Toledo, he was court physician of the ruler of Denia (a maritime power on the eastern coast of the Iberian peninsula) Mujāhid al-ʿAmirī and of his son Iqbāl al-Dawla. The author of the "history of Arabian physicians," Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, praises Ibn Yashush as a person of sharp mind and gentle manners who was well versed in grammar, philosophy, Bible, and Jewish law. The best known of his works is his book on accidence (i.e., on the inflections of verbs) called in Hebrew *Sefer ha-Ẓerufim*, which some scholars identify with the manuscript *Kitāb al-Taṣārīf* extant in the Oxford and Leningrad libraries. Fragments of this work were published by Derenbourg (*Opuscules et Traités d'About Walid Merwan ibn Djanah* (1880), p. xx) and by Kokowzoff (*Historii yevreyskoy filologii* 2 (1916), 117ff., 131ff., 174, 176ff.). Ibn Yashush was regarded as one of the greatest Hebrew grammarians by medieval Hebrew scholars such as Moses *Ibn Ezra who, in his introduction to *Moznayim*, lists him among the sages of the holy tongue. Ibn Yashush wrote a Bible commentary named *Yiẓḥaki* in which the method of investigation comes very close to that of modern Bible criticism. He was sharply criticized for his bold approach and many scholars believe that Abraham ibn Ezra's sharp attack against the "blundering (or silly) fellow" (יצחק המהביל) who held that the chronology of the Edomite kings (Gen. 36:31ff.) was composed in the days of King *Jehoshaphat was aimed against Ibn Yashush whose "book ought to be burned" (Ibn Ezra's commentary to Gen., loc. cit.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Arab Lit, 135–6, no. 89; Graetz, Gesch, 6 (18943), 42–43; Bacher, in: J. Winter and A. Wuensche (eds.), *Juedische Literatur*, 2 (1894), 262–3; Ashtor, Korot, 2 (19662), 184f., 386f.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

IBN ZABARA (or **Zabarra**), **JOSEPH BEN MEIR** (b. about 1140), physician and Hebrew writer. Born in Barcelona, Ibn Zabara was a contemporary of some of the *Tibbon family, of *Maimonides and of Judah *Al-Ḥarizi; Joseph *Kimḥi praised his scientific knowledge in his *Commentary to Proverbs*. Like his father, he studied medicine and lived as an honored physician in his native town. Ibn Zabara became known through his *Sefer Sha'ashu'im* ("Book of Amusements"), one of the best *maqamāt* written. This book is a literary account of his journey to several countries (southern Spain and Provence) with a physician named Joseph (nicknamed "Einan ha-Shed" in the book) who came from afar and joined Ibn Zabara on the journey. Consisting of a collection of stories and proverbs within the framework of a background story, the intention of *Sefer Sha'ashu'im*, as the title indicates, is to amuse the reader. As it is usual in the genre, some secular poems are included before and within the prose sections. In this work, Ibn Zabara reveals a considerable knowledge of Arabic literature – the source of most of his proverbs and pithy sayings – and also of the Babylonian and the Jerusalem Talmuds. More than any other work of this type, *Sefer Sha'ashu'im* shows Greek, Indian, and Arabic influence. Apart from its literary value, this book contains valuable information on medicine and hygiene, natural science, psychology, and physiognomy. The book includes the earliest example of questions and answers on scientific topics in Hebrew rhymed prose. Despite its contents and style value, however, it never had a great influence on Hebrew literature. Ibn Zabara dedicated it to the *nasi*, Sheshet *Benveniste, physician and adviser to the court of Alfonso II of Aragon, who died in 1209. The book was first printed in Constantinople (1577) by R. Isaac Akrish, together with other works. In 1865 it was published serially in **Ha-Levanon*. A scientific edition was prepared by I. Davidson (first with an introduction in English, 1914, and then with a Hebrew translation of the introduction, 1925). In modern times, the book was translated into English twice (*The Book of Delight*, by I. Abrahams, 1912, repr. 1980; by M. Hadas, 1932, 1960, with introd. by M. Sherwood); F. Brewer published a selection of it (1975); there is a Catalan translation by I. González Llubera (1931), and a Spanish one by M. Forteza-Rey (1983). Apart from *Sefer Sha'ashu'im* Ibn Zabara wrote "*Battei ha-Nefesh*," a didactic poem of 126 verses on anatomy and the functions of the organs in the human body, and a short treatise in prose for physicians. He also wrote an *ofan*, a *piyyut* on the angels.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1956), 11–59; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 400, s.v. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Yosef ibn Zabara*; *Pleasant Proverbs of Rabbi Judah*, ed. F. Brewer (1975); *Llibre d'ensenyaments delectables: Sèfer Xaaixuïm*, tr. I. González-Llubera (1931); *Libro de los entretenimientos,* ed. M. Forteza-Rey (c. 1983); D. Pagis, in: *Scripta Hierosolymitana,* 27 (1978), 79–98; J. Dishon, *Sefer Sha'ashu'im le-Yosef ben Me'ir ibn Zabarah* (1985); H. Schwarzbaum, in: *Studies in Aggadah and Jewish Folklore*, (1983), 55–81; A. Schippers, in: *Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge*, 26 (1999), 149–61; M. Halévy, in: *Mélanges d'histoire de la médecine hébraïque*, (2003), 91–110; Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Christian Spain and Southern France* (1997), 110–29 (Heb.).

[Yehuda Ratzaby / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN ZABARRA (Zabara), JUDAH (end of 13th–beginning of 14th century), poet and philosophical author. Judah was probably born in Spain, and was a pupil of *Aaron ha-Levi, whom he mentions frequently, and Meir *Abulafia. He wrote his philosophical work, *Mikhtav ha-Teḥiyyah* (dealing with the resurrection of the dead), for a resident of Montpellier, and it can be assumed that he himself lived for a while in Montpellier. This work was published together with Maimonides' *Ma'amar Teḥiyyat ha-Metim* (1569). In one of his poems Judah praises the works of Menahem *Meiri.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cowley, Cat, 371; Gross, Gal Jud, 331; Dukes, in: OLZ, 8 (1905), 117.

IBN ZADOK, SOLOMON (Don Çulema; also called **Abbās Rabīʿa Solomon Ibn Zadok**; d. 1274), prominent courtier in the service of Alfonso x (the Wise) of Castile in Toledo. Solomon, who had previously served Ferdinand III, was employed by Alfonso on diplomatic missions, and as chief collector of the revenues of the kingdom. His command of languages was impressive. He received from the king large estates in and around Seville. The poet Todros b. Judah ha-Levi *Abulafia praised Solomon lavishly in terms rarely applied to court Jews of the day. Solomon maintained synagogues and poorhouses and was highly esteemed by the community. After his death, his property in and around Seville was confiscated and given to the cathedral of the city. Abulafia wrote eulogies on his death. His son ISAAC IBN ZADOK (or Abu Ibrāhīm Isaac; d. 1280), who moved from Seville to Toledo, was chief farmer of the taxes of the kingdom of Castile during the reign of Alfonso x. He is referred to in non-Jewish documents as Don Çag de la Maleha. In 1276, he signed various leases and contracts for supplies to the government, including the tax-farming rights for the whole kingdom and for the debts on uncollected taxes. Don Isaac enforced in 1276 Alfonso's policy of exempting members of the Mesta (organization of the sheep breeders) from tolls formerly paid to the towns. Two years later, Alfonso asked Don Isaac to send funds for the army which was encamped near Algeciras, but the Infante Sancho intercepted the money, and the troops were endangered. Alfonso revenged himself on the tax farmers, three of whom were arrested. Don Isaac was condemned to death by hanging. He was probably executed before his father's death. Don Isaac was a generous patron of Todros Abulafia, who refers to him as the "savior of his generation." Abulafia also composed eulogies on the death of Isaac. Recently the identity of Isaac son of Solomon ibn Zadok and Don Çag de la Maleha has been challenged. It has been suggested that Don Çag de la Maleha was another Jewish courtier whose father was Meir ibn Susan. Both served Alfonso x of Castile. It was Çag de la Maleha who was the tax collector while Isaac ibn Zadok was the patron of Abulafia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Urkunden, 2 (1936), 68–69; Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 124; idem, in: D. Yellin (ed.), *Gan ha-Meshalim ve-ha-Ḥidot*, 1 (1932), 140–63; 2 (1936), xl–xlii; idem, in: *Zion*, 2 (1938), 22–23; J. Klein, *The Mesta* (1920); A. Ballesteros Beratta, *Alfonso x el Sabio* (1963), 917–20, 927; N. Roth, in: *Sefarad*, 43 (1983), 75–85.

[Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

IBN ZAKBEL (Ibn Sahl), SOLOMON (first half 12th century) Spanish Hebrew poet who lived very likely in Almería. According to the *Taḥkemoni* (ch. 3) of Judah *Al-Ḥarizi, Solomon Ibn Zakbel was a relative of R. Joseph *Ibn Sahl (d. 1124) and wrote a *maqāma* which begins with the words: "The utterance of Asher b. Judah." A work with such an opening was published by J.H. Schorr (*He-Ḥalutz*, 3 (1856), 154–8) and Ḥ. Schirmann (1936; corrected edition, 1954). This work was presumably written by this poet. The protagonist, Asher, tells in the first person of the adventures which befell him when he returned to his hometown and entered the harem of a distinguished family in search of his beloved. He is frightened by a warrior who is a woman in disguise, and after a while he declares his love to a veiled person who turns out to be a bearded man, his friend the Adullamite, who gives him his daughter in marriage. T. Rosen interprets the story as representing the protagonist's growth, including his socialization, domestication, and sexual instruction, until he attains maturity and accepts the social order. It can be considered the first example of a Hebrew *maqāma* written in the style of the Arab poets Hamadānī and Hariri. Ḥ. Schirmann found in a fragment of the *Genizah* another fragmentary *maqāma* that according to its title was also an "utterance of Asher b. Judah," probably from the same author. In a letter found in the *Genizah* there is an allusion to a poem written by him in honor of Halfon ben Netanel.

Besides the name Ibn Zakbel, the name Ibn Sahl appears in some documents: in a Leningrad manuscript, "The Utterance of Asher b. Judah" is ascribed to Abu-Ayyūb (= Solomon) ibn Sahl; in a Cambridge fragment of the *Genizah* (T.S., A.S. 111.169), it is attributed to Solomon ben Sahl. Ibn Sahl is probably his true family name, while Ibn Zaqbel, a possible mixture of an Arabic root with a Romance ending, could be a surname.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schirmann, in: YMḤSI, 2 (1936), 152–62, 193; 6 (1945), 325; Schirmann, Sefarad, 1 (1959), 54–65; 2 (1956), 686. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Sáenz-Badillos, in: *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 30 (1981), 218; J. Dishon, in: *Bikoret u-Farshanut*, 6 (1974), 57–65; D. Segal, in: JAOS, 102:1 (1982), 17–26; R. Scheindlin, in: *Prooftexts*, 6 (1986), 189–203; idem, in: D. Stern and M.J. Mirsky (eds.), *Rabbinic Fantasies* (1990), 253–73; Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (Heb., 1995), 482–84; idem, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Christian Spain and Southern France* (Heb., 1997), 100–9; M. Gil and E. Fleischer, *Yehudah ha-Levi and His Circle* (Heb., 2001), 125; T. Rosen, *Unveiling Eve* (2003), 152–55.

[J.H. Sch. / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN ẒUR, JACOB BEN REUBEN (1673–1752), rabbi, scholar, and poet; born in *Fez. Among his teachers were Menahem *Serero and Vidal Ẓarfati. Oppressive taxation induced Ibn Ẓur to move to Meknès, where he became a member of the *bet din* of Judah ibn *Attar. Between 1738 and 1740

he moved to Tetuan where he also served on the *bet din*. At an advanced age, he ordained five of his students, who later became known as the "Court of Five" (*bet din shel ḥamishah*). Ibn Ẓur's works include responsa of considerable historical value. Some were published in the collection *Mishpat u-Ẓedakah be-Ya'akov* (Alexandria, 1894). Others are found in the works of his contemporaries and several hundred remain unpublished. He also wrote *Et le-Khol Ḥefeẓ*, a poetical miscellany (Alexandria, 1893).

His other works, still in manuscript are *Et Sofer* (Ms. Berlin), specimens of contracts, documents and form letters, most of which were published in Abraham *Ankawa's *Kerem Ḥemed; Leshon Limmudim*, specimens of letters and essays (Ms. Berlin); and sermons and Bible commentaries. A large number of Ibn Ẓur's *piyyutim* are included in various collections, both printed and handwritten, of Moroccan *zemirot* (e.g., *Et Sefod*, Ms. Schocken no. 57) and are among the most popular poetical creations of the Moroccan Jews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Steinschneider, *Verzeichnis der hebraeischen Handschriften… Berlin*, 2 (1878), 29–33, no. 54; idem, in: JQR, 11 (1898/99), 600n. 627; J.M. Toledano, *Ner ha-Ma'arav* (1911), 140–2.

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

IBO. A community of self-proclaimed Ibo Jews centered in the Gihon Hebrew Center was founded in September 2004, in Abuja, Nigeria, and practices Judaism. They created the Nigerian Jewish Friendship Association as well as the Ibo-Benei-Israel Association with headquarters in New York. For several years, they have claimed that all Ibo were once Jewish and they are currently rewriting their history along these lines. According to the community myths of origin, their ruling clans are thought to be of Levitical descent and the name Ibo is considered as a corrupt form of Ivri/Ibri/Hebrew. They compare their traditional symbols, burial rites, circumcision, marriage customs, and agricultural practices to those of ancient Israelites. The Ibo seem to have absorbed the idea of a Jewish genealogy and identity, suggested by early anthropologists and colonists from the 19th century, and they describe their history as one more fragment in the mosaic that constitutes the Jewish experience. The Jewish identity of the Ibo was strengthened during the Biafra-Nigeria war in 1967 when they suffered persecution and survived. Since then, they have compared their experience to the historical creation of the State of Israel and the rebuilding of the Jewish people.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G.T. Basden, *Among the Ibos of Nigeria* (1931); R. Ilona and E. Eliyah, *The Ibos: Jews in Africa* (2004).

[Tudor Parfitt (2nd ed.)]

IBRAHIM IBN SAHL AL-ANDALUSĪ AL-ISRA'ILI (**Abū Isḥāq**; 1208–1260?), poet and author of Judeo-Spanish origin. Born in Seville, Spain, Ibrahim ibn Sahl won recognition in his youth for his outstanding poetic talent. He traveled to North Africa, where he was appointed secretary to ibn Khallāṣ, the governor of Sabta. Toward the end of his life he converted to Islam, probably as a result of the pressure of the fanatical Almohads (Mowaḥḥidūn). There are differing opinions as to the sincerity of his conversion. Those who doubt it point to the dubious answers he once gave companions when he was drunk; while those who believe that he was a fervent Muslim base their opinion on two stanzas attributed to him, where he writes that the Law of Moses was canceled by that of Muhammad, as well as on a poem which he wrote in honor of Muhammad. He died at sea together with the governor by whom he was employed when their boat capsized, but there is some uncertainty as to when this occurred: some give the date as 1251 and others as 1260. Ibn Sahl is considered to be one of the greatest Spanish Arabic poets and one of the first who molded the strophic form known as *Muwashshaḥ*. His verse was imitated in his lifetime and from then until modern times his technique has been copied and his poems anthologized. Ibn Sahl's poetry is outstanding for its lyrical quality, emotional tension, and many colorful similes, allusions, and symbols drawn essentially from the Koran and from Arabic proverbs and poetry. His generally sensual descriptions are drawn from civilized cultured society and not from wild desert life, as was more usual in the older Arabic poetry. Most of his verse is dedicated to a Jewish youth, Mūsā (Moses), whose name is explicitly mentioned in about 20 poems, several of which compare the miracles wrought by Moses in Egypt and the Sinai Desert with the captivating charm of his beloved. These allusions are, however, written in an Islamic style deriving from the Koran, although references to Muslim motifs are very few. The poems of Ibn Sahl were collected by the Egyptian scholar Hasan ibn Muhammad al-ʿAṭṭār, who published three editions (1834/1250H; 1862–63/1279H; 1884–85/1302H), but there are also other editions (1885, 1926, 1953) and many collections containing selected poems from his Diwan published between 1862 and 1953. Arab poets tend to explain Ibn Sahl's delicacy, lyricism, tenderness, and emotional depths – unequaled by his successors – on the basis of the humility inspired by his Jewish origin and his love.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Al-Makkari, *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne*, 2 (1858), 351–4; M. Hartmann, *Das Arabische Strophengedicht*, 1 (1897), 44–47; M. Faraj, *Al-Shuaʿrā' al-Yahūd al-ʿArab* (1939^2), 71–237 (to which is appended *Dīwān Ibn Sahl* with philological comments in Arabic); S. Muhammad, *Ibrāhīm ibn Sahl, poète musulman d'Espagne*… (Paris, 1910; Alger, 1914–19).

[Shmuel Moreh]

IBRAHIM IBN YAʿQŪB OF TORTOSA (tenth century), traveler. Contradictory views have been expressed both about his identity and the purpose of his journey. According to the German scholar George Jacob, there were two travelers with this same name, one a Muslim and the other a Jew from North Africa. These views, however, were refuted by T. Kowalski who established that there was only one person, named Ibrahim ibn Yaʿqūb, a Jew from the city of Tortosa in eastern *Spain, who, in the mid-tenth century, undertook a long journey to central Europe. In the opinion of many scholars Ibrahim was a slave merchant and his journey was for this purpose. T.

Kowalski and H.Z. Hirschberg expressed the view that Ibrahim was a physician or translator attached to a diplomatic mission to the court of the German emperor. However, the possibility exists that he was sent by the caliph al-Ḥakam II, known to have been a supporter of research activities, on an exploratory expedition.

Ibrahim first visited the *France of today, reaching as far as the neighborhood of the English Channel. He then traveled to Germany and in 966 arrived at the court of the Emperor Otto I. He visited the towns of Mainz and Fulda, as well as the vicinity of Schleswig. It seems that he then went to Bohemia and stayed in *Prague. There he met merchants from the countries of Eastern Europe, and it seems that he tells about these countries in their words. He is the first to speak of the kingdom of Poland, this being the reason why his narrative aroused great interest among Slavic scholars.

His story, known from the fragments of it cited in the *al-Masālik wa-al-Mamālik* of the Arab geographer al-Bakrī (d. 1074), is distinguished by its comprehensive character. Ibrahim shows interest in many spheres: in the distances between towns, in plants, the economic life, the people's diet, the system of medicine, and religious customs. Occasionally he mentions the Jews who lived in the countries which he visited and he also speaks of a salt mine near Magdeburg which was worked by Jews. His story was used by Arabic geographers as an important source for their knowledge of Europe north of the Pyrenees.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Jacob, *Ein arabischer Berichterstatter aus dem 10. Jahrhundert* (1891); T. Kowalski (ed.), *Relacja Ibrahima b. Jaʿkūba z podrózy do krajów stowiańskich…* (1946); Hirschberg, in: *Sinai*, 22 (1948), 276–82; Lewis in: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 20 (1957), 412 ff.; Canard, in: *Etudes d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, 2 (1962), 503–8; Ashtor, Korot, 1 (1966[2]), 227 ff.; idem, in: C. Roth (ed.), *World History of the Jewish People*, 2 (1966), 305–8 and index.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

°**IBRĀHĪM PASHA** (1789–1848), Muslim ruler of *Syria and *Palestine from 1832 to 1841, and later governor of *Egypt. Ibrahim was born in Kavalla, *Greece, the eldest son of *Muhammad (Mehemet) Ali. In 1831, on his father's instructions Ibrāhīm invaded Syria: Gaza, Jaffa, Jerusalem, and the region of Nablus yielded to him; Acre fell in 1832 after a long siege, and after it, Damascus and Aleppo. In every large city Ibrāhīm established a local council. He divided Palestine and Syria into administrative districts where he opened schools and conscripted an army of the native population. Ibrāhīm ameliorated the condition of Jews and Christians by abolishing the road tolls and by his efforts to equalize taxation of members of all religions, but he left the *jizya* (poll tax) on the protected peoples. The Ḥurvah synagogue of R. *Judah he-Ḥasid which had been deserted and unfinished at Judah's death, was returned to the Ashkenazi Jews in 1836. Under the influence of the European Great Powers, in 1833 the sultan recognized Muhammad Ali's rights to Syria, and Ibrāhīm was appointed governor. During Ibrāhīm's rule in Syria, Jews enjoyed – along with Muslims and Christians – security of life and property. Furthermore, the *jizya*, previously levied from Jews and Christians only, was now imposed on Muslims, too. The Turks tried to reconquer the occupied territories; in the summer of 1839 they were defeated decisively near Nezib (i.e., Nizip, S. Turkey) but the European Powers intervened on their behalf. In late 1840 Ibrahim's army was stopped on the coast of Lebanon, when the British-Austrian fleet landed troops near *Beirut and defeated Ibrāhīm's weak and scattered troops. The pact of 1841 between Turkey and Muhammad Ali compelled Ibrāhīm to return to Egypt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Sabry, *L'Empire égyptien sous Mohamed-Ali et la question d'Orient* (1930), passim; P. Crabitès, *Ibrahim of Egypt* (1935). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J.M. Landau, *Jews in Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (1969), index.

[Jacob M. Landau]

ICAHN, CARL C. (1936–), U.S. financier. Born in Queens, N.Y., the son of a teacher and a lawyer who was also a cantor, Icahn earned a degree in philosophy from Princeton University in 1957 and enrolled in medical school. He dropped out after three years. Instead, Icahn learned the broker's trade on Wall Street and became one of the most infamous American corporate raiders of the 1980s. He enriched himself and his partners by his takeovers. He also engaged in "greenmail": threatening to take over corporations like Marshall Field and Phillips Petroleum, then selling his stocks and walking off with a sizable profit. Over the years, Icahn tangled with militant airline unions, entrenched corporate directors, protective politicians, and fellow Wall Street sharks. Icahn forged his reputation for aggressive investing with his acquisition of Trans World Airways, then seeking to profit from the bankruptcy of Texaco, Inc. During the 1990s, he made four attempts to take control of RJR Nabisco, then the second-largest U.S. tobacco company, through stock purchases and proxy fights. From 1995 to 2005, Icahn reported net investment gains of at least $2.77 billlion, including $893 million he made while trying to break up Nabisco. Icahn also made millions betting on the direction of Revlon Inc. bonds and shares of Conseco Inc., a giant insurer. *Forbes* magazine estimated his fortune at $7.6 billion in September 2004. Icahn's second-largest gain was on ImClone Systems Inc. stock. Icahn turned a $196 million investment in the biopharmaceutical company into a profit of $418 million. While Icahn had many losses over the years, particularly when he "shorted" stocks, or borrowed shares and sold them immediately on the expectation they would decline, overall he made fortunes, including the doubling of a $197 million investment in Revlon, the cosmetics manufacturer controlled by Ronald *Perelman. At one time, Icahn had financial interests in mining, gambling, auto parts, financial service, and oil and gas exploration. Icahn also tried to take over Marvel Comics, a company also controlled by Perelman.

Through his family foundation, Icahn gave generously, with a special interest in abused and neglected children. In 2002, Icahn provided significant funds to endow research in

the potential of stem cells as a therapeutic tool. He was the donor of the Laboratory Center for Jewish Life at Princeton, financed the Carl C. Icahn Charter School in the Bronx and institutes at the Benjamin N. Cardoza School of Law and the Wurzweiler School of Social Work of Yeshiva University. He was the founder of Icahn House, a home for single mothers and their children. He served as a trustee on the board of the Mount Sinai School of Medicine and Mount Sinai Hospital as well as being a member of the board of overseers at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine. There is a stadium on Randalls Island in New York City named for him. He said he planned to give most of his money to charity when he died. Icahn was the subject of *King Icahn: The Biography of a Renegade Capitalist*, by Mark Stevens.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ICELAND, REUBEN (1884–1955), Yiddish poet and translator. Born in Radomysl Wielki (Galicia), Iceland emigrated to New York in 1903. Of the poets associated with Di Yunge, his poetry adhered most closely to the literary tenets professed by the group, reflecting the ideals of art for its own sake, stillness, and mood. Through the decade of the 1920s, Iceland became the group's chief theoretician, composing manifestos outlining the group's poetic principles. He also edited several publications, including *Literatur un Leben* ("Literature and Life," 1915), and was coeditor with *Mani-Leib of *Der Inzl* ("The Island," 1925–26). His poem *Tarnow* recaptured in some 300 lines the patriarchal Jewish life of a Galician community. *Fun Unzer Friling* ("From Our Spring," 1954) contained his reminiscences of the literary milieu of Di Yunge. Iceland was also a prolific translator of German, English, and even Chinese literature and contributed greatly, both as an editor and translator, to the eight-volume *Di Verk fun Haynrikh Hayne* ("The Works of Heinrich Heine," 1918).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, Leksikon, s.v.; N. Steinberg, *Yung Amerike* (1930²), 183–200; LNYL, s.v.; J. Glatstein, *In Tokh Genumen* (1956), 177–82; S. Liptzin, *Flowering of Yiddish Literature* (1963), 212 ff.; C. Madison, *Yiddish Literature* (1968), 294, 299–300, 306. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R.R. Wisse, in: *Jewish Social Studies* 38 (1976), 265–76; idem, in: *Prooftexts* 1 (1981), 43–61; idem, *A Little Love in Big Manhattan* (1988).

[Sol Liptzin / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

ICHABOD (Heb. אִיכָבוֹד, אִי־כָבוֹד, אִי כָבוֹד), son of *Phinehas and grandson of *Eli the priest at Shiloh (I Sam. 4:19–22). Phinehas' wife was in labor when she received news of the capture of the Ark by the Philistines at Eben-Ezer and of the deaths of Phinehas, his brother Hophni, and her father-in-law Eli. She died in childbirth after naming her son Ichabod, declaring, "The glory has departed from Israel." Nothing further is known of Ichabod and no genealogies associated with him have been preserved in the Bible. The only other mention of his name is in an obscure passage describing Ahijah (= Ahimelech) son of Ahitub as a brother of Ichabod son of Phinehas (I Sam. 14:3). The intent of the connection seems to be to include Ahijah and the priests of Nob in the rejection of the Shiloh priesthood (I Sam. 2:27–36) in favor of the Zadokite priests. The narrative associates his name with the capture of the Ark (I Sam. 4:22), apparently interpreting the first syllable as a negative particle ("inglorious," cf. Jos., Ant., 5:360), or as an interrogative ("where is the glory?"). The "glory" may refer to God's *kavod*, "the divine presence," so that the child's name is interpreted to reflect the absence of that presence from Israel. It may, however, be an abbreviated form of אֲבִי כָבוֹד (Avikhavod, Abichabod; "my Father is glory").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.Z. Segal, *Sefer Shemu'el* (1956), 44. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Bar-Efrat, I *Samuel* (1996), 96.

[Nahum M. Sarna]

ICONOGRAPHY, art of pictorial representation, specifically, that branch of the history of art which concerns itself with subject matter rather than form.

Before c. 1600

Jewish art and iconography may be said to have come into being with the birth of Judaic culture in the Second Temple period (6th century B.C.E.), developing in the Hellenistic period in Judea and the Jewish communities in Galilee. After the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E., Jewish migration helped to spread this art throughout Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. Because of this dispersion, no unified Jewish style developed, and Jewish artists adopted the style of their host countries. Nevertheless, it was possible for a specifically Jewish iconography to develop, since Jews throughout the Diaspora maintained close relations with other communities and shared common beliefs, literature, rites, customs, symbols, and institutions.

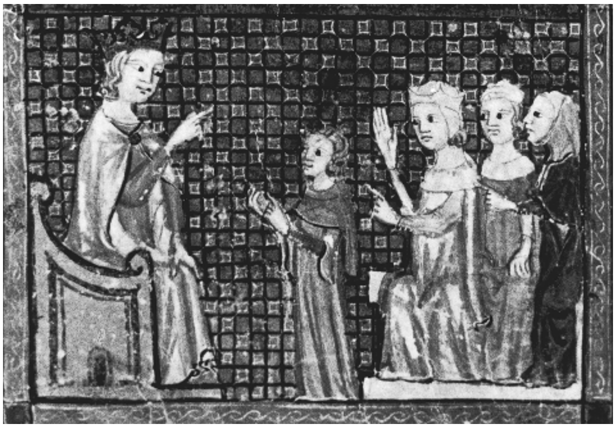
BIBLICAL AND MIDRASHIC. Any depiction of biblical subject matter from the period of early Judaism should be considered as illustrative of Jewish iconography, although the gestures and images would have been drawn from Classical art. A coin from Apamea (now Dinar) in Turkey (late 2nd–early 3rd century C.E.; priv. col.,) depicts Noah and his wife inside and outside the ark with the raven and the dove (Gen. 6:13–8:15); it was probably modeled after wall paintings in the synagogue at Apamea, which claimed to possess parts of Noah's Ark and was therefore named Kibotos, i.e., "Ark." Only the Jews were interested in the complete pictorial cycle of the story of Jonah, since for them he was a symbol of repentance (the book of Jonah is read in the synagogue on the *Day of Atonement) and he was regarded as the man who would bring Leviathan to the Feast of the Righteous.

The scene of the binding of Isaac (Gen. 22) appears on mosaic pavement synagogue floors in *Bet Alfa and *Sepphoris, as well as in the synagogue at *Dura Europos (244 C.E.; Damascus, National. Mus.), alluding to the covenant between God and the People of Israel, guaranteeing their eternal existence. The choice of this scene with its strong national connotations is clearly Jewish.

Non-biblical visual elements are sometimes depicted within biblical scenes. These derive from homiletic rabbinical oral traditions, later compiled as the *Midrash. Several

clear examples of scenes based on oral traditions appear in the synagogue of Dura Europos, such as Elijah and the Prophets of Ba'al. This depiction actually predates the written compilation of the text.

SYMBOLIC. Many elements in early Jewish art are not narrative, but symbolic. Symbolic representations of the Temple of Jerusalem combined with other elements appear many times in early Jewish art. They occur on funerary monuments such as the Jewish catacombs in Rome, *Bet She'arim, and elsewhere, on tombstones, sarcophagi, ossuaries, gold glass plates, clay and bronze oil lamps, Torah plaques, and coins. Even before the destruction of the Temple, its implements were used as symbols of Jewish statehood in a first century B.C.E. graffito found in a priest's house in Jerusalem and on many coins of the Hasmonaean dynasty, the earliest of which is a coin of Mattathias Antigonos (40–37 B.C.E.) with a seven-branched menorah. These symbols include a typical Greco-Roman temple façade, interpreted either as the *Ark of the Covenant in the wilderness or the Torah ark of the synagogue. Other symbols included such sanctuary implements as the **menorah* with its shovel, the altars, and the *shewbread table, as well as the two pillars of Solomon's Temple (I Kings 7:15–22), the *lulav* (palm branch) and *etrog* (citron fruit), two of the four species used during the Festival of Tabernacles (*Sukkot). Similar symbolic sanctuary implements appear in Hebrew illuminated Bibles of the 10th century in the Middle East, of the 13th–15th centuries in Spain and of c. 1300 in the Regensburg Pentateuch; indeed, in the Middle East and in Spain the Bible was sometimes referred to as the Temple of God (Heb. *mikdashyah*).



Joseph interpreting Pharaoh's dream. Detail from miniature in a 14th-century Haggadah *from Spain. Sarajevo National Museum,* Sarajevo Haggadah, *fol. 14.*



Moses standing on a mountain, with the Tablets of the Law in his hands. The cave in the mountain alludes to the legend that God covered Israel with the mountain, with the threat that it would collapse and bury them if they did not accept the Torah. Detail from the Leipzig Maḥzor, *southern Germany. c. 1320. Leipzig University Library, Ms. V. 1102, Vol. I, fol. 130.*

Sometimes the juxtaposition of scenic and symbolic elements within one composition determines its Jewish character. For example, the signs of the zodiac, not exclusively Jewish, appear with a Temple façade, sanctuary implements, and the scene of the Binding of Isaac in the mosaic floor of the Bet Alfa synagogue. Its recurrence in the synagogue floors of *Hammath (Tiberias) and *Sepphoris (among others), implies a Jewish significance as well.

RITUAL. Most customs depicted before c. 1600 occur in illuminated manuscripts: there are colorful representations in Ashkenazi, Sephardi, and Italian prayer books of such rituals, with subject matter varying from illustrations of cooking customs and utensils, the serving of food, and clothes, to rituals in the synagogue or at home. One of the most unique is the initiation of children into the study of the Torah, as represented in the Leipzig Machzor of c. 1320 from southern Germany (Leipzig, U. Bib., MS.V. 1102, I, fol. 131).

CLASSICAL MODELS AND CHRISTIAN IMITATIONS. Jewish iconography was initially borrowed from Classical Greek and Roman art. In the scene of the Binding of Isaac at Dura Europos, all of the elements – the altar, the knife, and certainly the protagonists Abraham and Isaac, as well as the ram and the tree – are based on Roman models. Visual iconography may sometimes be similar in early Jewish and Christian art; thus the context relates it to the Jewish sphere when it appears in a synagogue or a Hebrew illuminated manuscript or to the Christian when it adorns a Christian funerary chapel.

Indeed, one of the main problems in the study of early Jewish iconography is the fact that many biblical and midrashic episodes that may have existed in late antiquity have survived in Jewish art only from the later Middle Ages. This

gap in Jewish art from the 7th to the 13th century can perhaps be filled in part with the appearance of biblical or midrashic themes in Christian art. Jewish art from this period may have been destroyed during the rise of Islam in the 7th century and the period of Byzantine iconoclasm in the 8th and 9th centuries, or as a result of the Crusaders' pillaging and massacre of entire Jewish communities in the 12th century. However, use may have been made of Jewish models, a theory that helps to explain the appearance of Jewish midrashic interpretations in Byzantine and West European art in this period, as well as their reappearance in later Jewish art. For example, a panel from the synagogue at Dura Europos shows the Crossing of the Red Sea, wherein the Israelites are crossing by 12 paths rather than one. The miracle is explained by a midrash that states that each of the tribes wanted to be the first to cross the sea, and so Moses divided it into 12 paths so they could all cross simultaneously. This story later was also used by Christian artists, for example in texts of the 6th-century Byzantine Itinerary of Cosmas Indicopleustes (e.g., Florence, 1000 C.E., Bib. Medicea-Laurenziana, MS. Plus. 9, 28, fol 104; Monastery of St. Catherine, 12th c. C.E., Cod. 1186, fol. 73); and in the Spanish Pamplona Picture Bibles (Harburg, Schloss, 12th century MS. 1, 2, lat. 4° 15, fol. 57v). It also appears in the Castilian Duke of Alba Bible (Toledo; Madrid, 1422–33, Duke of Alba priv. col), which was translated from the Hebrew with the help of Rabbi Moses Aragel. The continued use of Jewish iconographic elements in Christian art, probably without conscious understanding, may prove the continuous existence of Jewish art during these obscure centuries and may bridge the gap between early and later Jewish art.

Jewish artists also borrowed iconographical formulae from Christian art, sometimes without knowing the Christian interpretation. The scene of Moses taking his wife Zipporah and their two sons from Midian to Egypt, which is depicted in the 14th-century Spanish *Golden Haggadah* (London, BL, Add. MS. 27201, fol. 10v) resembles representations of the Virgin Mary carrying Jesus on a donkey on the Flight into Egypt. The Jewish artist must have seen French or Spanish illuminated Psalters with Old and New Testament illustrations and adapted them to the Jewish context.

After 1600

The conservative attitude of Jews towards visual art and its role in daily and religious life continued to prevail after 1600, both in Christian Europe and the Islamic world. At the same time, this period witnessed an unprecedented flourishing in the production of costly Jewish art objects, decorated with traditional designs and motifs, side by side with new iconography influenced by Baroque decorative arts. While representational art was extremely popular among the Jews of Italy and Germany, other communities, especially in Islamic lands, imitated the iconoclastic tendencies of the host society.

Artistic activity in this period was concentrated around building and decorating new synagogues and furnishing them with silver and textile ritual objects and with creating attractive decorations and objects for the home and life cycle rituals. The largest selection of visual motifs and iconographic representations, however, is to be found in the book arts. As the written word continued to be central in Judaism, particular attention was paid to producing attractive books and manuscripts long after the tradition of the illuminated, handwritten book declined in Western society. Wealthy Jewish families commissioned myriad parchment manuscripts, in particular Passover *haggadot* (see **Haggadah*), *megillot* (see **Megillah*) and large, single-page manuscripts such as marriage contracts (see **Ketubbah*), and various ornamental certificates issued for different occasions.

The single most important object in disseminating Jewish imagery in this period was undoubtedly the illustrated printed book. The easily accessible, inexpensive printed book provided the illuminators of manuscripts and other craftsmen with a wealth of Baroque decorative designs, biblical and ritual episodes, and imaginary architectural motifs. The architectural title page, often incorporating the figures of Moses and Aaron, inspired the decoration of manuscripts and such diverse objects as Torah breastplates, Holy Ark curtains, *ketubbot*, and even tombstones. The title page of the Amsterdam Passover *Haggadah* of 1695, illustrated with etchings by the proselyte Abraham bar Jacob, is a good example of a source of popular Jewish imagery, which was profusely imitated throughout the Diaspora from Poland to India.

Not all biblical stories enjoyed equal popularity. The **Akedah* or Binding of Isaac, for example, was by far the favorite topic in both manuscripts and three-dimensional objects. In keeping with contemporary ideals in neighboring cultures, biblical heroines, in particular the apocryphal figure of Judith, were often depicted as well. In Italy, Jews incorporated into their art Christian allegorical representations, mythological scenes, and at times even nude female figures. While portraiture had been frowned on in previous generations, from about the mid-17th century more and more rabbis, both Sephardi and Ashkenazi, allowed their portraits to be engraved.

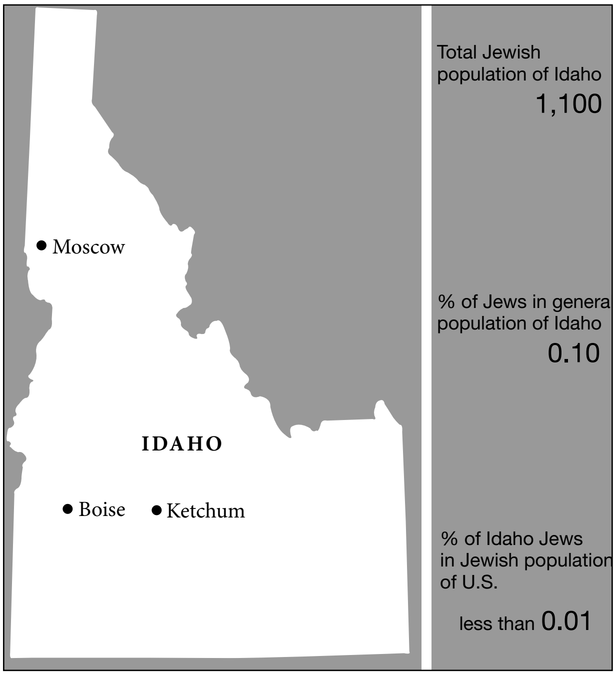
Side by side with the new iconography, old themes and traditional symbols were staunchly preserved. Subjects such as Temple implements, especially the menorah, and conventional images of the Solomonic Temple and Messianic Jerusalem were common in many communities. In general, the Hebrew text continued to be a major, if not central, component of Jewish works of art, whether two- or three-dimensional. Traditional motifs constituted the main theme of Jewish art, especially in Eastern Europe. In Poland, for example, representations of the human figure were usually not permitted. Instead, animal motifs, in particular the four "holy animals" mentioned in Pirkei Avot (5:23) – leopard, eagle, deer, and lion – were extremely popular. In Muslim lands geometric and floral decorations and in some cases animal forms were the accepted norm, in both manuscript illumination and ritual objects. Perhaps the sole exception to this rule was Iran, where, under the influence of Safavid art, literary Jewish works written in Judeo-Persian were illuminated in the 17th century on with biblical

and other figural representations. Improved techniques in the 19th and early 20th centuries promoted the introduction and dissemination of new biblical scenes and figures, Zionist symbols, and traditional designs on objects such as *Mizraḥ* tablets, New Year cards, Simḥat Torah flags, etc. Other popular new designs in this period included conventional images of Jerusalem, the Temple, and the other holy towns and sites in Ereẓ Israel, which spread from the Holy Land to the lands of the Diaspora and influenced local imagery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BEFORE 1600: F. Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles* (1970); I. Fishof, *Written in the Stars: Art and Symbolism of the Zodiac,* exhibition catalogue (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 2001); R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period,* 13 vols. (New York, 1953–68), esp. vols. ix–xi; J. Gutmann, "Leviathan, Behemoth and Ziz; Jewish Messianic Symbols in Art," in: *Hebrew College Annual*, 39 (1968), 219–30; H. Kraeling, *The Synagogue* (1956, rev. 1979), viii/l of *The Excavations at Dura-Europos Final Report* (1943–); B. Narkiss, "The Leipzig Mahzor," in: *Machsor Lipsiae* (1964), 85–110 [facs. and intra.]; idem, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts* (1969); idem, *The Golden Haggadah* (London, 1970) [facs. and intro.]; idem, "A Scheme of the Sanctuary from the Time of Herod the Great," in: *Journal of Jewish Art,* 1 (1974), 6–14; idem, "The Jewish Realm," in: K. Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century* (1979), 366–94; idem, "The Sign of Jonah," in: *Gesta*, xviii/l (1979), 63–76; C.O. Nordstrom, *The Duke of Alba's Castilian Bible* (1967); idem, "Some Miniatures in Hebrew Bibles," *Synthronon,* ii (1968), 89–105; E. Revel-Neher, *L'Arche d'Alliance dans l'art juif et chretien du second au dixieme siecles: le signe de la rencontre* (1984); idem, *Le témoignage de l'absence: les objets du sanctuaire à Byzance et dans l'art juif du XIe au XVe siècle* (1998); E.L. Sukenik, *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha* (1932); idem, *The Synagogue of Dura-Europos and Its Paintings* (Heb., 1948); K. Schubert, "Jewish Pictorial Traditions in Early Christian Art," in: *Jewish Historiography and Iconography in Early and Medieval Christianity* (1952), 139–260; S. Sabar, "Midrashei Aggadah in Jewish Art," in: *Mahanaim,* 7 (1993), 186–95 (Heb.); G. Sed-Rajna, *The Hebrew Bible in Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts* (1987); K. Weitzmann, "The Illustration of the Septuagint," in: H.L. Kessler (ed.), *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination* (1971), 45–74; Z. Weiss et al., "The Synagogue Mosaics," in: *The Sepphoris Synagogue; Deciphering an Ancient Message through Its Archaeological and Socio-Historical Contexts* (2005), 55–197; K. Weitzmann and H.L. Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art* (1990). AFTER 1600: R.I. Cohen, *Jewish Icons: Art and Society in Modern Europe* (1998); A.M. Habermann, "The Jewish Art of the Printed Book," in: C. Roth (ed.), *Jewish Art: An Illustrated History* (1961, rev. 1971), 163–74; idem, *Sha'arei Sefarim Ivriyyim* [Title-pages of Hebrew books; in Heb. with Eng. summary] (1969); M. Metzger, "Style in Jewish Art of the 17th and 18th Centuries in Relation to the Baroque and the Rococo," in: *Gaz.* B-A., lxxxviii (1976), 181–93; V.B. Moreen, *Miniature Paintings in Judaeo-Persian Manuscripts* (1985); E. Namenyi, "La miniature juive au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siecle," in: REJ, 116 (1957), 27–71; C. Roth, "The Illustrated Haggadah," in: *Stud. Bibliog. & Booklore*, 7 (1965), 37–56; A. Rubens, *Anglo Jewish Portraits* (1935); idem, *A Jewish Iconography* (1954, rev. 1981); *Illustrated Haggadot of the Eighteenth Century* (exh. cat. by H. Peled-Carmeli, Jersualem, Israel Mus., 1983) [in Heb. and Eng]; S. Sabar, "Manuscript and Book Illustration among the Sephardim before and after the Expulsion," *The Sephardic Journey*, 1492–1992 (exh. cat., New York, Yeshiva U. Mus., 1992), 54–93; idem, *Mazal Tov The Illuminated Wedding Contracts from the Israel Museum* (1993); A. Yaari, *Diglei ha-Madpisim ha-Ivriyyim me-Reshit ha-Defuls ve-ad Sof ha-Me'ah ha-Tesha-Esreh* (1943) [in Heb. with Eng. summary]; Y.H. Yerushalmi, *Haggadah and History: A Panorama in Facsimile of Five Centuries of the Printed Haggadah* (1975).

[Shalom Sabar (2nd ed.)]

IDAHO, state in northwestern U.S. Idaho had fewer Jews than any other state; in 2005 the estimated population of Idaho was 1,347,000 and the Jewish population was 1,000. Two Jews of unknown name, one of whom reportedly perished, are said to have belonged to a pioneering party that was caught struggling toward shelter in Orofino in the winter of 1861–62, but the first identifiable Jew to have set foot in Idaho was J.D. Farmer, who braved a gold-rush trail from Boise to Call's Fort in January 1864, a month after Idaho was officially declared a territory. A handful of permanent Jewish settlers lived in Boise after 1865 and in Hailey after 1881, when both places were little more than raw mining camps. Most of these early arrivals were hardy young pioneers of German Jewish ancestry; becoming merchants of staples, potato farmers, and ranchers, they generally prospered and were quickly integrated into local life. In 1895 the first Jewish congregation in Idaho was organized in Boise by Moses *Alexander, later mayor of the city and governor of the state. The congregation, called Beth Israel, adopted the Reform ritual and erected a temple in 1896 that is still in use. A B'nai B'rith lodge was formed in Boise in 1899 and a second, Orthodox, congregation, Ahavath Israel, in 1912. In Pocatello, in the southeast, a B'nai B'rith lodge was formed in 1923 and an organized congregation in 1924. Idaho's tiny Jewish population had no rabbi in 1970. Its three synagogues had lay leaders: two in Boise, whose Jewish community of about 120 was Idaho's largest, and one in Pocatello. Pocatello's Temple Emanuel, dedicated in 1960, is shared by three groups, Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform, each numbering 40 to 50 congregants and including members from outlying districts, and each having its own plot in the city cemetery. There is a Sunday school; Sabbaths and occasionally other holidays are observed, and a community *seder* is an annual tradition. Some of the Jewish scientists attached to the Atomic Energy Commission experiment station in nearby Idaho Falls, where there is a Hadassah chapter, also participate in temple life. There are handfuls of Jews in Caldwell, Weiser, Hailey, and at the University of Idaho in Moscow, but aside from the annual statewide United Jewish Appeal there is no organized Jewish life in any of these places, and little interest in adult Jewish learning exists. The intermarriage rate is low around Boise, higher in the Pocatello region. Since Moses Alexander's time a number of Idaho Jews have served as mayors, state assemblymen, members of state and county commissions, presidents of state associations, heads of county and city civic bodies, and leaders of Masonic lodges. By the mid-1980s, gradually, the two synagogues in Boise (Beth Israel, Reform; Ahavath Israel, originally Orthodox but long Conservative) merged and became Ahavath Beth Israel. It is affiliated with the Reform movement, but serves both Reform and Conservative communities. It now has a full time rabbi, Dan Fink, who has served for more than a de-



Jewish communities in Idaho. Population figures for 2001.

cade. The synagogue is still in its historic synagogue building, erected in 1896 – but no longer located on its original site. In 2003 the building was picked up and moved about three miles to its new location, where a campus was built around it. Boise no longer has a B'nai B'rith lodge, but does have an active Hadassah chapter. As of spring of 2004, Boise also has a Chabad affiliate. There is also a congregation in Ketchum/Hailey/Sun Valley, which is a resort area for skiing where Jews from other states own homes, that is affiliated with the Reform movement. They do not have a synagogue building but do have a full time rabbi, Martin Levy. The Jewish Community of Moscow is organized but still does not have a building or rabbi. The Jews of Caldwell, Weiser, Nampa are now part of the Boise metro area. There is a small Jewish community in northern Idaho (Sandpoint and Coeur d'Alene) that is affiliated with the synagogue in Spokane, and an active Jewish community in Pocatello. Pocatello's Temple Emanuel was dedicated in 1960 and also serves congregants from neighboring towns (Rupert, Blackfoot, Idaho Falls, etc). Services are Reform in character, but many in the congregation come from Conservative, and occasionally Orthodox backgrounds. There are Sabbath services on alternative weeks with lively discussions of Torah. Major holidays are celebrated, and there is a children's school and a consecrated cemetery. Too small to hire a rabbi, Temple Emanuel has a long tradition of lay leadership with religious leaders typically serving for many years. The Jews of Temple Emanuel have excellent relations with local churches and mosques, though the small far-right fringe occasionally causes concern.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L.L. Watters, *Pioneer Jews of Utah* (1952), index; B. Postal and L. Koppman, *Jewish Tourist's Guide to the U.S.* (1954), index.

[Louis Zucker / Dan Fink (2nd ed.)]

IDEL, MOSHE (1947–), Kabbalah scholar. Idel was born in Romania and immigrated to Israel in 1963. He became a lecturer at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1977 and was subsequently Max Cooper Professor of Jewish Thought. From 1990 he was also a fellow of the Shalom Hartman Institute in Jerusalem. In 1999 he was awarded the Israel Prize in Jewish thought.

In some 50 books in seven languages, as well as many hundreds of articles, Idel covered all of the periods of Jewish mystical writing. He has provided an incisive critique of the scholarly positions developed by Gershom *Scholem, as well as providing numerous "new perspectives" on Kabbalah. While Scholem described Kabbalah as a "mystical theology," Idel emphasized the experiential and performative aspects of kabbalistic practice. In doing so, Idel expanded Scholem's distinction between "theosophical" and "ecstatic" forms of Kabbalah into a phenomenological distinction between two main kinds of Kabbalah. At the same time he stressed the theurgical practice attendant on theosophical discourse. In his book on Ḥasidism, Idel developed a "panoramic" account of the history of Kabbalah as the interplay of three models: theosophical, ecstatic, and magical. These models transformed the previous "monochromatic" picture of Kabbalah into a more complex view of tensions between schools and combinations between models, as evidenced in Idel's book on Messianism.

Idel has placed his reading of Kabbalah within the broader context of the place of this literature within the overall structures of Jewish religiosity. His discussions of the profound links between the Kabbalah and other forms of Jewish discourse include a reconstruction of the rabbinic origins of key themes in kabbalistic theosophy and theurgy. Idel has conceptualized several characteristics of Jewish religious life, including collective performance, the cardinality of engagement with texts, and the salience of speech and sound.

Idel's work, and especially his book on hermeneutics, evoked a creative dialogue between Kabbalah research and contemporary developments in the human sciences, while significantly enhancing the theoretical sophistication of his field. Idel has influenced major theoreticians such as Jacques *Derrida (1930–2004), Umberto Eco (1932–), and Harold *Bloom (1930–). However, he has warned against the wholesale adoption of contemporary interpretative approaches, and proposes a more "eclectic" mix of methods to match the complexity of kabbalistic structures.

Besides his broader contributions, Idel's writing includes many historical discoveries, such as the scope and influence of the writings of Ecstatic Kabbalist R. Abraham *Abulafia, the uniqueness of the Italian kabbalists, as well as identification and dating of dozens of texts.

In addition to his writing, Idel has been instrumental in facilitating connections between Israeli academia and global scholarship, and in strengthening Jewish studies throughout the West, and especially in Eastern and Central Europe. He also served as doctoral advisor for many among the new generation of Kabbalah scholars.

His books include *Kabbalah: New Perspectives* (1988),

Hassidism: Between Ecstasy and Magic (1995), *Messianic Mystics* (1998), *Absorbing Perfections: Kabbalah and Interpretation* (2002), *Enchanted Chains: Techniques and Rituals in Jewish Mysticism* (2005).

[Jonathan Garb (2nd ed.)]

IDELOVITCH, DAVID (1863–1953), pioneer of settlement and education in modern Ereẓ Israel. Born in Jassy, Romania, Idelovitch went to Ereẓ Israel in 1882 and settled in Jerusalem, where he joined the *Bilu pioneers, who had established the society Shivat he-Ḥarash ve-ha-Masger ("Return of the Craftsmen and the Smiths"). In 1886 he went to France for further study in metal work and engraving. Upon his return, he taught in the Rishon le-Zion school, where he was teacher and headmaster from 1887 to 1900 and, despite opposition from Baron Edmond de *Rothschild's officials, taught all subjects – including mathematics and nature study – in Hebrew. He helped to found the first kindergarten in Palestine in 1898 and was one of the organizers of teachers' meetings in the settlements of the region. He was also an editor of the children's newspaper *Olam Katan* (1893). Idelovitch contributed to Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda's newspapers and wrote reports on events in Ereẓ Israel for Hebrew papers abroad. A founder of the Carmel Wine-Growers' Cooperative, the marketing company for the wine produced in the Jewish settlements, he was sent to represent the company in Alexandria from 1906 to 1924. During World War I he assisted Jewish refugees deported from Ereẓ Israel to Egypt and found various ways of getting financial aid into Ereẓ Israel. Upon his return to Palestine, he settled in Rishon le-Zion.

Among Idelovitch's works are a small book entitled *Sefer ha-Misḥar va-Ḥaroshet ha-Ma'aseh be-Ereẓ Yisrael* ("Commerce and Industry in Ereẓ Israel," 1890), and a collection of articles on the history of journalism in Ereẓ Israel entitled *Kovez Ma'amarim le-Divrei Yemei ha-Ittonut be-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1935) which he edited. After World War I he published his memoirs about the refugees from Ereẓ Israel in Egypt in *Mi-Yamim Rishonim*, a journal edited by E. Druyanow (in vol. 1 (1934), nos. 7–12, vol. 2 (1935), no. 1). The commemorative volume *Sefer Rishon le-Ẓiyyon* (1941) was also edited by Idelovitch.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Smilansky, *Mishpaḥat ha-Adamah*, 3 (1954), 154–6; D. Smilansky, in: *Benei Arẓi ve-Iri* (1958), 142–6.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

IDELSOHN, ABRAHAM ZVI (1882–1938), musicologist, a pioneer and founder of Jewish music ethnomusicology. Born in Filsberg (Felixberg, Latvia), where he received a thorough cantorial training and then continued his musical education at the Stern Conservatorium in Berlin and the Leipzig Academy. He served for short periods as cantor in Leipzig and Regensburg, and in Johannesburg, South Africa. In 1906 he settled in Jerusalem and worked there as a cantor and music teacher, especially at the Hebrew Teachers' College. These were decisive years for Idelsohn's research into the diverse musical traditions of the Sephardi and "Oriental" Jewish communities as well as Muslim and Christians, dedicating himself to the collection and study of their musical (and linguistic) heritage. Although his plans in 1910 for an Institute for Jewish Music never materialized, he was invited in 1913 to present his early recordings to the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Vienna. He remained there for eight months and laid the groundwork for his ten-volume monumental *Hebräisch-orientalischer Melodienschatz*. During World War I Idelsohn served as a bandmaster in the Turkish army in Gaza. In 1919 he resumed his teaching and composing work in Jerusalem. He wrote a five-act opera, *Jiftaḥ,* performed and published in Jerusalem in 1922, and he transcribed and composed much cantorial music, and the song "*Havah Nagilah*"). In 1921 he left Jerusalem and after an extended lecture tour settled in Cincinnati (1922). In 1924 he was engaged to catalog the Birnbaum Collection of Jewish Music at the *Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, and in the same year he was the first to be appointed to the chair of Jewish Music there. Through his work the college became a center of research into Jewish music From 1930 onward his health began to fail and he was permanently incapacitated from 1934; he joined his family in Johannesburg in 1937 and died there.

The Hebrew Union College conferred an honorary doctorate on him in 1933. Idelsohn is considered the founder of modern Jewish musicology and one of the pioneers of ethnomusicology; he was the first to apply the methods of comparative musicology to the study of Jewish music and the first to record music on wax cylinders in Palestine. His field recordings (numbering over 1,000) are invaluable; their transcriptions and analyses brought the non-European communities into the conspectus of Jewish music. These recordings on wax cylinders were digitized and produced in Vienna (2006) and his archive is at the Music Department of the Jewish National and University Library. Idelsohn was the pioneer of comparative research in biblical cantillation and of studies on the unique quality of Oriental Jewish musical cultures with emphasis on their antiquity; he was the first to attempt an integration of the historical records of music in Jewish culture, together with a synoptic view of the ethnic traditions, into a coherent view of the history of music among the Jewish people. Equally pioneering were his studies of the Near-Eastern *maqām* systems and of the elements common to the Jewish and Christian liturgical-music traditions, exploring their relationships with ancient Hebrew (mainly Yemenite) and early Christian (Byzantine, Jacobite and Gregorian) chant. The crowning monument of Idelsohn's collections and investigations is his ten volumes of the *Thesaurus, of Hebrew Oriental melodies*, which was published in German, with several volumes translated into English and Hebrew, and contained thousands of specimens of liturgical chant and religious song (Leipzig 1914–1933; rep. New York 1973). His other publications include *Jewish Music in its Historical Development* (1929, repr. 1968); *Jewish Liturgy* (1932, repr. 1968); *Sefer ha-Shirim* (vol. 1, 1913; vol. 2, 1922 – the first Hebrew songbook published in Palestine), in *Toledot ha-Neginah ha-Ivrit* (vol. 1, 1924; vols. 2 and 3 remained in manuscript); *The Ceremonies of Judaism* (1929); *Shirei Teiman* (1930), an anthology of Yemenite poems, and more than 100 scholarly articles. Although he was

largely self-taught as a musicologist, his writings represent an impressive contribution to the study of Jewish music.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove; MGG; I. Adler et al. (eds.), *The Abraham Zvi Idelsohn Memorial Volume* (Jerusalem, 1986) (incl. E. Gerson-Kiwi: "A.Z. Idelsohn: a Pioneer in Jewish Ethnomusicology," 46–52; complete list of writings with annotations, 53–180; list of published compositions and song books, 31–50).

[Baruch J. Cohon and Israel J. Katz / Gila Flam (2nd ed.)]

IDELSON, ABRAHAM (1865–1921), Zionist theoretician, publicist, and editor. Born in Vekshni (Wexna), Lithuania, Idelson had a traditional education but at the age of 15 turned to secular studies. In 1885–90 he studied at the University of Moscow. In 1886 or 1887 he joined the Moscow *Ḥibbat Zion society Benei Zion, of which other members included M. *Ussishkin, J. *Tschlenow, and J. *Maze. In 1889–93 he was a member of the *Benei Moshe in Moscow, and during this period he worked as a clerk in various firms. When *Herzl appeared on the Jewish scene Idelson had reservations about him; but after the First Zionist Congress he joined the movement of political Zionism and was an active lecturer and debater in student circles. In 1901 he was one of the activists of the *Democratic Fraction, and in 1902 the Russian Zionist Convention at Minsk elected him to its Cultural Committee.

In 1905 he was invited to settle in St. Petersburg and become the editor of the Russian Zionist journal that appeared in various forms (as the monthly *Yevreyskaya Zhizn* with a weekly *Khronika*, later as the weekly **Razsvet*, etc.) until September 1919, when it was closed by the Soviet authorities. Although some articles by Idelson had appeared earlier (in Hebrew and Russian), it was not until 1905 that he began to react systematically in print to the gamut of ideological, political, and cultural problems of Jewry and Zionism under a number of pen names (Davidson, Zhagorski, Nevski, Ibn Daud, A.D., etc.). The prospect of democratization in Russia moved him to formulate a plan of Zionist activities that would integrate Diaspora work and settlement in Ereẓ Israel into a system of Jewish national renaissance and a policy applicable within the anticipated reconstruction of Russia. Thus he became the father of the *Helsingfors Program.

In May 1917, after the overthrow of the czarist regime, Idelson opened the All-Russian Zionist Conference in Petrograd. In 1919, after the Zionist Movement was gradually strangled, Idelson was sent abroad on behalf of the Russian Zionists to join the leadership of the World Zionist Movement. In Paris he participated in the work of the *Comité des Délégations Juives at the Versailles Peace Conference. Later he was appointed editor of the central Zionist organ, the weekly **Ha-Olam* (London, 1919–20). In 1921 he moved to Berlin, planning to resume publication of *Ha-Olam* and *Razsvet* there, but died suddenly.

Idelson's specific trait as a Zionist theoretician was his sociological approach along the lines of historical materialism, which made his exposition understandable to the Marxist-oriented Jewish intelligentsia. According to Idelson, the national element is not a goal in itself, but rather the most convenient groove for the expression and manifestation of that which is most universally human. The goal should not be the rigid conservation of fixed values, but to secure a framework for the free development of the ever-changing human creativity. National conflicts, he believed, are independent of social conflicts and will continue, though mitigated, under socialism. Zionism, like the assimilationist trend that preceded it, is essentially secular and "anti-Judaistic." They both stem from the same source: worldliness – the desire to live in the world like all other nations. Zionism is not nostalgic national conservatism, but forward-looking national liberation. The normalization of Jewish existence can be achieved only on the Jewish nation's own soil, as the Diaspora conditions cripple the national entity. Jewish social activity in the Diaspora can have only one goal: to remove discrimination to the point where separate Jewish activity becomes superfluous. Jewish cultural life in the Diaspora is bound to retreat before the dominant cultures and to remain a shrinking secondary, supplementary relic. Therefore, Zionism builds toward future independence, and to achieve this goal it must mobilize Jewish energy and strengthen Jewish positions in the Diaspora. To rally the Jewish masses and their energy Zionism must respond to all Jewish needs and become the pivotal force of Diaspora Jewry. Idelson's attention as a theorist was drawn particularly to the relation of the class factor to the national factor in social life. He stressed that socialism meant political class struggle, i.e., the struggle for power in a state, and concluded that Jewish socialism was doomed to impotence and inconsistency as long as there was no Jewish state in which it might attain its goal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Gepstein, in: *Sefer Idelson* (1946), 11–46, 235–42 (bibl. of Idelson's writings).

[Mark Perlman]

IDELSON, BEBA (née **Trachtenberg**; 1895–1975). Israeli labor leader; member of the First to Fifth Knessets. Idelson was born in Dnepropetrovsk in the Ukraine. She studied at the local gymnasium and began studying law and economics at Kharkov University. She worked as a teacher and in statistics institutes and joined Ẓe'irei Ẓiyyon. She was exiled to Solvicigovsk in 1923, but in 1924 she was allowed to immigrate to Palestine. She started her journey through Germany and in the years 1924–26 was active in the World Union of Socialist Zionists. She finally settled in Palestine in 1926, joining *Mapai, and starting to work in the *Histadrut as a statistician and in various other jobs. From 1930 to 1974 she was secretary of the Women's Workers Council (Mo'eẓet ha-Po'alot), traveling extensively in this capacity. On behalf of Mapai she participated in the Zionist Congresses in 1935, 1937, 1939, and 1946. When David *Remez was detained by the British authorities on "Black Saturday" in June 1946, she joined the *Va'ad Le`ummi. She was a member of the Provisional State Council in 1948, and in 1949 was elected to the Knesset on the Mapai list. In the Third and Fifth Knessets she served as deputy speaker and served on several Knesset committees, including the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. In

1968–75 Idelson was chairperson of the World Movement of Pioneer Women.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

IDELSON, BENJAMIN (1911–1972), architect. Born in Leningrad, Idelson immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1925. After studying architecture at the University of Ghent he returned in 1934. He designed many public buildings in Israel, including buildings for Tel Aviv University, the Haifa Technion, and the Weizmann Institute in Reḥovot. He was awarded the Israel Prize for arts in 1968.

IDI (third century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*, called Rav Idi. It is related of him that he spent most of his time in travel connected with his business and sat in the *bet ha-midrash* only one day every three months. As a result his colleagues referred to him as "the one-day student." His title *rav*, given to *amoraim* ordained in Babylon, is significant and suggests that he stayed there a long time. Johanan, head of the Tiberias Academy, greatly esteemed him both because of his learning and his piety, stressing particularly his forbearance toward his colleagues and his refusal to react to the offensive appellation they gave him. His son JACOB, one of the most prominent Palestinian scholars in the second half of the third century, so outshone his father that Rav Idi is referred to as "the father of Rav Jacob b. Idi." There was another Palestinian *amora* of the same name, but as a Palestinian he is naturally referred to as Rabbi (not Rav) Idi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor.

[Joshua Gutmann]

IDI BAR AVIN (first half of fourth century C.E.). Babylonian *amora*. Idi and his brother Ḥiyya were the sons of *Avin the Carpenter (Ha-Nagar) who was promised learned sons as a reward for his piety (Shab. 23b). Idi was a pupil of Ḥisda (Pes. 101b) in whose name he transmits many sayings. He was known as one of the great scholars of Babylon of his time, especially in the days of Abbaye and Rava (with the former of whom he had halakhic discussions; BM 35b). There is evidence in the Babylonian Talmud that he had a marked influence on the establishing of the talmudic *halakhah* of his time. The name of the locality (Hinẓivi) in which he established his yeshivah is otherwise unknown. Joel *Sirkes suggests it may be a mistake for *Shekanzib, a well-known center of learning on the eastern bank of the Tigris. Among his outstanding pupils were Papa and Huna b. Joshua (Pes. 35a). His sons, Sheshet and Joshua, were also *amora'im*. It is of interest that during his time it was customary to set aside the priestly portions, and since Idi's wife was of a priestly family, he was permitted to benefit from these gifts (Ḥul. 132a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 140f.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 357.

IDOLATRY. Greek *eidōlon* originally meant "image" or "fantasy." By the time of the Septuagint the term was used for images of gods. "Idolatry" is literally "image worship." To grasp the character of image worship in biblical literature one must first realize that the Bible describes the worship of all "strange gods" as idolatry, or the worship of "wood and stone." In addition, one must distinguish the biblical polemics against these gods from the opposition to the use of certain images in the service of Yahweh. At times the use of these images is equated with the service of other gods. It should also be borne in mind that there is no necessary connection between aniconism (opposition to images) and monotheism. On the one hand, a monotheistic religion, Roman Catholicism for example, can make use of images. On the other hand, there is evidence of aniconism in polytheistic religions among Israel's neighbors in biblical times (Mettinger).

IN THE BIBLE

History

ILLICIT GODS IN ISRAEL. Although the books of the Bible are in agreement that Israelites are required to worship Yahweh (also known as El, Adonai, Elohim, El Shaddai) exclusively, they are likewise in agreement that what Morton Smith called the "Yahweh-alone" party was in the minority for centuries. Although Yahweh was the national god to whom every Israelite owed allegiance, biblical and extra-biblical evidence demonstrate that the worship of additional gods had strong popular support. According to the Bible, the worship of these gods was often promoted by kings and members of the royal court. Sometimes the biblical writers attribute illicit worship to the initiative of foreign queens (Maacah, Jezebel, and her daughter Athaliah and Solomon's numerous wives). The nature of the foreign cult is not always clear. It is not always possible to determine, with any degree of certainty, whether a particular cult was wholly "foreign," syncretistic, or just a form of the worship of Yahweh that the particular biblical writer deemed corrupt. The most popular cults among the Hebrews were of Canaanitic origin, such as those of *Baal, *Asherah, and *Ashtoreth. The Book of Judges (2:11ff.; 3:7; 8:33; 10:10) and I Samuel (12:10) attribute the setbacks of Israel to the worship of Baal(im) and Ashtaroth. The popularity of Baal worship is attested by the strong reaction of the people against Gideon (Judg. 6:29ff.) for destroying (at God's command) the altar of Baal (Judg. 6:25). Samuel had to exhort the people before facing the enemy in battle to cast away "the foreign gods," i.e., "the Baals" (I Sam. 7:3–4). At the end of Solomon's reign there were erected altars to Chemosh, *Moloch, and Ashtoreth (I Kings 11:5–7), for his foreign wives. Abijam, probably at the insistence of his mother Maacah (who was half Aramean), continued the practice of foreign cults (I Kings 15:1–3). The cult of Baal, as well as other foreign cults, gained prominence in the North during the reign of Ahab who built an altar to Baal and worshiped at it in public (I Kings 16:31). Four hundred and fifty priests of Baal and 400 priests of Asherah were in the entourage of Queen Jezebel (I Kings 18:19). Her missionary work seems to have been very successful. According to the testimony of the Bible, 7,000 people had abstained from bowing

down to Baal (I Kings 19:18). A strong attack against Baal worship, especially against its promotion by the royalty (i.e., foreign queens), was launched by Jehu. He put to death Queen Jezebel (II Kings 9:33), destroyed the sanctuaries that she had built, and killed the priests and followers of Baal (II Kings 10:18ff.). The cult of Baal in Judah (at least its promotion by the royalty) seems to have been introduced by Queen Athaliah (Jezebel's daughter). It came to an end with the uprising engineered by Jehoiada the priest (II Kings 11:17). According to the Bible, the most thorough cultic purge in the history of Israel took place in Judah, during King *Hezekiah's reign. The purge was directed primarily at long-standing native practices, including the brazen serpent whose origin was traced back to Moses. A strong criticism against the cult of Baal is voiced by Hosea (1–3; 11:2; 13:1) and Jeremiah (2:4ff.; 9:13; 11:13, 17; 12:16; 19:5; 23:13, 17, 27; 32:29). The biblical writers attribute the most enthusiastic support of illicit cults to the son of Hezekiah, King Manasseh. The boldness of King Manasseh's reform can be measured by the fact that instead of building sanctuaries to the foreign deities outside the Temple, as Queens Jezebel and Athaliah had done, King Manasseh transformed the very Temple of Jerusalem into a pantheon (II Kings 21) where Yahweh was served along with other gods. The practices that were in vogue during King Manasseh's reign were described by Ezekiel (8–11; 16:17; 20; 23). Later generations attributed the fall of Judah in 586 to the lasting effects of Manasseh's sins (II Kings 23:26–27; Jer. 11:9ff: 15:4). Other cults, illicit by prophetic standards but popular in Israel, were child sacrifice to Yahweh (Jer. 7:31; cf. Ezek. 20:25); to Moloch (II Kings 23:10; Jer. 32:35); to Baal (Jer. 19:5; 32:35); the institution of *kadesh* (I Kings 14:24; II Kings 23:70) and *kedeshah* (Deut. 23:18; Hos. 4:14c–15; the traditional understanding of these last as references to cultic *prostitution has been challenged in recent years), and the cult of *Tammuz (Ezek. 8:14). Astral worship seems to have been widespread. The sun and the moon, known as the "Queen of Heaven" (i.e., Ishtar), are referred to throughout biblical literature as objects of worship (cf. Amos 5:26). Ezekiel (8:10) mentions also the worship of animal images.

IMAGES ASSOCIATED WITH THE WORSHIP OF YAHWEH IN ISRAEL. The erection of pillars, *maẓẓevot* (pl. of *maẓẓevah*), in the Israelite cult (not to be confused with the commemorative *maẓẓevot*, such as in Gen. 31:45–52; Ex. 24:4; Josh. 4:4–9) was considered legitimate by some biblical writers. Jacob erected a *maẓẓevah* in Beth-El to be used in the service of the divine (Gen. 28:18, 22; 35:14). In contrast, this mode of worship is proscribed by Deuteronomy (16:22) and the Prophets (Ezek. 26:11; Hos. 3:4; 10:1–3; Micah 5:12). Likewise the planting of a tree for the service of "Yahweh the Eternal God" was practiced by Abraham (Gen. 21:33). This form of worship too is proscribed by Deuteronomy (16:21). The use of *maẓẓevot* and the planting of trees for the cult of God was widely in use during the time of the Monarchy (I Kings 14:15, 23; II Kings 17:10; 23:14). The "brazen serpent" seems also to fall in this group (see II Kings 18:4).

The *golden calf worshiped in the sanctuaries of Dan and Beth-El (Ex. 32:1–8; I Kings 12:28; II Kings 10:29; Ps. 106:13–20; Neh. 9:18; II Chron. 13:8) falls into the same category of disputed cultic objects. There was nothing inherently wrong with using bovine imagery to describe Yahweh (Gen. 49:24; Isa. 1:24), and 12 oxen supported Solomon's Sea of Bronze in the temple (I Kings 7:25). But because of the prominence of the calves in Northern tradition the golden calf was transformed into an idol by polemical Judahite writers, who traced its origins to the misdeeds of the people at the foot of Mt. Sinai (Ex. 32:1–8). In the Southern narrative retelling of an ancient Northern cult legend, the people of Israel wanted to "make" a god ("Make for us a god"; Ex. 32:1). The narrative (Ex. 32:4) describes how the calf was consecrated and makes use of the plural to compound the enormity: "These are your gods, O Israel, who brought you out of the land of Egypt." In other words, the Judahite writers distorted the Northern conception by which the calf stood for Yahweh's pedestal, and misrepresented it as a substitution of Yahweh's worship by the worship of other gods. The rabbinic report (Hizkuni a.l.) that the golden calf was made as a replica of the bull in the divine throne corresponds to the religious ideas current in the ancient Near East. Reference to the "heavenly bull" is found in very ancient Egyptian sources. The bull was considered to be the seat of different gods in Egypt, Babylonia, and Aram (Wainwright, in bibl.). Micaiah (Jud. 17–18) made an image of Yahweh. Gideon made a golden *ephod, possibly an image (Judg. 8:27). The eighth-century prophet *Hosea (Hos. 8:6), but not his ninth-century predecessors *Elijah and *Elisha, denounced the images worshiped in the Northern sanctuaries as idols. This form of worship, iconic worship of Yahweh, accounts for most of the denunciation of image worship in biblical literature (see Kaufmann, Religion, 133ff.).

Legitimate Images. Not all images were proscribed in the biblical cult. The figures of the cherubim (*cherub) were embroidered in the curtains (Ex. 26:1; 36:8) and in the *parokhet*, "veil," of the Tabernacle (Ex. 26:31; 36:35) and the Temple (II Chron. 3:14); they were carved upon the walls (I Kings 6:29; II Chron. 3:7; cf. Ezek. 41:18, 20, 25) and doors (I Kings 6:32, 35) and in the *mekhonot*, "molten sea" (I Kings 7:29, 36) of the Temple. There were two golden cherubim in the Tabernacle (Ex. 25:18–22; 37:7–9) and in the Temple (I Kings 6:23–28; 8:6–7; II Chron. 3:10–13). The cherubim seem to represent the cherubim of the heavenly chariot (see Ezek. 1:5–14; 9–11; cf. II Sam. 22:11; Ps. 18:11). The Lord "sits on the cherubim" of the Sanctuary (I Sam. 4:4; II Sam. 6:2; II Kings 19:15; Isa. 37:16; Ps. 80:2; 99:1; I Chron. 13:6). In considering the biblical view of idolatry one must examine the ground upon which a distinction between permitted and illicit iconolatry is possible. U. Cassuto (*Perush al Sefer Shemot* (1952), 285) was of the opinion that the distinction between illicit images and the cherubim was based on the character of the images: illicit images represented actual beings, whereas the cherubim did not represent actual beings. This view is too vague and too subtle. The

actual form of the cherubim of the Temple is unknown. According to rabbinic tradition (Suk. 5b; Ḥag. 13b) the cherubim were in the form of young children. Moreover, even if one concedes that the form of the cherubim did not correspond to any actual being, one can not help wondering whether this subtlety is at all relative to the religious values and criteria of the ancient Near East and the Bible. In contrast, Jewish medieval authors, Karaites (Jacob al-Kirkisānī, *Kitāb al-Anwār*, ed. L. Nemoy (1938), 6) and Rabbanites (Judah Halevi, *The Kuzari*, 1:96) expressed the view that the distinction between permitted and illicit iconolatry is fundamentally arbitrary: certain images were prescribed by the Law and others were proscribed. This view involves standards of values that fully agree with the basic theology of the Bible: the one God must be worshiped only as prescribed by the Law. The difference between the biblical ceremonies and their counterparts is not intrinsic but simply the fact that the former are prescribed by the Law while the latter are not. In the Bible, to worship the only God with rites that are not prescribed by the Law is an act of idolatry (more precisely, *avodah zarah*, "nonprescribed cult," which is the Hebrew equivalent of "idolatry"). This conception of religion is grounded on the belief in the absolute omnipotence of God. (see Faur, in bibl., 47–48).

The Biblical Injunction Against Idolatry

The biblical injunction against idolatry comprises three more or less separate matters: the worship of idols, the worship of Yahweh with pagan rites, and the making of idols. The biblical injunction against idol worship includes (1) idol worship conforming to the pagan rituals (Ex. 20:5; Deut. 12:30; cf. Sanh. 61b); (2) bowing down (Ex. 34:14); (3) offering a sacrifice to another god (i.e., to idols, Ex. 22:19), which, according to the rabbis, includes the performance of any of the rituals that form part of the cult prescribed for the service of the Lord (e.g., the actual slaughtering of the sacrifice, the offering of incense, the offering of libation), although that particular ritual is not generally used in the service of the idol (Sanh. 7:6; cf. Sanh. 60b); (4) paying homage to an idol (Ex. 20:5) – according to the rabbis this prohibition refers to the veneration of an image, even if there is no intention of worshiping, such as kissing the idol or caressing it (Sanh. 7:6; cf. Sanh. 63a). The actual worship of superhuman beings, such as angels, is not explicitly proscribed in the Bible (cf. Judg. 13:16). Indeed, in the earlier sections of the Bible there is considerable fluidity between angels and Yahweh (Judg. 6:1–24). The rabbis, however, consider the worship of angels idolatry (Tosef., Ḥul. 2:18). In many instances (e.g. Deut. 12:31) biblical writers defame Israelite practices of which they disapprove by associating those practices with the gentiles.

Making idols is explicitly prohibited (Ex. 20:4, 23 [20]). According to the rabbis this prohibition applies both to one who makes an idol to worship it himself or for others to worship (see Sifra 7:1 end).

THE BIBLICAL POLEMIC AGAINST IDOLATRY. The Bible attacks idolatry on two independent grounds: it violates the Covenant, and it is useless. Since idolatry is specifically forbidden (cf. Ex. 20:4ff.), its practice constitutes a violation of the Covenant (Deut. 31:16, 20; Jer. 11:10). The second argument can be properly understood in light of the belief held by gentiles and many Israelites as well that phenomena such as fertility, rain, health, and so on may be controlled by recourse to other gods than Yahweh, or by worship of their images (Hos. 2:7–14). Since, according to the Bible, God is in control of these phenomena, idolatry is useless (cf. Isa. 41:23–24; 44:6–21; Jer. 10:1–5). Furthermore, as Maimonides observed (*Guide*, 3:30), the Bible emphasizes that since idolatry is a violation of the Covenant, it produces negative results; as a punishment God will turn nature against the idolaters (cf. Deut. 11:13–18; 28).

Idolatry in Near Eastern Religions

In order to determine the character of idolatry in the religions of the Near East, and in order to have a clear understanding of the biblical attitude towards it, two interrelated matters must be examined in light of the ancient Near Eastern sources: the question of whether the images were conceived as dead matter that represented some superhuman power, or what would later be called natural phenomena, or whether they were conceived as "living idols," and the question of how the image became fit for worship.

"LIVING IDOLS" IN PAGAN RELIGIONS. An idol, in the pagan mind, was a living and feeling being. The idol was not necessarily equivalent to the god; the god had a separate (though not independent) existence from the idol. The god's spirit dwelt within the idol and was identified with it. The god was not confined to a single idol or a single shape; rather his spirit dwelt within many idols of varied shapes. The god perceived and sensed whatever happened to its idol (see Oppenheim, 48–49, 54; van Buren, 75ff.). The prayers, ceremonies, and cult offered to the idol were fully sensed by the god. Since the god identified fully with its idol, the images were "living idols" (see van Buren, 81; Blackman (1924), 55, 57). In Egypt and Mesopotamia the ceremony of washing and dressing the idol was practiced (see Erman, 273ff.; Moret; Oppenheim, 188–92). The idol also ate, drawing from the food offered to it the energy needed for its subsistence and the execution of its numerous activities (see Blackman and Fairman, 84; Oppenheim, 191–2). The idol felt, saw, heard, and spoke (Blackman and Fairman, ibid.; Maspéro). The cult opened the mouth, eyes, and ears of the idol (see van Buren, 81; Blackman (1924), 55, 57; Berlejung). At night the idol slept and in the morning the sunlight would awaken it and it would speak (see Blackman and Fairman, 84). The idol made its will known by influencing the lots that were cast in its presence, through prophecy, and through a variety of signs. The will of the idol was a divine imperative not only in religious matters but also in the political affairs of the state and the private affairs of the individual (see Blackman (1925), 249–258; (1926), 83–95; (1941), 136–190). Since the god fully identified with its idol, whoever controlled the idol also controlled the god. When the king of Elam saw that he was about to be defeated by Sennacherib, he took his idols

and fled in order that they should not fall captive (Luckenbill, Records, 1 (1926), 242; 2 (1926), 350). The custom of taking captive the idols of the vanquished was ancient and widespread (Luckenbill, Records, 1 (1926), 222, 223, 231, 232, 310; 2 (1926), 341, 518, 520, 521, 530, 532, 538, 580, 804; Uehlinger). In light of this practice the incident with Rab-Shakeh (Isa. 36:18ff.) is quite clear. Rab-Shakeh wanted to impress upon the people of Judah the fact that the gods of the neighboring nations failed to protect them from the armies of Sennacherib (Isa. 36:18–20; 37:10–12). The reply of King Hezekiah is to the point: the God of Israel alone is truly a "living God" and no comparison should be drawn between Him and the idols of the neighboring nations (Isa. 37:4, 16–20; cf. 10:5–19; 37:23–29). Tiglath-Pileser (Luckenbill, Records, 1 (1926), 230), and Adad-Nirari II (*ibid.*, 380) offered the idols of the vanquished to their own idols. This practice was well known to the biblical writers (see Isa. 46:2; Jer. 43:12; 48:7; Hos. 10:6 (cf. 8:6); Dan. 11:8). When in enemies' hands, the power of the idol vanished. The vanquished kings would come and beg for the return of the idols (Luckenbill, *ibid.*, 518, 536, 538, 731); to return an idol to his temple was considered an act of mercy (*ibid.*, 507, 659). Because of his fear of the enemy, the god would leave the idol (*ibid.*, 2 (1926), 295, 513, 528) "and fly to the heavens" (*ibid.*, 649, 659, 662; Jer. 50:1–3 makes reference to this belief). Elijah's ridicule of Baal (I Kings 18:27) and Isaiah's mocking of the idols (Isa. 44:9–21) were designed to shake the widespread belief in "living idols." The argument offered by the Psalmist (Ps. 106:36; 115:9), "they have eyes but they do not see" should be taken literally. It attempts to disprove the belief that the idols were in possession of sensory faculties. The biblical description of idolatry as "sacrifices to the dead" (Ps. 106:28) and of idols as "wood and stone" (Deut. 28:36, 64), and similar descriptions, challenge the pagan claim that the images they worshiped were in fact "living idols."

THE MAKING OF AN IDOL. The identification of the god with the idol was effected by a special ceremony of consecration known as the "washing or cleaning of the mouth." Egyptian and Babylonian records dating from the biblical period give minute details concerning the rite of consecration by which the image is transformed into a living idol (Schiaparelli; Budge; Blackman (1924), 42–59; Baly, 173–86; Smith, 37–60). By virtue of this ritual the gods also identified with the reliefs that were in the walls of the temples: the pictures of the gods were able to eat and drink the sacrifices and libations that were offered during the services, and thus acquire the necessary energy to be and act as living gods (Blackman (1935), 6–7; Blackman and Fairman, 84ff.). The ceremony by which an image is consecrated and thereby made into a god is recorded in Daniel (3:2, 3).

[Jose Faur / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

The View of Kaufmann

The polytheistic religions of the ancient Near East were highly developed, sophisticated systems. Theogonies told of the creation of the various deities. Other myths discussed the rule of the gods over physical phenomena and over the lives of individuals or nations. Sexual qualities and benevolent and malevolent personalities were attributed to these gods. Artistic representations of the deity were symbolic of its cosmic power and formed the center both for elaborate temple cults and for simpler home ceremonies. Kaufmann maintains that the Bible shows no knowledge or understanding of this kind of paganism. It tells of national gods – Baal, Chemosh, Ashtoreth – but there is no hint of their mythological qualities. The gods are not understood to be living beings or mythological persons symbolized by their images. The biblical writers usually conceive of image worship in the Bible as nothing more than fetishism (Deut. 4:28; Isa. 44: 9–20 are characteristic). Kaufmann is correct in his description of the biblical characterization of the worship of other gods than Yahweh, but the biblical description is not objectively descriptive. Instead, it is polemical and disingenuous. In contrast to Kaufmann's claim that polytheism perished in Israel's earliest times, it is now clear that monotheism, or better, mono-Yahwism, took centuries to win the day, and that its adherents employed the rhetoric of "wood and stone" to discredit Yahweh's rivals. Indeed, several passages in the Bible permit the inference that some biblical writers considered the gods of the nations to be living gods (e.g., Ex. 12:12; Num. 21:29; 33:4; Judg. 11:24). It was just they were inferior to Yahweh and should not be worshipped by Israelites.

[Gershon Bacon / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Talmud

Idolatry is considered by the rabbis as one of the three cardinal sins, which one is enjoined to suffer martyrdom rather than transgress (the other two are incest and murder ("the shedding of blood": Sanh. 74a)). Various aspects of the prohibitions concerning idolatry and related practices are dealt with at length in tractate Sanhedrin, while an entire tractate, **Avodah Zarah*, is devoted to the practical problems of social contact and economic interaction with idolatry and idolaters. The abstention from it is "equivalent to the fulfillment of all the commandments of the Torah" (Hor. 8a), and Daniel 3:12, "There are certain Jews…" is interpreted to teach that "he who denies idols is called a Jew" (Meg. 13a). Contrariwise, "he who recognizes idols denies the whole Torah" (Sif. Deut. 54). Despite this fact, the possibility of Jews practicing idolatry is largely discounted by the rabbis. Together with circumcision, it is cited as an example of those precepts which "because Israel submitted to death at the time of the royal decree [i.e. one of the times of persecution of Judaism], it is still firmly adhered to" (Shab. 130a). The lessened stress on the danger of succumbing to idolatry as compared with immorality is strikingly expressed in a passage of the Midrash: "God created two evil inclinations in the world, that toward idolatry and the other toward incest; the former has already been uprooted; the latter still holds sway" (Song R. 7:8; cf. Yoma 69b). The passage goes on to discuss whether this "uprooting of the evil inclination toward idolatry," which was so marked a characteristic of the religious

life of the Jews during the period of the First Temple, took place in the time of Mordecai and Esther, or of Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. These passages reflect the historical fact, which is borne out by all the available evidence, that during the period of the Second Temple and that of the Talmud, there was no tendency on the part of the people to succumb to idolatry and it was never regarded as a serious danger. A study of the tractate *Avodah Zarah* makes it clear that the rabbis regarded contact with idolatry and idolaters solely from the point of view of the dangers arising from social contacts.

That idolatry was regarded as a "theoretical" and not a practical danger is also borne out by the fact that it is almost a commonplace of the rabbis to stress the gravity of social and ethical failings by stating that he who is guilty of them is "as though he were guilty of idolatry," whether "saying one's prayers while intoxicated" (Ber. 31b), or giving way to excessive anger (Shab. 105b), or not practicing charity (Ket. 68a), succumbing to evil inclinations (TJ, Ned. 9:1, 41b), breaking a promise, or even leaving crumbs on the table (Sanh. 92a). Although idolatry is prohibited in the Seven *Noachide Laws which according to the rabbis are binding upon all mankind, and its transgression involves the death penalty, the rabbis on the whole took a tolerant attitude toward idolatry on the part of gentiles. Idolaters are preferable to sectarians, since whereas the latter have knowledge of God and deny Him, the former act out of ignorance (TJ, Shab. 16:9, 15c). When a philosopher asked Rabban Gamaliel how he came to bathe in the bath of Aphrodite in Acre in view of the prohibition against any contact with idols (Deut. 13:17), he answered: "I did not come within her boundaries; she came within mine" (Av. Zar. 3:4). It was permitted to mock at idolaters, which is the only mockery permitted (Meg. 25b), and it was the custom to refer to them by derogatory names which were a distortion of their real names (Sif. Deut. 61; cf. also *Euphemism). The violent reaction of the Jews against the Roman legions displaying the Roman eagle on their standards, as well as their determined resistance to statues of the emperor being set up in Palestine, had, of course, definite political undertones.

In general it was forbidden to have any dealings with gentiles during their festivals and for three days prior to them and to sell them anything which was obviously part of their idolatrous worship (Av. Zar. 1:5). Included in the prohibition were a number of superstitious practices given the general name of "the ways of the Amorites" (Tosef. Shab. 6, 7). It was naturally forbidden to harbor in one's house any images which were worshiped. A special prohibition was the use of libation wine, and it was treated so seriously that the prohibition was extended as a precautionary measure to all gentile wine (*setam yayin*). The regulations with regard to this extend over half of chapter 4 and the whole of chapter 5 of the tractate *Avodah Zarah* (see *Wine). It was forbidden to use concoctions prepared for idolatrous rites for purposes of healing (Pes. 25a; Ex. R. 16:2). The rabbis had a remarkably comprehensive knowledge of every kind and form of idolatry practiced in the East. "If the names of all the idols were to be enumerated, all the donkeys in the world would not suffice to carry them" (Sif. Deut. 43, ed. by L. Finkelstein (1939), 97). They included astral bodies, mountains and hills, marshes, sources of rivers, the dust of the feet, standing corn, fire and water, vapor, winds and clouds, trees, eggs, doves, animals, reflections, and all kinds of statues and images. Specific mention is made of Peor, the worship of which was said to consist of uncovering oneself and defecating in front of the idol (Sif. Num. 131; Sanh. 7:6; TJ, 10:2, 28d), and of Mercurius, Aphrodite, the Saturnalia, and slaughtering over seas and rivers to the "Prince of the Sea" (Poseidon: Ḥul. 2:9, 41b). Certain idolatrous rites mentioned are not known from any other sources. They include a circular incision in the hearts of animals (Av. Zar. 2:3) which was apparently connected with the mysteries of the worship of Demeter and Attis. The reference in Sanhedrin 7:6 to sweeping, besprinkling, washing, and clothing an idol apparently refers to some Egyptian cult.

In the Tosefta (Av. Zar. 6:8) there is a reference to three places in Ereẓ Israel where the worship of the Asherah was still practiced at that time. Although there are references to obscene rites connected with idolatry (Sif. Num. 131) there is in the talmudic literature no reference to the formulas of heathen rites. A special prayer, "Blessed be He Who hath uprooted idolatry from the land," had to be recited when seeing a place where idol worship had been formerly practiced (Ber. 9:1).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Scholz, *Goetzendienst und Zauberwesen bei den alten Hebraeern* (1877); G. d'Alviella, in: RHR, 12 (1885), 1–25; E. Schiaparelli, *Libro dei Funerali*, 1–3 (1882–90); H. Zimmern, *Beitraege zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* (1894); A. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (1894), 259–305; Ch. Fossey, *La Magie Assyrienne* (1902); A. Moret, *Le Rituel du Culte Journalier en Egypte* (1902); G. Maspéro, *Causeries d'Egypte* (1907); E.A.W. Budge, *The Book of Opening of the Mouth*, 1–2 (1909); A.M. Blackman, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 10 (1924), 47–59; 11 (1925), 249–58; 12 (1926), 176–85; 21 (1935), 6–7; 27 (1941), 136–90; T.J.C. Baly, *ibid.*, 16 (1930), 173–86; G.A. Wainwright, *ibid.*, 19 (1933), 160–2; H.W. Fairman, *ibid.*, 32 (1946), 84ff.; Kaufmann Y., Toledot, 1 (1937); Kaufmann Y., Religion; H. Junker, *Die Goetterlehre von Memphis* (1940); E.D. Van Buren, in: *Orientalia*, 10 (1941), 65–92; J.A. Wilson, in: H. Frankfurt et al. (eds.), *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (1946), 62–71; R. Follet, in: *Recherches de science religieuse*, 38 (1951/54), 189–208; A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (1964), 171–227; J. Faur, in: *Tradition*, 9 (1968), 47–48; Y. Kaufmann, in: JBL, 70 (1951), 179–97. IN THE TALMUD: S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (1950), 115–38; idem, in: JQR, 37 (1946/47), 42–53. **ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testament* (1971); A. Berlejung, in: K. van der Toorn (ed.), *The Image and the Book* (1997), 45–72; C. Uehlinger, in: *ibid.*, 123–28; T. Mettinger, in: *ibid.*, 173–204; M. Greenberg, in: *ibid.*, *Studies in the Bible and Jewish Thought* (1995), 175–88; S.D. Sperling, *The Original Torah* (1998), 94–112; idem, in: D. Snell (ed.), *A Companion to the Ancient Near East* (2005), 408–20. G.J. Blidstein, PAAJR, 41–42 (1973–1974), 1–44; idem, JSJ 5 (1974) 154–61; L.H. Schiffman, in: L.M. Hopfe (ed.), *Uncovering Ancient Stones* (1994), 159–75; M. Halbertal, in: G.N. Stanton,

G.G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Tolerance and Intolerance in Early Judaism and Christianity* (1998), 159–72; N. Zohar, *Sidra*, 17 (2001–2002), 63–77; E. Friedheim, *Be-Khol Derakhekha Da'ehu*, 10 (2000), 63–78; idem, *Tarbiz*, 69 (2000), 167–75; idem, *World Congress of Jewish Studies*, 12:2 (2000), 21–44; idem, *Tarbiz*, 70 (2001), 403–15; idem, *Be-Khol Derakhekha Da'ehu*, 14 (2004), 47–72.

IGGERET HA-KODESH (Heb. אִגֶּרֶת הַקֹּדֶשׁ; "Holy Epistle"), an anonymous 13th-century kabbalistic work, since the 14th century usually but wrongly attributed to *Naḥmanides. It has been suggested that the author might be R. Joseph b. Abraham *Gikatilla, the friend and associate of R. *Moses b. Shem Tov de Leon, author of the *Zohar, but this has yet to be proven. In the selection and treatment of the subject the work is unusual among the writings of the early kabbalists. Whereas the early kabbalists wrote their popular ethical books in a manner which attempted to conceal their kabbalistic ideology, *Iggeret ha-Kodesh* is primarily an ethical work written with its kabbalistic ideas in full view. It may be said that this is the first popular work in which kabbalistic teachings are applied to everyday behavior. It was not until three centuries later, in 16th-century *Safed, that such applications were made on a large scale (see *Ethical Literature). The book's six chapters deal with the problems of leading a moral family life, giving particular emphasis to the way in which a pious Jew should conduct sexual intercourse with his wife. The hygiene and sanctity of sexual life are discussed in great detail. To a large degree the work is an anthology of quotations and interpretations of talmudic and midrashic sayings about sexual relations. The work may be regarded, moreover, as a polemical answer to both Aristotle and Maimonides who regarded sexual activity as being a lower, because less spiritual, level of life. The author of *Iggeret ha-Kodesh* upholds the sanctity of sexual relations provided, of course, that it is conducted strictly in accordance with rabbinic laws and instructions. The author's major thesis is that human sexual intercourse is a reflection of the mystical union in kabbalistic writings between two of the divine *Sefirot* (see *Kabbalah): *Tiferet*, the symbol for the husband in the heavenly world, and the **Shekhinah*, the symbol for the wife. Thus, there is a mystical significance to human sexual behavior whereby proper sexual relations between man and wife in this world contribute to the achievement of unity in the divine world.

Iggeret ha-Kodesh was often quoted in late 13th- and early 14th-century kabbalistic literature, and many ethical writers included it either whole or in part in their own books. Among those who thus borrowed from the work were R. Meir b. Isaac *Aldabi in *Shevilei Emunah* (Riva, 1558), R. Elijah b. Moses de *Vidas in *Reshit Ḥokhmah*, and Israel b. Joseph *Al-Nakawa, who included the whole treatise in his ethical anthology *Menorat ha-Ma'or*, 4 vols. (1929–32). Many manuscripts of the work, some quite old, and many printings (the first, Rome, 1546), are extant.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C.B. Chavel, *Kitvei Rabbenu Moshe ben Naḥman*, 2 (1963), 315–37.

[Joseph Dan]

IGNATOFF, DAVID (1885–1954), Yiddish novelist and dramatist. Born in the Ukraine, Ignatoff was active in the revolutionary movement in Kiev (1903–06) before leaving for the United States. In 1907 he helped to found the literary group *Di Yunge which rebelled against the dominant emphasis on proletarian themes and current socialist ideas in American Yiddish literature, and advocated art for art's sake and the importance of form over subject matter. Together with I.J. *Schwartz, Ignatoff edited and published the annual *Literatur* (1910). In 1912 he began to issue a periodical, *Shriftn*, which appeared irregularly and in which he published original works by young writers, translations of world literature, and reproductions of works by Jewish painters. Ignatoff also edited the annual *Velt-ayn, Velt-oys* (1916). Ignatoff alternated between a colorful romanticism which idealized Jewish traditions and a radical realism which allied him with proletarian literature. The former tendency was best embodied in his *Vundermayses fun Altn Prag* ("Wondertales of Old Prague," 1920) and in *Dos Farborgene Likht* ("The Hidden Light," 1918), tales based on the narratives of R. *Naḥman of Bratslav; and the latter tendency in the novel *In Keselgrub* ("In the Cauldron," 1918), which deals with the struggle between degeneracy and spiritual rebirth among Jewish immigrants, and in the fictional trilogy *Oyf Vayte Vegn* ("Vistas," 1932), which describes the rise of the American Jewish labor movement. His later work included the biblical plays *Yiftokh* (1939) and *Gideon* (1953). A collection of essays, *Opgerisene Bleter* ("Stripped Leaves"), was published posthumously in Buenos Aires in 1957.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, Leksikon, s.v.; LNYL, s.v.; F. Zolf, *Undzer Kulturhemshekh* (1956), 147–80; S. Liptzin, *Flowering of Yiddish Literature* (1963), 202, 213; C. Madison, *Yiddish Literature* (1968), 295–8; Waxman, Literature, 4 (1960) 1018–19. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R. Iceland, *Fun Undzer Friling* (1954), 115–21; LNYL, 1 (1956), 43–46; D. Ignatoff, *Oysgeklibene shriftn* (1975); M. Ravitch, *Mayn Leksikon*, IV (1980), 16–18.

[Elias Schulman]

IGNATOW, DAVID (1914–1997), U.S. poet. Ignatow was born in Brooklyn. His poems are often accounts of the particular, especially city life. Its crowds, its noise, its spectacles are balanced by the poet's growing solace in nature. His poetry is often short, marked by plain diction, and common subjects such as family, work, and mortality – the shared lot of humankind. His poetry offers no simple resolution of problems but instead presents them with a bold starkness, as for example in "An Allusion" and "For All Friends," in which no solace can be found and no quarrel with the self can be stilled. Ignatow's "In a Reply" says it well: "my poems are hard to live with." A good example is Ignatow's transformation of the traditional ethical poem for a child, in which the poet's love becomes a song for possibilities. In "The Future" Ignatow wishes strength for his daughter yet cautions her to "prepare to live without me." His poems also affirm the nature of the given: resignation is acceptance. As he puts it in "The World," all that we experience is "difficult to give up." His first volume of poetry, *Poems*, appeared in 1948. Among his works are *Say Pardon*

(1961), *Figures of the Human* (1964), *Rescue the Dead* (1968), *Tread the Dark* (1978), *The One in the Many: A Poet's Memoirs* (1988), and *Living Is What I Wanted: Last Poems* (1999). Ralph Mills, Jr. edited *The Notebooks of David Ignatow* (1973) and *Open between Us* (1980).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Pacernik (ed.), *Talking Together: Letters of David Ignatow, 1946 to 1990* (1992); V. Terris (ed.), *Meaningful Differences: The Poetry and Prose of David Ignatow* (1994).

[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

°IGNATYEV, COUNT NIKOLAI PAVLOVICH (1832–1908), Russian reactionary and antisemitic statesman. After the assassination of Alexander II (March 1881), Ignatyev was appointed minister of the interior, retaining this office until June 1882. Among his duties was the investigation of the causes of the wave of anti-Jewish riots which swept across southern Russia after the assassination of the czar. Ignatyev set up provincial commissions of inquiry, instructing them to lay the responsibility for the riots on the Jews, who, it was alleged, exploited the Russian peasants. He prepared extensive projects for the transfer of the Jews to Achal-Tekke, in the plains of central Asia, for settlement on the land. It was he who permitted the first wave of emigration from Russia to the West in 1881–82. Toward the close of his period of office he passed the "Temporary Regulations" which were ratified by Alexander III on May 2–3, 1882 (see *May Laws). These regulations sought to prevent the settlement of Jews in the rural regions of the *Pale of Settlement. As a result of public pressure, the czar was compelled to dismiss Ignatyev, replacing him by Count Dimitri Tolstoi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dubnow, Hist Russ, 3 (1920), index s.v. *Ignatyev, Nicholas Pavlovich*.

[Abraham N. Poliak]

IGNOTUS, HUGÓ (pen-name of **Hugó Veigelsberg**; 1869–1949), Hungarian author, journalist, and critic. Ignotus ("Unknown") was born and educated in Budapest. After publishing *A Slemil keservei* ("The Sorrows of Schlemiel") in 1891, he gained increasing recognition as a commentator on literary and political affairs. In *Nyugat*, the Hungarian literary journal which he founded in 1907 and edited for some years, Ignotus attacked conservative attitudes, gave active support to such important young writers as the poet Endre Ady, and established the modern Hungarian school of aesthetic criticism. He was also a pioneer in the literary exploitation of psychoanalysis. His works include a volume of verse, *Versek* (1895); stories entitled *Változatok a G-húron* ("Variations in G," 1902); the essays of *Kisérletek* (1910); *Ignotus verseiből* ("Poems of Ignotus," 1918); and *Ignotus novelláiból* (1918), a collection of short stories. Ignotus, whose reformist social and political outlook had brought him advisory appointments at both municipal and national levels, left Hungary when Béla Kun's Communists seized power in 1919 and thereafter moved from Switzerland to Berlin and Vienna, working as an editor or correspondent for democratic newspapers. In 1938 he returned to Budapest for a brief time, but moved to London later that year and from there went to the U.S. His literary career then came to an end. Ignotus was reconciled to the Communist regime in Hungary after World War II and returned to his birthplace shortly before his death.

His son, PÁL IGNOTUS (1901–1978), a convert to Christianity, was also a leading critic and liberal journalist in Hungary during the 1930s. Together with the poet Attila József, he founded *Szép Szó*, a literary and political journal which, from 1936, tried to unite all democratic and anti-Nazi elements in face of the Nazi peril. He was forced to take refuge in England in 1939 and, during World War II, worked for the BBC. He became press attaché at the Hungarian embassy in London after the war, but was recalled to Budapest in 1949 and, with other Social Democrats, spent seven years in prison on fabricated charges. Following the 1956 Hungarian revolution, Pál Ignotus again fled to London, where he edited the émigré periodical *Irodalmi Újság*. His works include *A horogkeresztes hadjárat* ("The Arrow-Cross Campaign," 1933), and two books which appeared in English: *Political Prisoner* (1959) and *The Paradox of Maupassant* (1967).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon*, 1 (1963), 491; *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon* (1929), 387; A. Komlós, *Ignotus válogatott irásai* (1969), 5–34.

[Baruch Yaron]

IGRA, MESHULLAM (Moses) BEN SAMSON (c. 1752–1802), Galician and Hungarian rabbi. The name Moses was added during a serious illness in 1799. Igra was born in Buczacz (Galicia) of an old rabbinical family which came from Kolomeyya. He was known in his youth for his talents and saintliness, preaching in the large synagogue of Brody when he was only nine. He studied in Brody from 1763–66 and married the daughter of Isaac Horowitz, rabbi of the combined communities of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck. In 1769, at the age of 17, he was appointed rabbi of Tysmenitsa, and his halakhic rulings on contemporary problems were widely sought after. Students streamed to him from all parts of Poland and Hungary, among them many who subsequently attained fame, such as Jacob *Lorberbaum of Lissa and Mordecai *Benet. In 1793 he was obliged to leave Tysmenitsa, partly because of his opposition to Ḥasidism which was spreading there, and he entered into a controversy with the Ḥasidim of Lemberg on his way to Pressburg, where he had been appointed rabbi. In the well-known dispute in which Raphael Kohen-Suesskind, rabbi of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck, was attacked by Saul *Berlin in his *Miẓpeh Yokte'el* (Berlin, 1789) Igra was asked to support Raphael Kohen-Suesskind, but he refused to interfere. However, he came out vehemently against Berlin when he published his *Besamim Rosh* (*ibid.*, 1793). Igra's halakhic works are among the most difficult of their kind, due to the rapid flow of his thoughts, the terseness of his style, and his inclination to association and allusion. As a result his works did not attain the popularity they merited. The first part of his novellae and comments on the Talmud *Igra Ramah* was

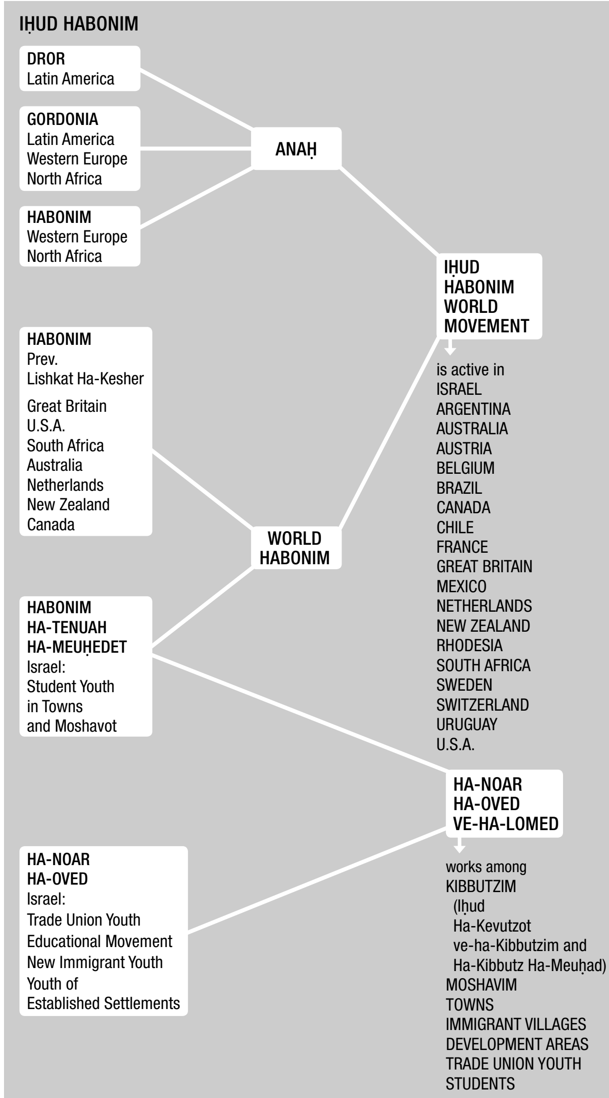
published in 1873, with the addition of a few responsa (1862, 1885); part two remains in manuscript as are his work on Maimonides and his sermons. Igra was succeeded in Pressburg by Moses *Sofer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.M. Chones, *Toledot ha-Posekim* (1910), 415ff.; S. Knoebil, *Gerem ha-Ma'alot* (1921–2); Z. Horowitz, *Kitvei ha-Ge'onim* (1928), 20, 101–13; Dubnow, Ḥasidut, 452ff.; Gelber, in: *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 6 (1955), index; Weingarten, *ibid.*, 7 (1960), 56ff.

IḤUD HABONIM, largest pioneering youth movement of the labor Zionist movement, founded in 1958 with headquarters in Israel. Iḥud Habonim was established by the amalgamation of various youth movements around the world. It was composed of what was formerly Iḥud ha-No'ar ha-Ḥaluẓi (ANAḤ) in Latin America, Western Europe, and North Africa (ANAḤ, in turn, was composed of Dror and *Gordonia in Latin America and Gordonia and Habonim in Western Europe and North Africa); World Habonim, which existed mostly in the English-speaking countries; and two Israel movements, Habonim Tenu'ah Me'uḥedet and No'ar Oved. In the mid-1960s, Iḥud Habonim had about 20,000 members throughout the world, and graduates of the movement and its predecessors had established 22 kibbutzim in Israel, all of which were affiliated with *Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim, and belonged to a number of moshavim. Groups of Habonim graduates have also settled on kibbutzim of the Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim that were not originally established by Habonim graduates.

The world secretariat of Iḥud Habonim was located in Israel and coordinated the movement's activities around the world. The supreme governing body of the movement was the *ve'idah* (convention), with representatives from every national movement. Much of its work was carried on by the *mo'aẓah olamit* (world council), which had the same representation on a smaller scale, and the *mazkirut olamit* (world secretariat), which had two representatives from every national branch and met three times a year. The most active branches of the governing bodies were the *mazkirut murḥevet* (enlarged secretariat), which met every three weeks, and the *mazkirut pe'ilah* (the executive), which was based in Tel Aviv and met weekly. The executive was headed by the general secretary. The governing bodies of Iḥud Habonim were responsible for such activities as the choosing and sending of emissaries to the various national movements, the coordination and planning of programs of work and study in Israel for members coming from abroad, the direction of new settlers to kibbutzim, etc. Iḥud Habonim also published two publications: *Binyan* and *Yesodot*.

In 1982 Habonim merged with the Dror youth movement three years after the amalgamation of their parent movements – Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim and *Ha-Kibbutz ha- Me'uḥad. With the decline of traditional kibbutz ideology, emphasis in the movement shifted to the creation of urban kibbutzim, and from the late 1990s Habonim-Dror members from around the world have associated themselves with such kibbutzim.



In Germany

Although Habonim in Germany ceased to exist at the end of World War II, and therefore did not survive to become part of Iḥud Habonim, the influence of this movement was substantial in both Europe and Palestine. Berit ha-Olim, formerly Jung Juedischer Wander-Bund, was founded in 1925 as a Zionist Socialist movement to educate its members toward *aliyah* and pioneering in Ereẓ Israel. Its first group of graduates, called Kibbutz Ḥerut, together with pioneers from Eastern Europe, founded kibbutz Givat Brenner within the framework of *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, from which Berit ha-Olim drew its inspiration. Another movement, Kadimah, which was the successor of *Blau-Weiss, the classical youth movement of German Zionism, was originally a Jewish national scouting movement that developed into a Zionist youth movement. Under the influence of the labor movement in Ereẓ Israel, particularly

the kibbutz movement, and the conditions in Nazi Germany, a merger was made between Kadimah and Berit ha-Olim in February 1933 to form Habonim-No'ar Ḥaluẓi, which incorporated 2,300 youth in tens of cities. In Berlin, a third pioneering youth movement, Arbeitskreis, joined the new merger in the same year, bringing the membership of Habonim to a high of over 1,000 in one metropolitan branch.

Until 1938 Habonim operated as an officially recognized youth movement, with its socialist character camouflaged. After all Jewish organizations had been outlawed in Germany, Habonim went underground, confining its activities ostensibly to vocational training of its members with a view to *aliyah*. Graduates of Habonim were the mainstay of *He-Ḥalutz, and, together with pioneers not organized in any movement, they established *hakhsharot* (training farms) in Germany, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg and temporarily also in France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Baltic countries. The intermediate age-group (14–16-year-olds) received practical training under the auspices of intermediate *hakhsharot*. Habonim also published a monthly that, for reasons of censorship, appeared under changing titles.

In Palestine, members of Habonim (the junior members as part of *Youth Aliyah) joined Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, which sent *sheliḥim* to Germany. Many members joined kibbutzim of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, even though Habonim did not officially become a part of this kibbutz trend. Habonim came to an end in Germany with the physical destruction of German Jewry.

[Ada Nachmani]

In Canada and the U.S.

Habonim in Canada and the United States was established in 1935 as the youth section of *Po'alei Zion, the *Farband, and *Pioneer Women. Its 3,000 members (1969) aged 10–21, are organized in 20 metropolitan branches, and younger groups are led by older members. Habonim also operates a countrywide network of ten summer camps, serving 1,500 children, modeled on the kibbutz. The program of the camps and metropolitan groups includes work, collective living, Hebrew language and culture, Jewish and Zionist history and values, and scouting. High school- and college-age students annually participate in a year program in Israel called the Youth Workshop, where they study and work on a kibbutz. Habonim also publishes two publications: *Ha-Boneh* and *Furrows*.

In addition to its educational program, Habonim has participated in and influenced the movement of liberal students fighting Nazi propaganda, the U.S. civil rights movement, and related activities. During World War II it served in the rehabilitation of *displaced persons. Later, Habonim supplied personnel for ships carrying "illegal" immigrants to Palestine, volunteers for Israel's War of Independence (1948), and nonmilitary aid following the Six-Day War (1967). Pioneering in Israel was considered the pinnacle of personal achievement for a movement member. Several settlements were established by Habonim graduates from Canada and the United States, including the kibbutzim Kefar Blum, Gesher ha-Ziv, and Urim and the moshavim Bet Ḥerut and Orot. The hub of the North American movement in the early 2000s was its seven summer camps and its programs in Israel.

[Saadia Gelb]

In Britain

Habonim in England was founded in London in 1928. By the time the handbook for leaders was published one year later, groups were already organized in East and West London and provincial centers. The program offered a carefully designed syllabus covering Jewish history, Hebrew, geography and knowledge of Ereẓ Israel, scouting, and athletics. The movement catered specifically to youth between the ages of 12 and 16 and cautiously avoided ties with any political or religious group, while encouraging adherence to Jewish values and traditions. The age of the members gradually expanded to 10–18. From its inception, Habonim identified itself with the building of Ereẓ Israel, and in 1932 it was officially designated a Zionist youth movement under the auspices of the British Zionist Federation. In the same year, a group of Habonim leaders established the British branch of He-Ḥalutz and began to prepare pioneers to live on collective settlements in Palestine.

During World War II, Habonim established hostels in various parts of the United Kingdom, issued publications, and established a corps of leaders who were not engaged in military service. At the end of the war, members in the armed forces and the Jewish Brigade, in particular, assisted Jewish survivors in Europe and their transport to Palestine. On the arrival of a Jewish unit from Palestine on the island of Malta in 1943, a Habonim group was established. In 1941 a contact office (*lishkat ha-kesher*), working out of Kefar Blum in Palestine, brought together members of Habonim from Britain, South Africa, India, Australia, and the U.S. The development of this office during the war years led to the establishment of World Habonim in the English-speaking countries to coordinate activities on a worldwide basis. Members of the British groups have settled mostly at Kefar ha-Nasi, Bet ha-Emek, and Ammi'ad.

[Wellesley Aron]

In Latin America

The beginnings of the movement that later merged with World Habonim to become part of Iḥud Habonim were in Argentina. In 1930 the first attempts were made to establish a movement by the name of Frayhayt, and afterward a movement called Yunge Skauten (Young Scouts) came into being. In 1934 the youth movement Dror, composed of the two above-mentioned groups, was formed. At the same time, another movement, Gordonia-Maccabi ha-Ẓa'ir, was founded. Both these movements were formed as a continuation of similar movements that had existed in Eastern Europe. They were established by immigrants to Argentina who wished to continue their movement activities in their country of immigration. Both movements developed in a parallel manner and merged in 1952 to form Iḥud ha-No'ar ha-Ḥaluẓi, which also existed in Europe and North Africa (see above). Iḥud Habonim, founded in 1958, had branches in Argentina (13 groups), Brazil (six groups),

Chile (one group), Mexico (two groups), and Uruguay (two groups), in addition to groups attached to Jewish schools. This included thousands of members, aged 9 to 22, who were divided according to age and educational groups.

The movement supported daily activities in its branches as well as national and international activities: summer and winter camps, educational and ideological seminars, conventions of graduates, etc. It also supported training programs for its members in Israel (Mexico and Brazil) and trained leaders through the auspices of the Institute for Youth Leaders Abroad of the Jewish Agency. Members of the movement who settled in Israel established the kibbutzim Or ha-Ner and Mefalsim and joined Beror Ḥayil, Nir Am, and Ḥaẓerim. A large number of members are scattered among the kibbutzim of the Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim.

[Eliezer Gluzberg]

In South Africa

Habonim was founded in Johannesburg in 1931 by Norman Lourie (d. 1978) and conducts a range of educational activities in South Africa mostly led by student counselors. Members of the South African groups settled in Israel mostly at Kefar Blum, Ma'ayan Barukh, and Yizre'el.

In Australia

Members of Habonim from Europe, especially England, were among those who founded the organization in Australia in 1940. It ran a wide range of activities including seminars and leadership courses. Its members in Israel are found at kibbutz Kefar ha-Nasi and also Yizre'el.

IḤUD HA-KEVUẒOT VE-HA-KIBBUTZIM, a federation of collective settlements in Israel founded in 1951 by the merger of the *Mapai-oriented kibbutzim, which seceded from *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, with the union of smaller collective settlements called Ḥever ha-Kevuẓot. (The latter also comprised the first villages of this kind founded by pioneers of the Second Aliyah before World War I.) The Iḥud is ideologically and politically the most moderate of the various kibbutz unions, allowing for more diversity in its members' outlook and way of life. It comprised over 80 collective settlements with a population of about 30,000 in 1970. In 1979 it reunited with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad to form Takam (the United Kibbutz Movement), which numbered 167 kibbutzim and 76,560 members in 1987. In 2000 the United Kibbutz Movement and *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir joined forces as "The Kibbutz Movement," representing 260 kibbutzim.

IJON (Heb. עִיּוֹן). (1) Israelite city on the northern border of Ereẓ Israel. It is possibly one of the localities written *ynw* or *ny* in the Egyptian Execration Texts (19th/18th century B.C.E.) and in the list of cities conquered by Thutmosis III (c. 1469 B.C.E., nos. 46, 86 or 95). In the Bible it appears in the list of cities captured by Ben-Hadad king of Aram at the time of his intervention, together with Dan, Abel-Bet-Maacah, etc., on behalf of Asa king of Judah against Baasha of Israel (c. 895 B.C.E.; I Kings 15:20; cf. II Chron. 16:4). It is mentioned again among the cities taken from Israel by Tiglath-Pileser III in his invasion of 733/2 B.C.E. In the description of the boundaries of the Holy Land as held by those returning from Babylonian captivity, it appears as Nikbatah de-Iyun (Sif. Deut. 51, and parallels). Early Arabic writers call it Qaryat al-ʿUyun. The city seems to have been abandoned in early Arabic times and it is recorded in 1347 only by the name of its plain, Marj al-ʿAyyūn, the southernmost part of the Lebanese al-Biqāʿ. Biblical Ijon is identified with Tell al-Dibbīn near the Ḥaẓbani source of the Jordan.

(2) One of the villages of the city of Hippos (Susitha) east of the Sea of Galilee (Tosef., Shev. 4:10; TJ, Dem. 2:1, 22d). Although inhabited by Jews, it was declared free from the obligation of paying tithes. This Ijon, to which the Execration Texts and inscriptions of Thutmosis III may also refer, is considered by some scholars to be the Ain on the eastern border of the Land of Canaan (Num. 34:11). It has been identified with ʿAyyūn, 2 mi. (3 km.) north of Hammat on the Yarmuk River.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Alt, in PJB, 29 (1933), 17ff.; Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 352; G. Posener, *Princes et Pays d'Asie et de Nubie* (1940), 74; Albright, in BASOR, 83 (1941), 33; 89 (1943), 14–15; Press, Ereẓ, 4 (1955), 695–6.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

IKOR, ROGER (1912–1986), French novelist. Ikor, whose parents were of Lithuanian origin, was born and educated in Paris, where he became a teacher. He published two undistinguished novels, *A travers nos déserts* (1950), and *Les grands moyens* (1951), before his best-known work, the two-part novel *Les fils d'Avrom* (1955, *The Sons of Avrom*, 1958), which comprises *La greffe de printemps* and *Les eaux mêlées*. This vast, naturalistic fresco of Jewish immigrant life in Paris during the early decades of the 20th century was awarded the Prix Goncourt. In it Ikor shows how the graceless, Yiddish-speaking newcomers integrated themselves, accepting the French way of life and customs. Ikor thus glorifies Jewish assimilation, not with excessive lyricism, but with a "reasonable" tone and perspective. He returned to the problem of assimilation in 1968 in the essay *Peut-on être juif aujourd'hui*? Here, in the face of the reality of the State of Israel and evidence of an awakening Jewish consciousness among Franco-Jewish intellectuals, he makes certain concessions to the "outdated folklore" of Judaism. A volume of Ikor's novellas, *Ciel ouvert*, appeared in 1959. A moderate socialist and a liberal writer of occasional brilliance, he undoubtedly marks a period in Franco-Jewish culture, but that period is the 19th century, clad in 20th-century garb.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Lehrmann, *L'Elément juif dans la littérature française* 2 (1961), 191–8.

[Arnold Mandel]

ILAI (c. 100 C.E.), *tanna*. His name is apparently an abbreviation of Eleazar. He is sometimes referred to as Ilai the Elder to distinguish him from an *amora* of the same name (Ḥag. 16a).

He was the father of the well-known *tanna* Judah b. Ilai, and his principal teacher was Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, and the Tosefta comments: "Because Judah was the son of Ilai, and Ilai the pupil of Eliezer, Judah teaches the Mishnah of Eliezer" (Tosef., Zev. 2:17). Ilai transmitted several statements of Eliezer, some in the latter's name (Er. 2:6), others anonymously (cf. Ḥal. 1:6; Tosef., *ibid.*, 1:6; et al.). He also studied under R. Joshua, R. Eleazar b. Azariah, and R. Ishmael (Tosef., Pe'ah 3:2; Git. 6b). Ilai is responsible for the *halakhah* that the laws governing the first fleece sheared from the sheep (Deut. 18:4) do not apply to countries outside Ereẓ Israel (Ḥul. 136a), and his view was adopted in Babylonia in the fourth century (*ibid.*, 136b). His aggadic statements include: "If a man sees that his evil inclination is getting the better of him, he should go to a place where he is unknown, put on black clothes, wrap himself in black garments, and do what his heart desires; but let him not publicly profane the Name of Heaven" (Ḥag. 16a). He also said: "A person's character can be told by three things: by his cup, by his purse, and by his anger" (*be-khoso, be-khiso, u-ve-kha'aso*; Er. 65b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mishnah, 139 f.; Hyman, Toledot, 142 f.; Epstein, Tanna'im, 67.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

ILAI (end of third and beginning of fourth century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. Ilai studied under R. Johanan in Tiberias and frequently transmits sayings in his name (Shab. 5a, et al.). He also studied under R. *Simeon b. Lakish (Shab. 28b, et al.), Eleazar (TJ, Ter. 2:1, 41b, et al.), Ammi and Assi (TJ, Git. 1:1, 43a, et al.), and others. His colleague Zeira called him "builder of the Torah" (TJ, Yoma 3:5, 40c). Among Ilai's pupils were Jonah and Jose (TJ, Ter. 2:4, 41d; TJ, Ket. 11:7, 34c), and also Ravin who brought Ilai's teachings to Babylon and also sent Palestinian *halakhot* to Babylon in his name (Er. 96a; BB 144b, et al.). It was Ilai who transmitted the saying: "In Usha it was enacted that none should disburse more than a fifth of his possessions to charity" (Ket. 50a). Most of his statements belong to *halakhah*; aggadic ones are few. It is related of him that in their conversations he and Abbahu would indulge in enigmatic sayings which was called "the language of wisdom" (Er. 53b). In illustration of his consideration it is related that on one occasion he stayed late at the *bet midrash* on Friday evening. When on returning home he found everyone asleep, rather than awaken the members of his household he spent the night in the open (TJ, Beẓah 5:2, 63a). He apparently lived for a time in Tyre (Av. Zar. 13b). He is referred to by different names: Ilai, Ilaa, Ila, Hilah, and La.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mevo, 75b–76a; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ILANIYYAH (Heb. אִילָנִיָּה), moshav in eastern Lower Galilee, Israel, about 5 mi. (8 km.) N. of Kefar Tavor, founded in 1899 by the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) as a training farm to promote grain cultivation in Jewish settlements. Through most of its history, Ilaniyyah was known by its popular Arabic name Sejera. Ilaniyyah became a moshavah in 1902. Among the settlers were Kurdish Jews and Russian converts to Judaism. In the first decade of the 20th century, Second *Aliyah immigrants worked there as hired laborers, organizing the *Ha-Shomer (Guardsmen Association) and attaining the right to guard the settlement in place of armed Arabs and Circassians formerly employed there. David *Ben-Gurion was among the Second Aliyah immigrants at Ilaniyyah. In 1907, Ha-Ḥoresh, the first collective group of agricultural laborers, was founded in the moshavah, with the aim of contracting for farm work, thus inaugurating collective labor and agriculture in modern Ereẓ Israel. The scarcity of water impeded the village's progress, and Ilaniyyah's economy was exclusively based on dry grain farming. In the Israel *War of Independence (1948), the practically isolated moshavah came under heavy Arab attack, but the siege was lifted after the conquest of neighboring Lūbiyā in "Operation Dekel" (July 1948). The nearly abandoned village was resettled in 1953 through the "Town to Country" movement, including Israel-born settlers and immigrants from Poland, Romania, and later from Morocco. As more water became available, part of Ilaniyyah's land was ceded to a new moshav, Sedeh Ilan. A youth center and school, "Ḥavvat ha-Shomer," were opened on the site of the original Ha-Shomer farm. Later on the school became a military base for soldiers with special training and education needs. The name Ilaniyyah, derived from Ilan (אִילָן, "tree"), is the translation of the name of the former Arab village, Sejera ("tree"). Its population in 1968 was 180, rising to 320 in the mid-1990s and 491 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ILF, ILYA (pseudonym of **Ilya Arnoldovich Fainzilberg**; 1897–1937), Soviet Russian author. Born in Odessa, Ilf tried various jobs before turning to journalism and then fiction. Most of his work was written in collaboration with the non-Jewish author, Yevgeni Petrov (pseudonym of Yevgeni Katayev, 1903–1942). The team ultimately achieved renown among Soviet literature's most successful humorists. Ingenious and whimsical, the works of Ilf and Petrov have been entertaining Soviet readers since their publication. The most famous are *Dvenadtsat stul yev* (1928; *The Twelve Chairs*, 1961) and its sequel *Zolotoy Telenok* (1931; *The Little Golden Calf*, 1961). Both follow the adventures of Ostap Bender, a Soviet crook and confidence man, as he travels throughout the U.S.S.R. outwitting gullible Communist bureaucrats and proletarian philistines. The quick-witted, irreverent Ostap Bender is one of Soviet literature's very memorable characters. *Odnoetazhnaya Amerika* (1936; *Little Golden America*, 1937) is an account of the two Soviet authors' safari through what they thought of as the land of the almighty dollar. The considerable comic gifts of Ilf and Petrov are displayed in sparkling dialogue and clever parodies of official jargon, but their artistic effectiveness is inevitably impaired by the ideological requirements foisted upon Soviet satire in general. Thus, while *The Twelve Chairs*

and *The Little Golden Calf* are propelled by such time-honored comic devices as the hidden treasure, the chase, the picture of widespread corruption, these are vitiated by patently false assertions that greed has already begun to disappear in the U.S.S.R. and that possessing large amounts of money in the U.S.S.R. is not only quite useless, but is indeed, a source of embarrassment. There are similar incongruities in their "Jewish" characters and situations. Some of the secondary characters happen to be Jewish and are amusing enough; for example, the pathetic Jewish immigrant from Russia who had come to *Little Golden America* in the vain hope of becoming rich. But when the authors begin to preach, their ideological bias proves fatal to their humor. Thus, in *The Little Golden Calf* an American-Jewish journalist is at first incredulous and then chagrined to learn that, while there are Jews in Soviet Russia, there is no "Jewish problem." The two Soviet authors are at pains to explain that, since he has devoted his life to writing about the "Jewish problem," the American newspaperman fears that this would leave him without a job. The fact is, however, that Ilf's and Petrov's denial of the "problem's" existence in the U.S.S.R. was contrary to the facts. In 1949, during the "struggle" with the cosmopolitans, they were strongly critized, removed from the official writers' lists, and forbidden to publish. The ban was lifted in 1956. Their novels were translated into more than 40 languages, and also filmed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O.G. Golubeva et al. (eds.), *Russkiye Sovetskiye Pisateli, prozaiki*, 2 (1964), 204–39.

[Maurice Friedberg]

ILFA (TJ: **Hilfai**; third century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. Ilfa attended the *bet midrash* of Judah ha-Nasi and studied under him and his pupils. His teacher in *halakhah* was *Judah b. Ḥiyya (Zev. 13b), and he transmitted the *beraitot* of Ḥiyya and Oshaya (Ta'an. 21a). Although R. Johanan was younger than Ilfa and transmitted *halakhah* in his name (Zev. 20a, et al.), as did Eleazar b. Pedat (TJ, Ma'as. 2:4, 49d), Ilfa is reported as having turned to Johanan in a question of *halakhah* (TJ, Naz. 6:10, 55c). It is related that he and Johanan were compelled to engage in business because of their great poverty; Johanan, however, returned to his studies and was appointed head of the yeshivah; when Ilfa later returned, they said to him: "Had you done likewise, you would have been appointed." Thereupon Ilfa suspended himself from the mast of a ship and announced: "If I am asked any *baraita* and cannot find an allusion to it in a Mishnah, I shall cast myself into the sea," and in fact he found all of them (Ta'an. 21a; TJ, Kid. 1:1, 58d). That he was exceptionally sharp-witted is also clear from the problems he raised (Zev. 20a; Ḥul. 69a; 53b, et al.). He was also an aggadist and is often quoted in the Midrash. Ilfa was renowned for his exceptional piety and it is related that when he led the congregation in prayer and recited, "Who causes the wind to blow and the rain to fall," his prayer was immediately answered (Ta'an. 24a). This piety also finds expression in his view of God's conduct of the world and His relationship with His creatures. In practice uncompromising truth should have been the standard governing the world, not merely in relations between man and his neighbor, but also in relations between man and God. However, due to their moral frailty men would not have been able to endure this. In consequence God substituted the attribute of charity for that of uncompromising truth (RH 17b). Ilfa gives an original interpretation of Ecclesiastes 1:3: "'What profit hath man of all his labor, wherein he laboreth under the sun?' – His labor is under the sun, and the reward accumulates for him above the sun" (Eccles. R. 1:3, no. 1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 150, s.v.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 180f.

[Attilio Milano]

°ILGEN, KARL DAVID (1763–1834), German Protestant classical philologist and Bible critic. Ilgen was rector of the Stadtschule in Naumburg from 1789 to 1794, professor in Jena from 1794 to 1802, and rector at Schulpforte from 1802 to 1830. He then resided in Berlin. His chief work is *Die Urkunden des jerusalemischen Tempelarchivs in ihrer Urgestalt, als Beitrag zur Berichtigung der Geschichte der Religion und Politik* (vol. 1, *Urkunden des ersten Buchs von Mose*; 1798, "The Documents of the Jerusalem Temple-Archive in Their Original Form as a Contribution to Correcting the History of Religion and Politics, vol. 1, Documents of the First Book of Moses"). Its aim is a history of ancient Israel, which can be attained only through a comprehensive critical treatment of the sources. (In this Ilgen's undertaking equals the contemporary work of B.G. Niebuhr on Roman history.) According to Ilgen, the Bible contains jumbled and distorted documents from the archives of the Temple, and it is the role of scholarship to restore and rearrange them. He numbered 17 fragmentary documents in Genesis which he related to three writers: Sofer Eliel ha-Rishon, Sofer Eliel ha-Sheni, and Sofer Elijah ha-Rishon. Their work had been combined by a redactor. Thus Ilgen modified the documentary hypothesis accepted by J.G. Eichhorn and others, according to which there were two documents in Genesis – one in which God's name is Elohim and the other in which it is YHWH – by asserting that there existed two Elohist documents. The possibility of a second "Jehovist" document remained an open question. This theory of three sources was accepted only after it was modified by H. Hupfeld in 1853. Ilgen's analysis of the Joseph story (Gen. 37–50) into two sources somewhat harmonized by a redactor was widely accepted.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Kaemmel, in: ADB, 14 (1881), 19–23 (incl. bibl.). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Rogerson, in: DBI, 1, 537–38.

[Rudolf Smend / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

ILIN, M. (**Ilya Yakovlevich Marshak**; 1895–1953), Russian author. An engineer by profession, Ilin was a prolific writer of children's books on technical subjects and was widely translated. His works include *Solntse na stole* (1927; *Turning Night into Day*, 1936), on electric lighting; *Rasskaz o velikom plane* (1930, 1936[6]; *Story of the Five-Year Plan*, 1932); *Gory i lyudi*

(1935; *Men and Mountains, Man's Victory over Nature*, 1935); and *Puteshestviye v atom* ("Journey into the Atom," 1948).

ILINTSY (in Jewish sources, **Linets**), town in Vinnitsa district, Ukraine. Jews started to settle there in the mid-17th century. By 1765 they numbered 386 persons. After its incorporation into Russia in 1793 it belonged administratively to the Kiev province. In 1790 the Jews numbered 423. In 1852 all of the town's 76 artisans were Jews. The community numbered 3,407 in 1847, 4,993 (49.7% of the total population) in 1897, and 5,407 (46.8%) in 1926. Before WWI almost all the shops belonged to Jewish merchants, among them were 36 textile stores, 19 groceries, and 11 stores for leather products. At this time there were six synagogues and a private school for boys in operation. Two pogroms, perpetrated by *Denikin's army, occurred in 1919. During the interwar period many Jews left Ilintsy, and by 1939 their number had dropped to 2,217 (total population 3,484). Many changes occurred in Jewish economic life at this time. The shopkeepers disappeared from the scene by the end of the 1920s and the artisans were forced to join cooperatives. Some of these cooperatives developed into garment and shoe factories. At the end of 1931 there were still 500 unemployed Jewish youngsters in the town. There existed a Yiddish school with about 250 pupils, and a Jewish local council operated in the 1920s.

Ilintsy was occupied by the Germans on July 23, 1941. They appointed a *Judenrat* and imposed a heavy fine in gold and silver on the Jews. At the end of August the Jews were concentrated in an open ghetto. In November 1941 Ukrainian police murdered 43 Jews and on April 24, 1942, 1,000 Jews were executed by the Germans. On May 27–28 another 700 Jews were murdered. In December the Germans burned down houses where Jews were hiding, shooting those who attempted to escape. The remaining Jews were sent to a labor camp on the outskirts of the town. Executions of individuals and groups occurred regularly. A small resistance group of 18 Jews was organized by David Mudrik, armed with two handguns, hand grenades, and knives. They escaped from the camp in August 1943 and organized a Jewish partisan company in the framework of the Second Stalin Brigade of the Vinnitsa district. Of the total force of 124 Jewish fighters, only 52 were armed. The town was liberated in 1944. In 1970 the Jewish population was estimated at approximately 100 (20 families). They had no synagogue. Most left in the 1990s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: PK, S.V.

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

"ILLEGAL" IMMIGRATION (**Aliyah Bet** or *ha'palah* – "resolute ascent"), the clandestine immigration of Jews to Ereẓ Israel. This kind of immigration began under Ottoman rule. From 1882 onward the Turks did not permit Jews from Eastern Europe, with rare exceptions, to settle in Palestine, allowing them only a few months' stay to visit the holy places, but many thousands of Jews infiltrated during the First and Second *Aliyah to lay the foundations of the new *yishuv*. The terms *Aliyah Bet* and *ha'palah* were coined during the British regime in the 1930s.

Between the World Wars

Britain was enjoined by Article 6 of the *Mandate for Palestine to "facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable circumstances," but the immigration quotas fixed by the Administration of Palestine failed to meet the pressure of pioneers seeking to settle in the country and Jews fleeing from distress and persecution, or the need to safeguard the future of the Jewish National Home. From time to time immigration was drastically cut or entirely halted. The *yishuv* and the Zionist Movement felt no compunction in circumventing official restrictions which they regarded as illegal violations of Britain's duty under the Mandate.

Jews who had failed to obtain immigration certificates sometimes mingled with the passengers on regular immigrant ships; others crossed the borders in the north with the aid of Jewish settlers in Upper Galilee. Some came as tourists or visitors to such events as the Maccabiah Games in 1932 and 1935, and stayed as unregistered, "illegal" residents. Fictitious deposits of 1,000 Palestine pounds were arranged to secure "capitalist" visas; girls entered on the strength of fictitious marriages with Palestinian citizens or residents of Palestine. According to the Peel Commission's report there were some 22,000 illegal immigrants in 1932–33.

The rise of Hitler increased the pressure for *aliyah*, and in 1934 the first organized efforts at clandestine immigration by sea took place. The *He-Ḥalutz movement chartered the Greek ship *Vellos* and with the aid of *Haganah members landed some 350 pioneers, but operations were suspended after a second attempt had failed for lack of experience. In 1937, when there were signs that Britain intended to halt immigration, *Revisionists and *Betar groups restarted the effort and in two years sent out several ships, which transported several thousand immigrants from Eastern Europe under the slogan *Af al pi* ("in spite of …"). Their success encouraged He-Ḥalutz to resume the organization of "illegal" immigration; several boats were dispatched, beginning with the *Poseidon* in 1938, and at first landed their human cargoes without incident. Late in 1938 the Mosad le-Aliyah Bet ("Organization for 'Illegal' Immigration" – in brief, the Mosad) was set up by the Haganah under the leadership of Shaul *Avigur (Meirov). After the Nazi conquest of Austria and Czechoslovakia, refugee boats were also organized by private individuals.

The Mandatory government did everything in its power to stop the stream of "illegal" immigrants, exerting pressure on other governments to prevent them leaving and dispatching patrol boats to track the ships from the moment of their departure till their arrival off the Palestinian coast. At a later stage (1940–48) radar stations were erected and aircraft employed to detect immigrant vessels on the open sea. Angered by the ruling power's policy, the *yishuv* staged protest demonstrations and strikes. When in May 1939 Britain published the White Paper restricting Jewish immigration to 10,000 per

annum, the Zionist leaders retorted by declaring clandestine immigration a prime means in the struggle for free *aliyah* and Jewish independence.

During World War II

During the war years, *ha'palah* became an operation for rescuing Jews from extermination. Small, rickety boats, sailing from Romanian and Bulgarian ports, some of them crammed with 2,000 passengers, continued to reach the shores of Palestine, where most of them were intercepted by the British. When at the end of 1940 several thousands of refugees arrived from Romania in three ships, the British decided to transfer them to *Mauritius. Some of them were put on board the *Patria* for deportation, and Haganah emissaries sabotaged the ship in Haifa harbor to prevent it leaving, but, through a tragic miscalculation, it sank and some 250 lives were lost. About 1,600 of the immigrants were deported and detained in Mauritius until the end of the war. Another refugee boat whose passengers were refused entry was the *Struma*, which sank in the Black Sea in February 1942 with the loss of all 769 persons on board except one. During most of the war years the Mosad organized clandestine immigration by overland routes, mainly from the Middle East.

After World War II

After the war large-scale operations at sea were resumed by the Mosad, the immigrants being mainly refugee survivors of European Jewry who had escaped by way of the *Beriḥah rescue operation and reached the shores of Italy, France, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Greece. Their passage was supervised by Mosad emissaries, the immigrants in most cases embarking at small, remote ports, and traveling under cramped conditions in densely packed vessels, most of which were unfit for passenger transportation. The Italians and others who at first constituted the crews of these ships were later joined by Palestinian and American Jews. The refugees were escorted by members of the Haganah and volunteers from the Diaspora, particularly from the U.S. The success of the operation was due in no small measure to the manner in which the refugees themselves, regardless of age or sex, willingly endured privation and danger, and to the total solidarity of the *yishuv* with the refugees. Haganah members and others received boats which arrived clandestinely at night at desolate places of the sea shore, carrying on their shoulders those who were unable to wade to the shore – the elderly, the sick, women, and children. Once on shore the refugees were immediately brought in buses and trucks to kibbutzim and having changed their clothes could not be recognized as such by the searching British police.

In the years from 1945 to 1948, 65 immigrant boats embarked for Palestine, all under the aegis of the Mosad, save for one boat dispatched by the Hebrew National Liberation Committee founded by Revisionists in the U.S. Most of these were intercepted by the British; among the few that succeeded in landing their passengers were the *Dalin* (August 1945), the *Hanna Szenes* (December 1945), and the *Shabbetai Lozinski*, which went aground on the rocks near Ashdod in March 1947, the immigrants mingling with hundreds of local residents who came to their rescue so that the authorities might not distinguish between them. Intercepted boats were impounded and the passengers transferred to a detention camp at Athlit, some of them later being released within the framework of the limited immigration quota. From August 1946 the British began deporting the clandestine immigrants to detention camps in *Cyprus, where 51,500 were kept under detention and 2,000 children were born. The detainees were by no means passive. They organized themselves and prepared for settlement in Ereẓ Israel with the aid of emissaries from there, learning Hebrew, and even undergoing military training. Seven hundred and fifty of the detainees, chosen by their own committees, were allowed to enter Palestine every month, the number being deducted from the official immigration quota, but the majority reached Israel only after independence, between May 1948 and February 1949.

The critical moment for all the immigrant ships was that of their interception by the British patrol boats, which were ready to attack if their orders were not obeyed. The methods of attack ranged from ramming the boats to using tear gas, batons, and, at times, firearms in order to overcome the immigrants' resistance. The men in charge had to decide on the measure of resistance to be offered, according to such factors as the age and condition of the passengers: sometimes the attackers were met with sticks, stones, and tins of preserves; generally, passive resistance was offered to the British soldiers, who dragged the immigrants to the deportation boats. Many were injured and several died in these encounters. Among the ships whose passengers offered the strongest resistance were the *Latrun* (October 1946), the *Keneset Yisrael* (November 1946), the *Chaim Arlosoroff* (February 1947), and the *Theodor Herzl* (April 1947). In March 1946 the British Army prevailed on the Italian authorities to prevent the departure from La Spezia harbor of the 1,014 refugees on board the *Dov Hos* and the *Eliyahu Golomb*; the immigrants reacted by declaring a hunger strike which aroused world public opinion and compelled Britain to permit the boats to reach Palestine.

Clandestine immigration was the spur to and a focal issue of the resistance movement against the "White Paper" regime. Mass demonstrations were held in Palestine on behalf of the refugees, frequently ending in bloody clashes with the military authorities. The Athlit internment camp was penetrated by a Haganah unit and internees released (October 1945); members of the *Palmaḥ sabotaged installations involved in the detention and arrest of clandestine immigrants, damaging British deportation boats and coastguard and radar stations.

The struggle for the right of free immigration reached its peak in summer 1947, when 4,515 refugees on board the *Exodus 1947* reached the shores of Palestine. After the fight with the British on board (three killed, 28 injured), the passengers were removed from the *Exodus* to three transports which took them to France, but the French government refused to take

them off the British deportation boat against their will, while the refugees themselves chose to endure the intense discomfort of their stifling cramped quarters in the summer heat rather than disembark. They were finally taken to Hamburg, where they were forcibly removed and transferred to a British internment camp in Germany. This incident aroused world opinion against Britain's policy of closing the gates of Palestine to survivors of the Holocaust. One of the last clandestine immigration operations was a convoy of two large boats, the *Pan York* and *Pan Crescent*, transporting more than 15,000 Jews, the majority from Romania, which left Bulgaria at the end of 1947 despite British and U.S. attempts to prevent their setting sail. The passengers were interned in the Cyrus detention camps.

Aliyah Bet came to an end with the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948. Of the clandestine immigrants' boats impounded at Haifa port, the best were selected and adapted to serve as the first warships of the Israel Navy. From the early days of the *Vellos* more than 115,000 Jews had reached Palestine by means of *Aliyah Bet* (about 105,000 of them under the auspices of the Mosad), and some 800 of them fell in the War of Independence.

FURTHER INFORMATION. Hitherto secret documents released by the British cabinet in January 1979 reveal that despite the strenuous efforts made by the British Mandatory government to stop the stream of "illegal" immigrants immediately prior to the establishment of the State, some British naval commanders ignored the orders and took steps to ensure that they reached Haifa safely, provided them with food and water and, after carrying out a token boarding inside Palestinian waters, piloted or towed them into harbor. Thus, when the engine of the *Sylvia Starita* broke down, a British destroyer, the *Marauder*, towed it into the harbor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.M. Mardor, *Strictly Illegal* (1964), chs. 7–12; J. and D. Kimche, *Secret Roads* (1954); B. Habas, *Ha-Sefinah she-Niẓẓeḥah* (1948); idem, *Gate Breakers* (1963); M. Basok (ed.), *Sefer ha-Ma'pilim* (1947); H. Lazar, *Af Al Pi* (Heb., 1957); Dinur, Haganah, 2 pt. 3 (1964[2]), index s.v. *Ha'palah*; D. Niv, *Ma'arekhot ha-Irgun ha-Ẓeva'i ha-Le'ummi*, 2 (1965), 129–63; 3 (1967), 67–71, 321–34; J. Derogy, *La loi du retour; la secrète et véritable histoire de l'Exodus* (1968).

[Yehuda Slutsky]

ILLÉS, BÉLA (1895–1974), Hungarian author and editor. Illés, a political commissar during the Communist revolution of 1919, fled to the U.S.S.R. After World War II, he was a leading organizer of Soviet literary life. His works include *Kárpáti rapszodia* ("Carpathian Rhapsody," 1950), which portrays the life of simple Jews, and *Harminchat esztendő* ("Selected Writings," 1956).

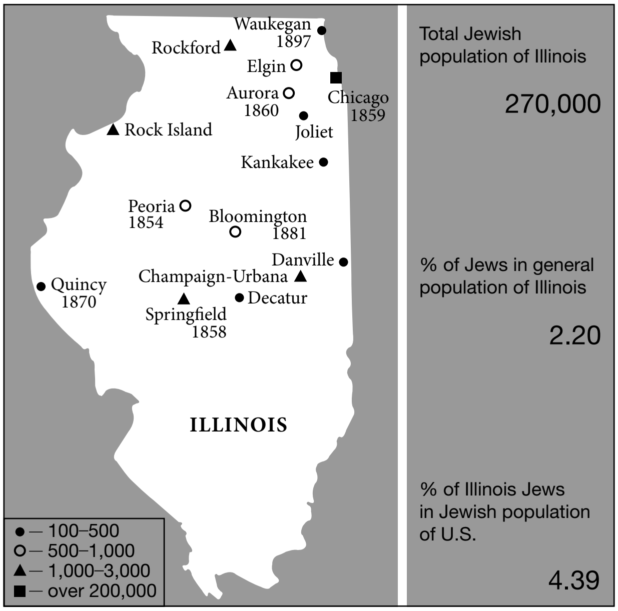
ILLESCAS, town in Castile, central Spain. Like those in nearby *Toledo, Jews in Illescas were landowners and worked vineyards and olive groves. In 1342 the archbishop of Toledo ordered that the produce and wine of the Jewish-owned land in Illescas as well as the lands themselves should be confiscated as they had been acquired illegally. The community was attacked in the anti-Jewish riots of 1391, and this is mentioned in *Shevet Yehuda* of Solomon ibn Verga. Subsequently, however, the community recovered. The annual tax paid by the community was raised to 800 maravedis in 1474 and the tax levied for the war against Granada amounted to 80 gold castellanos. A communication sent in October 1492 by Ferdinand and Isabella shows the difficulties which the Jews encountered when they left Illescas following the edict of expulsion from Spain (1492). Intending to go to the port of Cartagena in order to sail to Fez and Tlemcen (Morocco) they had been robbed on the way of assets estimated at 12,000 castellanos by the men they had hired for protection. The document directs that the money should be confiscated for the crown. Many Conversos from Illescas were subsequently tried by the Inquisition in Toledo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Urkunden, index; Fita, in: *Boletin de la Academia de la Historia, Madrid*, 7 (1885), 130–40; Suárez Fernandez, Documentos, index; Pagis, in: *Tarbiz*, 37 (1968), 355–73.

[Haim Beinart]

ILLINOIS, Middle West state of the U.S.; general population 12,713,634 (est. 2004), Jewish population 280,000, all but 20,000 of whom lived in and around *Chicago. Early land-development companies included Jewish partners resident in the East. However, the first known permanent Jewish resident was John Hays, grandson of an early New York Jew, who settled in Cahokia in 1793. Farmer, trader, and soldier, Hays served as the county's postmaster until 1798, when he was appointed sheriff. The only other Jew known to have been in Illinois before it became a state in 1818 was Joseph Phillips, a veteran of the War of 1812, who was named secretary of Illinois Territory in 1817. The most prominent Jew in the early days of Illinois was Abraham *Jonas, who moved to Quincy in 1838 from Cincinnati, Ohio. In 1842 he was elected to the Illinois legislature, where he met Abraham Lincoln, of whom he became a lifelong friend and political ally. Another early Jewish settler outside of Chicago was Captain Samuel Noah, the first Jewish graduate of West Point, who taught school at Mount Pulaski in Logan County in the late 1840s.

Jews first settled in Chicago in the 1830s. The oldest Jewish community outside of Chicago is Peoria, where the first Jews arrived in 1847. A benevolent society was organized in 1852 and the first congregation, Anshai Emeth, was formed in 1859. Jews settled in Springfield around 1850. The first arrivals were Julius, Edward, and Louis Hammerslough, merchants, whose firm was established in 1855. One of their employees was Samuel Rosenwald, who was born in Springfield in 1862 (see *Rosenwald) and was the father of Julius Rosenwald, the mail-order tycoon and philanthropist. Julius Hammerslough was a friend of Lincoln, whom he visited often at the White House. He was also the first president of Springfield's first synagogue, Brith Sholom, founded in 1858. Jews first went to Cairo in 1863 during the Civil War, when the town was the headquarters of General Ulysses S. Grant. Jewish settlers named Oppenheimer and Abendheimer were the pioneers, followed



Jewish communities in Illinois, with date of establishment of the first synagogue. Population figures for 2001.

by A. and David Marks. There were also Jews in Rock Island in the 1850s. Other early Jewish settlements were at Aurora, 1860; Moline, 1866; Bloomington, 1875; East St. Louis, 1888; Granite City, 1891; Centralia, 1894; and Waukegan, 1897.

The first B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation was established at the University of Illinois in Urbana in 1923 by Rabbi Benjamin F. Frankel, whose family was among the Jewish pioneers of Peoria. By 1960, 40% of the families in Niles Township (Skokie and surrounding areas) were Jewish. The Niles Township Jewish Congregation, founded in 1959, was the first of what soon became a network of Jewish communal and religious institutions in the area, including a Jewish community center. The town of Park Forest, a southern Chicago suburb, whose Jewish settlement began in the 1950s, was the first large community ever planned by private enterprise. Philip M. *Klutznick was president of the company that developed it. Many other suburbs of Chicago also have substantial Jewish communities, most of their members having moved from Chicago itself. The earliest communities dating from the 1930s are Winnetka, Glencoe, Highland Park, Evanston, and Oak Park. By the late 1960s there were at least 16 other suburban communities.

Beyond the Chicago metropolitan area the Jewish population in the mid-1990s of Champaign-Urbana was approximately 1,500, of Springfield was approximately 1,060, of Rockford was approximately 1,000, of Peoria was approximately 1,000, of Elgin was approximately 600, of Aurora was approximately 500, of Waukegan was approximately 400, of Bloomington was approximately 230, of Decatur was approximately 140, of Kankakee and Danville was approximately 100 each, and of Quincy was approximately 105.

There were also 2,000 Jews widely scattered in the 63 towns and cities of southern Illinois, which united for communal purposes in the Southern Illinois Jewish Federation. The largest Jewish communities represented in this federation are Aurora, Belleville, East St. Louis, Cairo, Alton, Centralia, Carbondale, Granite City, Benton, Mattoon, and Robinson. The communities Champaign, Decatur, Peoria, and Springfield joined forces in 1969 in the Central Illinois Jewish Federation.

Illinois had two Jewish governors: Henry *Horner, elected in 1932 and reelected in 1936, and Samuel H. *Shapiro of Kankakee, who succeeded to the governorship in May 1968 after serving eight years as lieutenant governor but was defeated in the November elections. Illinois has sent several Jews to Congress, including Sidney Yates who served for almost half a century and was the dean of the Jewish Congressional Delegation. He lost on his one attempt to run for the Senate in 1952. The earliest Jewish mayors were William Eppinger of Jacksonville (1880–90) and Morris Saddler of Saddler, which was named for him (1880–86).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.A. Gutstein, *A Priceless Heritage* (1953); P.P. Bregstone, *Chicago and Its Jews* (1933); S. Rawidowicz (ed.), *The Chicago Pinkas* (1952); B. Postal and L. Koppman, *A Jewish Tourist's Guide to the U.S.* (1954), 138–61.

[Bernard Postal / Ben Paul (2nd ed.)]

ILLOWY (**Illovy**, **Illawy**, **Illoway**, **Jilovy**, **Jilovsky**, **Illafsky**), family in Bohemia-Moravia. The first known by this name was SAMUEL (d. 1695), who went from Ilava in western Slovakia to Uhersky Brod, Moravia, as a *shammash*. His son JACOB (also d. 1695) settled in Bratislava, supplying Samuel *Oppenheimer in Vienna with fish for the imperial court. He was murdered while traveling. PHINEHAS (d. c. 1759), a pupil of the Bratislava yeshivah, was rabbi of the Oppenheimer family synagogue and official Hebrew translator for the government. He returned to Uhersky Brod around 1732 and added Broda to his name. His son JACOB (d. 1781) was rabbi in *Kolin from 1746 until his death. Another of his sons, SOLOMON, settled in Prostejov where his son, Feith *Ehrenstamm, established the textile industry. JACOB LOEB, who settled in Kolin, was the father of Bernard *Illowy, the Orthodox leader in the U.S. RUDOLF ILLOVY (d. 1943), Czecho-Jewish publicist, also a member of this family, died in Theresienstadt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Illovy, in: *Kalendář česko-židovsky* (1930/31), 18–37.

[Meir Lamed]

ILLOWY, BERNARD (1812–1871), Orthodox rabbi and scholar. Illowy was born in Kolin, Bohemia. He was ordained by R. Moses Sofer of Pressburg; mastered Hebrew at the rabbinical school in Padua, Italy; and received a Ph.D. at the University of Budapest. Thoroughly educated in Latin, Greek, Italian, French, and German, Illowy taught languages at the College of Znaim. In 1848 he delivered addresses to revolutionary forces passing through Kolin and, consequently deprived of holding rabbinic office, he emigrated to the U.S. Illowy, the only Orthodox rabbi of his time in the U.S. to have a doctorate, adduced scientific proofs in polemics and

responsa that he issued from the seven different communities he served – New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Syracuse, Baltimore, New Orleans, and Cincinnati. He fiercely opposed such Reform leaders as Wise, Lilienthal, Einhorn, and Kalisch and stressed Orthodox observance in his sermons and in his many articles in the Anglo-Jewish press. His *Sefer Milḥamot Elohim, Being the Controversial Letters and the Casuistic Decisions… With a Short History of His Life and Activities By His Son, H. Illoway* appeared in 1914. Illowy's son, HENRY ILLOWAY (1848–1932), was a noted U.S. physician, pioneer in gastroenterology, and author of medical texts. He also wrote polemical papers opposing Reform Judaism and articles on medical aspects of the Talmud.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Davis, *Yahadut Amerikah be-Hitpatteḥutah* (1951), 323.

[I. Harold Sharfman]

ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS, HEBREW.

This entry is arranged according to the following outline:

Hebrew Illumination in Hellenistic Times

It is impossible to state with any degree of certainty when the tradition of the illuminated Hebrew manuscripts began. The oldest extant specimens are from the Muslim world of the tenth century, but it is possible that the practice commenced in an earlier period. It may well be, in fact, that the illumination of Hebrew manuscripts goes back even as far as the Hellenistic period, although no specimens have survived.

Archaeological discoveries have revealed that in the Roman period, synagogues in the Land of Israel were adorned with mosaic floors that incorporated not only decorative elements and animal figures, but also representations of biblical scenes and personalities. In the third-century synagogue at *Dura-Europos wall paintings depicted many scenes from the Bible. According to some, the Dura-Europos paintings were based on images that adorned manuscript texts of the Bible.

The earliest extant Christian illuminated manuscripts of the Bible, such as the so-called *Vienna Genesis*, are of Old Testament books, and are conjectured by some scholars to have been based on Jewish prototypes. It is significant too that the favorite topics for early Christian religious art, in churches and catacombs, and on sarcophagi and small objects, were based on Old rather than New Testament subjects (the sacrifice of Isaac, the story of Jonah, and so on) again perhaps suggesting Jewish prototypes, and it is noteworthy that precisely these subjects reemerge (rather than emerge) as favorite topics in the Jewish manuscript and religious art of the Middle Ages. Christian illuminated Bible manuscripts in the Middle Ages often elaborate the plain narrative with materials reflecting rabbinic legend; and it is not known whether this resulted from an antecedent Jewish art or from the common store of medieval religious folklore. An illustration in the seventh-century Latin *Ashburnham Pentateuch* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Nouv. Acq. Lat. 2334, fol. 6) shows Adam and Eve dressed in animal skins, standing under a booth which, according to the Jewish Midrash, had been built for them by God. Jewish legends appear as early as the third century, on the walls of the Dura-Europos Synagogue.

Furthermore, there are certain motifs in the illuminated medieval Hebrew Bibles – a tradition going back to the 10th or 11th century – which seem to carry on the artistic tradition of antiquity, reflected both in the early Jewish monuments of the classical period on the one hand, and in Christian illuminated codices on the other. The outstanding example of this is the conventional representation of the sanctuary and its vessels, which are represented also in the seventh-century Latin *Codex Amiatinus* (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ms. Amiat. 1). There are indications that the conventional figure of the Evangelist and the beginning of early Latin and Greek texts of the Gospels may also have a Jewish antecedent. Indeed, the *Codex Amiatinus* shows not an Evangelist but Ezra the scribe, apparently wearing the Jewish phylactery, a feature hardly imaginable in a Christian archetype. The Hellenistic Jewish biblical illustrations need not have been attached to a complete Hebrew Bible. It is probable that they illustrated a narrative paraphrase, including many legends, of some books of the Bible, like the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Kings. The paraphrase may have been in Greek, Aramaic, or Latin, and not necessarily in Hebrew, somewhat like *Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*.

J. *Gutmann in 1966 opposed the hypothesis of the existence of Hebrew illuminated manuscripts in antiquity by stressing that none survived and by pointing out the fact that the *Church Fathers were conversant with midrashic literature and used Jewish legends in their writings. Christian artists, however, may have obtained their models from Jewish illuminated paraphrased Bibles, since lost. Jewish wanderings, coupled with the wholesale destruction of Hebrew books, may be responsible for the disappearance of the entire body of evidence. Another adverse element might have been the periodic triumph among the Jews of anti-iconic principles.

Some literary evidence of Torah scrolls adorned with gold letters may indicate their existence in antiquity. The Letter of *Aristeas, describing the translation of the Bible by the 72 sages (the Septuagint) states that among the gifts brought to King Ptolemy was a scroll of the Law written entirely in

gold. According to the Talmud (Shab. 103b) "… if one writes the [Divine] Name in gold, they [the scrolls] must be hidden." This prohibition suggests that Torah scrolls decorated in this fashion did exist. The tractate *Soferim* (1:8) mentions an instance of a Torah scroll belonging to the Alexandrians in which the Names of God were written in gold throughout. Unfortunately, none of the biblical manuscripts found among the *Dead Sea Scrolls contains any decorations.

While there is no conclusive evidence for the existence of Hebrew illuminated manuscripts during the Hellenistic period, there is definite indication of their existence in the Near East as early as the tenth century, although the exact dates of their origin are not known. In Europe, the earliest surviving Hebrew illuminated manuscripts stem from 13th-century Germany. By the end of the 15th century, the invention of printing caused the decline of all manuscript production and decoration, including Hebrew, although thereafter a few schools of Hebrew illumination continued to appear, the most important of them in Central Europe in the 18th century.

Character of Hebrew Manuscript Illumination

Throughout its history, the style of Hebrew illuminated manuscripts was dependent on contemporary schools of illumination in each region in which they were produced. Thus, the Oriental school is similar to the Islamic or Persian schools in style as well as motifs, while each of the European regional schools has stylistic and decorative elements directly influenced by the illumination of Latin, Greek, or vernacular manuscripts of the period. At times the art found in decorated Hebrew manuscripts, especially when executed by a scribe rather than a skilled artist, was carried out in a manner that was no longer employed by the dominant culture. Even so, this cannot be considered a Jewish style. The art found in decorated Hebrew manuscripts was a reflection of the art of the region in which it was produced, even if it continued to be based on older models.

The names of a few illuminators are known to us from their colophons, such as *Joseph ha-Ẓarefati, the artist of the *Cervera Bible*, completed in 1300 (Lisbon, Bibliotheca Nacional, Ms. 72) and Joseph *Ibn Ḥayyim, the artist of the *Kennicott Bible*, copied in 1476 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Kennicott 1) (see *Bible: In the Arts). Another Sephardi artist, Joshua b. Abraham ibn Gaon, a masorator and illuminator, specialized in adding illuminated calendars and carpet pages to Bibles (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale hébreu 20 and 21). The most famous Ashkenazi scribe/artist was *Joel b. Simeon, who was active in Germany and Italy in the second half of the 15th century. Other names appear in contracts for book illuminations. In one such example, from Palma de Majorca in 1335, Asher Bonnim Maymo undertakes to copy and illuminate a Bible and two books by Maimonides for David Isaac Cohen. In the 15th century a Portuguese Jew, Abraham *Ibn Ḥayyim, compiled a treatise on the art of illumination. Most of the scribe/artists of the 18th-century schools of Central Europe are known by name.

The Second Commandment, prohibiting the making of "graven images," was usually interpreted as a restriction against creating art for idolatrous purposes. In the case of illuminated manuscripts produced for Jews in the Middle Ages, when the decorators eschewed representational art, it was mainly the result of the stricter attitude of their general environment. For instance, the Jews in Muslim countries refrained from depicting human figures in sacred books because of the Islamic prohibition against such illustrations. A further example of restricted representation of the human form developed in Germany during the 13th century. Perhaps under the influence of the ascetic Christian movement in the south of Germany and northern Italy during the 12th and 13th centuries, a similar asceticism developed among Jews. In many manuscripts human figures were no longer depicted in their entirety, but with distorted features, blank faces, or with the head of an animal or a bird. Although pagan, Christian, or Islamic in origin, animal-headed figures became one of the main Jewish motifs in south German Hebrew illumination of the 13th and 14th centuries. However, R. *Meir of Rothenburg, the leader of the Jewish communities in Germany at the end of the 13th century, disapproved of illustrating prayer books because of the distraction the illustrations might cause the reader, rather than because the art was prohibited.

Another characteristic aspect of Hebrew illuminated manuscripts was a direct outcome of the absence of capital letters in Hebrew script. In place of the large initial letters of non-Semitic languages, which lend themselves to decoration, in Hebrew manuscripts initial words were often written in large display script and were frequently embellished with decorative panels. At times whole verses were embellished, as in decorated Arabic Korans. This approach continued throughout the Middle Ages in Europe as well as in the Near East.

Another element common in the decoration of Jewish manuscripts was the use of micrography (minute script) to form geometrical or floral designs often surrounding a page of conventional script or forming a whole carpet page. The most common examples are the marginal lists of irregularities in writing, spelling, and reading the Bible which constitute the so-called masorah magna. In Oriental and Spanish Bibles, the masorah is written in micrography in decorated carpet pages, and masoretic micrography outlines the design, for example, of the Oriental *Second Leningrad Bible* (St. Petersburg, Public Library, Ms. B19a), the *Damascus Keter* from Spain (Jerusalem, Jewish National and University Library, MS Heb 40790), and the *Lisbon Bible* from Portugal (London, British Library, Or. Ms. 2626–2628). In Ashkenazi Bibles the masoretic micrography decorates initial-word panels as well as the margins of text pages. Unlike Oriental and Spanish Bibles, the micrographic decorations contain animals and hybrid forms, and sometimes text illustrations; e.g., the *Duke of Sussex Pentateuch* (London, British Library Add MS 15282) copied ca. 1300.

The decoration found in Jewish manuscripts was often inspired by biblical scenes or by legendary episodes based on midrashic commentaries on the Bible. Some of these episodes,

e.g., Abraham being thrown into the fire of the Chaldeans by order of King Nimrod, appear simultaneously in far-removed areas, as in the *Golden Haggadah* (British Library, Add Ms. 27210) from Spain and the *Leipzig Maḥzor* from Germany (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. v. 1102), perhaps indicating the existence of an earlier common European prototype.

The *iconography of some subjects is specifically Jewish, as distinct from the Christian or Islamic representations. For instance, in Christian art, a picture of the creation of the world will include the image of the Creator. In a Jewish work, however, only the Hand of God or rays will indicate the Divine presence, as in the *Sarajevo Haggadah* (Sarajevo, Bosnian National Museum). Jewish customs and rituals are depicted in many liturgical manuscripts; a favorite subject was the implements of the *Temple.

As the illumination in Jewish manuscripts is directly related in style to the general schools of illumination, it serves as an important link with the history of non-Hebrew illuminated manuscripts. Moreover, in areas where the only dated illuminated manuscripts are Hebrew, this may become important evidence for dating and placing a certain style. For example, the *Copenhagen Moreh Nevukhim* (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Cod. Heb. 37), copied in Barcelona in 1348, helps in dating other manuscripts and paintings from Catalonia.

Materials and Techniques

Most Hebrew manuscripts were written on animal skin. The finest calfskin vellum, called "uterine vellum," came from embryos and stillborn calves. It was more expensive and therefore used only for the most costly manuscripts. Usually both sides of the parchment were used, except for the full-page miniatures of the Sephardi *Golden Haggadah* (British Library, Add MS 27210) and the *Sarajevo Haggadah* (Sarajevo, Bosnian National Museum), for which the artists of the cycle of biblical scenes used only the flesh side, leaving the hair side blank. Sometimes, especially in the Orient, paper was used for writing and decorating.

Most of the colors were derived from vegetable and animal extracts, with the more durable ones created from a mixture of ground minerals or colored stones. The binding medium, which enables the pigments to adhere to a surface, might be a mixture of egg or gum, such as gum Arabic. Gold and silver were usually applied in the form of a thin leaf, in which case it was the first element of color to be affixed. Often it was applied on a raised ground of gesso that was sometimes mixed with a colorant such as bole. The metallic leaf was often burnished and could be decorated by tooling. Gold pigment, known as shell gold, was made from a powdered form of the metal that could be painted on as an ink. The volume and texture of colors differed from one school to the other and from one period to the next, generally reflecting the local school of illumination. To a large degree the scribe determined the eventual decoration of the page, as he planned the layout of the text and provided blank spaces for the inclusion of initial word panels, text illustrations, and other types of ornamentation. The *Prato Haggadah* (New York, Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, MS 9478), a manuscript whose decoration was never completed, exhibits the various stages of illumination, from the placement of the preparatory drawings executed in brown ink, to the application of bole, gold leaf, and finally, pigments of various colors. In decorated Bibles, the masorator was usually responsible for most micrographic decoration. Joshua Ibn Gaon, the scribe, vocalizer, and illuminator, signed his name in the wings of a dragon drawn in micrographic masorah (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale hébreu. 20 fol. 69).

The main schools of illumination, Oriental, Spanish, German, French, and Italian, are treated below. For a fuller description of particular types of manuscript art, see *Bible, **Haggadah*, **Ketubbah*, and **Maḥzor* (sections on illuminated manuscripts).

Oriental School

The earliest-known school of surviving Oriental Hebrew illuminated manuscripts dates from the tenth century and probably originated in the Near East. An offshoot of this school developed in Yemen during the 15th century.

Examples of the various Oriental styles from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries exist in Hebrew manuscripts. In most cases of dated manuscripts, the style corresponds to Islamic art of the same period. The geometrical interlacing interwoven with foliage scrolls and palmettes typical of Arabic Koran decoration may also be found in the Hebrew Bible manuscripts. In the tenth century, the delicately gold-tinted open flowers seen from above, arranged one next to the other within undulating scrolls to form a rhythmic pattern, are the most typical decoration in carpet pages of Korans and Bibles alike. Light blue, green, and red, which fill the background of the palmette motifs, are similarly common, e.g., the two carpet pages in a tenth century fragment of a Hebrew Pentateuch written in Arabic characters (London, British Library, Or. Ms. 2540). In the 11th and 12th centuries, dark outlines were applied to the interlacings and flowers, usually on a panel of gold background decorated with deeper colors, as may be seen clearly in the 1008 or 1010 *Second Leningrad Bible* (St. Petersburg, Public Library, Ms. B. 19a). By the 14th century, there was a decline in the art of Hebrew illumination in the Near Eastern schools although the schools producing Judeo-Arabic manuscripts continued to flourish.

The Yemenite school, surviving examples of which date from the end of the 14th century and later, developed to its fullest capacity only in the second half of the 15th century. Yemenite Bibles were embellished with floral carpet pages and micrography in geometrical forms (e.g., London, British Library, Or. Ms. 2350 of 1408 and Or. Ms. 2348 of 1469). These Bibles contain no text illustrations, but the decorations on the text pages are similar to, and probably derived from, the earlier Oriental type. Roundels bearing palmette motifs and other floral designs were used as fillers for incomplete lines or as section indicators (e.g., London, British Library, Or. Ms. 2348 of

1469). Oriental illumination has some distinguishing features. First, there is a complete lack of human figures and a paucity of text illustrations. The Oriental type of floral and geometric decoration in carpet pages and panels is the most distinctive element of Hebrew illuminated manuscripts from the Near East. Although the motifs and the idea of carpet pages in Hebrew Bibles may derive from Islamic illumination, the Jewish workshops developed their own characteristically Jewish version. This, in turn, may have influenced other schools of illumination in Europe. Most of the illuminated manuscripts of Oriental origin are Bibles, although there are also some children's primers, decorated marriage contracts (*ketubbot*), and a few fragments of liturgical and scientific books. Of the illuminated Bibles, only a few are complete manuscripts. These sometimes contain colophons giving the date and place of execution, the name of the scribe, and the patron for whom they were made, as in the *Second Leningrad Bible* (St. Petersburg, Public Library, Ms. B. 19a). In most cases these sumptuously decorated Bibles belonged to the *Karaite communities in Palestine and Egypt. Decorative elements similar to those in Bibles adorned small booklets containing single *parashiyyot* of the Pentateuch. The *Parashat Shelaḥ Lekha* manuscript of 1106–07 (Jerusalem, Jewish National and University Library, Ms. Heb. 80 2238) is the most complete example of such a booklet. It has carpet pages at the beginning and at the end, its colophon page is framed, and the masorah is written in decorative forms. The head of the first two text pages is decorated with gold bars, while roundels and palmette motifs indicate the minor sections of the *parashiyyot*. The scribe Isaac ben Abraham ha-Levi specifies in the colophon that he wrote, vocalized, and masorated the work.

From the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, books for teaching children the alphabet were also decorated. The letters were outlined in ink and filled with different colors. After the colored and vocalized letters, there followed a section of the Pentateuch, usually Leviticus 1:1–7, which was regarded as the most suitable text for a child's initial study. An opening carpet page was usually added to these books, denoting their distinct relation to the Bible. One example in the Cambridge University Library (TS.K. 5.13) depicts the seven-branched *menorah* on its opening carpet page. Liturgical books were also decorated in the Near East. The *Haggadah* conventionally had illustrations of the round *maẓẓah* wafer and the *maror*. Initial words sometimes were written in a special way, as in the *piyyut* of "*Dayyeinu*" ("It Would Have Sufficed"), in which the repeated initial word in each verse is written one beneath the other to form a decorative column (Cambridge TS, 324). Some fragments of decorated scientific books originating in the Near East have survived; they have geometrical and floral motifs, with colored roundels, squares, foliate scrolls, and ornamental script used as section headings and line fillers (Cambridge TS, Arab. 11/31).

A different approach to decorating Jewish manuscripts is found in books produced in Persia at a somewhat later date. Judeo-Persian (the Persian language written in Hebrew characters) manuscripts copied in the 17th century included many figural scenes. These works, biblical epics based on texts written in the 14th to the 16th centuries, reflect the style of miniature painting from Persia.

Spanish Illumination

The Spanish and Provençal schools of Hebrew illumination reached their peak during the 14th century. The style and iconography of the Spanish school derive from both the Orient and the Occident. While the existing Spanish illuminated manuscripts belong to the period of the Christian Conquest, some reveal a strong link with the Oriental type of illumination. Spanish Bibles have decorative elements commonly found in Oriental Bibles, such as carpet pages, the Temple implements, micrography, decorated *parashot* indicators, and, at the end of each book, ornamental frames indicating the number of verses. There is a theory that these elements were assembled and modified from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries in Hebrew manuscripts of Muslim Spain. Since no Spanish Hebrew illuminated manuscripts of this period have survived, this assumption cannot be verified. The few existing dated Hebrew manuscripts from the Iberian Peninsula are mainly Bibles. They are stylistically so different from the illustrated *Haggadot* and from the non-illustrated liturgical, legal, and scientific books that it is very difficult to make a comparative study.

A Bible penned by Menahem bar Abraham ibn Malik in Burgos in 1260 (Jerusalem, Jewish National and University Library 40 790) displays an early example of Sephardi Bible decoration. Ornamental carpet pages appear before the beginning of the Pentateuch, Prophets, Hagiographa, and Psalms, and at the end of the manuscript. The symmetrical decorations are similar in style to ornamentation found earlier in manuscripts and architecture from the Near East. Another Bible, copied in Toledo by Ḥayyim ben Israel in 1277 (Parma, Biblioteca Palatina Cod. Parm. 2668), presents an early example of what was to become a prominent motif in Sephardi Bibles, a double-page depiction of the Sanctuary implements.

Several illuminated Sephardi *Haggadot* are extant, but they are difficult to date and localize. Unlike the Bibles, which often include lengthy colophons that specify the identity of the scribe and the patron, and indicate the place and date of execution, the *Haggadot* do not contain such information and their decorations are not similar enough stylistically to the Bibles to aid in their localization. Some of the *Haggadot* have French stylistic elements, while others are more Italianate in appearance. A distinctive feature found in some of these manuscripts is the inclusion of a series of biblical scenes, often appearing at the beginning of the manuscript, before the text recited at the *seder*. Biblical cycles that begin with scenes from Genesis are found at the opening of the *Golden Haggadah* (London, British Library. Add. Ms. 27210), and its so-called "Sister" (London, British Library Or. Ms. 2884), which bears iconographic, but not stylistic, similarities. Other *Haggadot* that include a cycle beginning with scenes from Exodus are found in the *Rylands*

Spanish Haggadah (Manchester, John Rylands Library, Ms. 6) and its so-called "Brother" (London, British Library, Or. Ms. 1404), and the *Kaufmann Haggadah* (Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Ms. A 422), which is the most Italianate in style of all of the works. The *Sarajevo Haggadah* (Sarajevo, Bosnian National Museum), whose scenes begin with the creation of the world and continue until the transference of power to Joshua, displays the most complete cycle extant. In some of these manuscripts, at the end of the images from the Bible are a few contemporary scenes dealing with preparations for Passover, such as cleaning the house and searching for leaven. The *Haggadot* include illustrations within their text as well. In addition to representations of the *maẓẓah* and *maror*, some include depictions of Rabban *Gamaliel, the Four Sons, and representations of the participants at the table. The *Sassoon Spanish Haggadah* (Jerusalem, Israel Museum 181/41) and the so-called *Barcelona Haggadah* (London, British Library Add Ms. 14761), in particular, include many additional illustrations. Some of the *Haggadot*, as for example the *Hamilton Siddur* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 288), include zoo- and anthropomorphic letters. This type of decorative letters can be found in the *Cervera Bible*, which was begun in 1299 and completed in 1300 (Lisbon, Bibliotheca Nacional. Ms. 72).

The destruction of most of the Jewish communities in the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon in 1391 brought to an end some of the most important schools of Hebrew illumination in these areas, and many illuminated manuscripts were destroyed. During the 15th century, however, new schools developed – some in the above-mentioned kingdoms, though in different population centers. One of these new centers was Seville, in the south. Two Bibles from the middle of the 15th century, formerly in the Sassoon collection, are good examples of this school. The earlier one, from 1415 (Ms. 499), is only barely decorated with micrography. The later one, from 1468 (Ms. 487), has many micrographic decorations of full pages, panels, arcades, and borders. A Bible from Berlanga copied in 1455 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Can. Or. 77) is also related in decoration to the south Spanish school of the mid-15th century. In Corunna, northern Spain, the *First Kennicott Bible* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Kennicott 1) was copied, punctuated, and masorated by Isaac ben Don Solomon de Braga in 1476. The manuscript includes a separate colophon by the artist Joseph ibn Hayyim, who fashioned his letters out of human and animal forms, as the artist of the *Cervera Bible* had done earlier. Although different in style, there are certain similarities in the choice of decoration of these two manuscripts.

The most important school in the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the 15th century was the Portuguese. Most of the manuscripts of this school are Bibles, though it also produced a few prayer books like the *siddur* completed in Lisbon in 1484 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale hébreu 592) and some copies of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. The manuscripts of the Portuguese school, centered in Lisbon, are decorated with wide borders ornamented with lush foliate forms, sometimes inhabited by animals and birds, framing their opening pages. Initial words are often written in gold within very large panels embellished with filigree work. Among the most important manuscripts of this school are the *British Library Mishneh Torah* of 1472 (London, British Library Harley Ms. 5698 – 9) and the *Lisbon Bible* of 1482 (London, British Library Or. Ms. 2626–28). Most of the Portuguese manuscripts have no text illustrations. The *Bible of the Hispanic Society of America* (New York, Ms. B. 241) can be attributed to the Portuguese school because of the typical decorative motifs in the frames of the opening pages of the books.

In addition to the magnificent Bibles and *Haggadot*, legal books were also illuminated in Spain. The most common of these works was Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. The treatise often has an entire framed page at the beginning of each of its 14 books. Text illustrations in the *Mishneh Torah* appear only in Book Eight, accompanying the description of the Temple and its implements. Most *Mishneh Torah* manuscripts, in Spain as well as in Germany and Italy, include a diagram of the Temple that indicates the proper position of each of the implements. The *British Library Mishneh Torah*, copied in 1472 (Harley Ms. 5689–99), is one of the most elaborately and delicately decorated examples of Spanish illumination. Maimonides' philosophical treatise, *Moreh Nevukhim* (*Guide of the Perplexed*), sometimes contained decorations at the beginning of each of the three sections of the text and at the beginning of individual chapters. The most elaborately illuminated example is the *Copenhagen Moreh Nevukhim* (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Cod. Heb. 37) of 1348, which includes text illustrations at the opening of each of the three parts, in addition to a few minor illustrations within the text. Other philosophical treatises, such as Levi b. Gershom's *Sefer Milḥamot Adonai* of 1391 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Poc. 376), contain decorated opening pages. Some scientific treatises have diagrammatic or instructional illustrations. The Hebrew translation from the Arabic of the astronomical text *Almagest* by Ptolemy (formerly Sassoon Ms. 699) has hundreds of diagrams as well as painted panels. Another astronomical manuscript formerly in the Sassoon collection (Ms. 823) contains treatises by many authors. The part composed by Ptolemy has depictions of the heavenly constellations, signs of the zodiac, and cosmological diagrams. Jews were the expert astronomers in Spain, constructing astrolabes and preparing many nautical maps.

The expulsion of the Jews from the Kingdom of Spain in 1492 and from Portugal in 1496–97 resulted in their spreading throughout Europe and into North Africa. The Spanish Jews brought their illuminated manuscripts to all these areas. In style, and especially in the system of illumination, the Spanish schools influenced Hebrew illuminated manuscripts in Italy, Turkey, Tunisia, and Yemen. Despite the invention of printing, some examples from these countries are extant from as late as the beginning of the 16th century.

French School

Side by side with the Sephardi culture, which developed in

Spain, Provence and, later, in North Africa, Ashkenazi culture spread through Germany, northern France, England, and the Low Countries. It reached Italy in the 15th century, when German Jews entered the north of the country. By that time Ashkenazi influence was prevalent in Eastern Europe. Italy, however, retained a somewhat special vitality.

The northern French school of Hebrew illumination seems to have been one of the most important in the Ashkenazi communities. Of the few surviving illuminated French manuscripts most are sparsely decorated; some, however, are sumptuous and reveal the high quality and sophistication of French illumination. The *British Library Miscellany* (Add Ms. 11639; possibly from Troyes, c. 1280) is one of the finest examples. The work contains 84 different texts, including the Pentateuch and *Haftarot*, daily, Sabbath, and festival prayers, Grace after Meals, and various legal codes. Many of the pages are illuminated with floral, animal, and hybrid motifs and the text of the *Haggadah* includes several illustrations. Most interesting are the four groups of full-page miniatures that are inserted in the text. The lack of uniformity and the repetition of certain subjects within these illustrations, such as Aaron lighting the *menorah* (fols. 114 and 522v), indicate that they are not the work of one artist. It appears that Benjamin, the scribe of the manuscript – who had his name illuminated in several places (e.g., 142v, 306v) – gave directions to the illuminator in the lower margins of some pages. In one instance (fol. 219v), the scribe wrote *shalshelet* ("chain") in the lower part of the page and the artist accordingly decorated the side margin near the text with an undulating chain ornamented with fanciful animal forms. Most of the full-page miniatures are biblical, others are midrashic or eschatological.

An outstanding example of northern French illumination is found in the *Kaufmann Mishneh Torah* (Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Kaufmann Collection Ms. A77/I–IV). The beginning of the introduction and each of the 14 books that comprise the text are elaborately illuminated with decorated initial word panels and various ornamental motifs, some of which are biblical scenes, such as David confronting Goliath and Moses receiving the Tablets of the Law.

Few illuminated Bibles and *Haggadot* have survived from France. Common to the northern French Jewish communities were small manuscripts containing the Psalter. Though most of these are merely decorated, one in the Bodleian Library (Oxford, Or. Ms. 621) opens with a half-length representation of David playing the harp. Legal books of French origin are primarily copies of Moses of Coucy's *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol*; they are mainly decorated, but a few contain illustrations.

At the end of the 14th century, some illumination developed in Southern France (properly Provence) where the Jews were allowed to remain after the expulsion. Bibles, prayer books, philosophical treatises, such as Levi b. Gershom's *Sefer Milḥamot Adonai*, and scientific and medical treatises have survived. Southern French illumination of this period is closer in style to Italian and Spanish schools than to those of northern France.

German School

The earliest surviving European Hebrew manuscripts are from Germany. A manuscript containing the biblical commentary by *Rashi, written by Solomon b. Samuel of Würzburg in 1233 (Munich, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 5), is the earliest dated of these illuminated manuscripts. Appearing within panels at the opening of sections are scenes from the Bible that illustrate the text. The style, which is directly related to the south German school of manuscript illumination, displays a markedly Jewish characteristic in that the human faces are featureless. While the reason for this is not definitely known, it may be connected with other means of distorting the human form common in southern Germany during the 13th century, such as covering human faces with crowns, wreaths, kerchiefs, or helmets; depicting them from behind; or replacing them with animal or bird heads. All of these devices are employed in the *Ambrosian Bible* (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana Ms. B. 30–32, Inf.) of the south German school, which was written for R. Joseph b. Moses of Ulm between 1236 and 1238. Z. Ameisenowa has suggested that people with animal heads designate holy men, righteous people, evangelists, or deacons. This practice, which may have originated in Islamic and Persian art, was borrowed by Christian as well as Jewish artists. The Jewish school of illumination in southern Germany adopted this motif and used it not only for representations of righteous people and angels, but at times also for Gentiles. Since there was no official prohibition against the depiction of the human form in illuminated manuscripts, it would appear that the south German Jews imposed this restriction upon themselves out of some iconophobic notion that may have developed there from the pietistic movement headed by *Judah and Samuel he-Ḥasid in the 12th century. The movement of *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz was ascetic, restricting embellishments in private or public life and forbidding any sort of decoration in manuscripts, even to the extent of prohibiting decoration with micrographic masorah.

The south German school of illumination was the most prominent and prolific of the Ashkenazi schools. It is also probably the most closely related in style to the contemporary local south German Latin illumination. From the beginning, the only Jewish motif in Hebrew illumination from southern Germany was the distortion of the human face. The soft undulating drapery, bright colors with dark outlines, expressive gestures, and acorn scrolls with large leaves and open composite flowers seen from above are but a few of the south German stylistic features to be found in Hebrew as well as in Latin illumination of the 13th and 14th centuries, as in the Aich Latin Bible and the gradual of St. Katharinental of 1312.

Several illustrated *maḥzorim*, books containing special readings for the entire liturgical year, including festivals and the seven "Special Sabbaths," were produced in the 13th and 14th centuries. In the earlier examples, as in a *maḥzor* completed in 1258 (Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Michael 617, 627), and the *Leipzig Maḥzor* (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. V 1102), human faces either display distorted features or are replaced

by animal and bird heads. By 1348, as is seen in a *maḥzor* in Darmstadt (Hessiche Landes- und Hochshulbibliothek, cod. Or. 13), however, humans are represented realistically. Many of these books contain text illustrations, often placed within initial word panels at the beginning of special readings. The decorative programs include images such as the Red Heifer, the New Moon, Moses receiving the Tablets of the Law, and the Sacrifice of Isaac. Some of these *maḥzorim* also contain depictions of the Signs of the Zodiac, which accompany Kallir's *piyyutim* for dew and rain.

Decorated *Haggadot* from Germany include textual, ritual, biblical, and eschatological illustrations. Unlike the approach utilized in the Sephardi *Haggadot*, most of the illustrations, including biblical scenes, are placed in the margins in the Ashkenazi examples. Some 15th-century German *Haggadot*, such as the *Yahuda Haggadah* (Jerusalem, Israel Museum 180/50), contain full-page illustrations of preparations made for the *seder*, which precede the text of the *Haggadah*.

Secular illuminated Hebrew manuscripts from Germany are rare. One of the more common is the *Meshal ha-Kadmoni* by the 13th-century Spanish poet Isaac b. Solomon ibn Abi *Sahula. This lengthy rhymed collection of exemplary tales was usually illustrated with a set of pictures at the opening of each chapter. Since each picture has a rhymed inscription by the author, it is assumed that the manuscript was, from its inception, intended to be illustrated, but no Spanish example has survived. It must have been a highly popular book in southwest Germany during the 15th century, for several complete copies are extant, as well as a few fragments.

Few artists from medieval Germany can be identified by name. An exception is Joel ben Simeon, sometimes called Feibush Ashkenazi, who is the most widely known, having signed several manuscripts. Active in Germany and Italy in the second half of the 15th century, he was of German origin, probably from Cologne or Bonn, but worked in northern Italy as well.

Italian School

Italian Hebrew illumination may have been one of the earliest schools in the West, just as the Jewish community in Italy was one of the oldest and culturally most developed in Europe. Hebrew illuminated manuscripts from Italy are most varied in their style and type. Many were executed by the finest Italian artists. Produced by diverse schools from the end of the 13th to the beginning of the 16th century, they vary widely in their mode of decoration, which includes ornamental border designs, illuminated initial word panels, and full-page illustrations. Geographically diverse, in addition to being influenced by Ashkenazi and Sephardi illuminations, decorations varied from region to region. Many Italian Hebrew manuscripts are decorated with ornamental initial-word panels at the openings of sections. In some of the more elaborate examples, the entire opening page, or at least the first text column, is decoratively framed. This ornamentation ranged from simple foliate scrolls surrounding the text to stage-like arcades intricately embellishing the frontispiece. Bibles, *maḥzorim* and *siddurim*, literary texts, books of *halakhah*, and secular works of philosophy, science, and medicine frequently are enhanced with ornamental frames at the openings of the books, prayers, chapters, or sections. Some manuscripts have text illustrations in the margins, within the text, and as full-page miniatures. The Italian *Haggadot* follow the Ashkenazi system of marginal illustration and initial-word panels.

13TH-CENTURY SCHOOLS OF ROME AND CENTRAL ITALY. The *Bishop Bedell Bible* in Emmanuel College, Cambridge (Ms. I.I. 5–7), penned by Abraham b. Yom Tov ha-Kohen for his patron Shabbetai b. Mattathias and completed in 1284, is an example of the Roman-Jewish school of illumination at the end of the 13th century. In addition to two illuminated frontispieces (fols. 1v–2), the openings of individual books of the Bible are embellished by round arches. A rare example of an illuminated Psalter was produced in northern Italy, perhaps in Emilia, toward the end of the 13th century (Parma, Biblioteca Palatina Ms. 1870). The opening of each chapter is illuminated, and sometimes illustrated. Included among the images is King David, a choir of men singing, and even people weeping next to their violins that hang on a willow, illustrating Psalm 137.

14TH-CENTURY SCHOOLS. Hebrew legal texts were illustrated in Bologna by the 14th century, possibly under the influence of the Bolognese school of miniaturists that specialized in illuminating papal decrees, urban laws, and other legal documents. A manuscript containing the halakhic decisions of R. Isaiah of Trani (13th century), copied in Bologna in 1374 (London, British Library Or. Ms. 5024), exemplifies this type of decoration. Among the illustrations in this Jewish text are scenes of a man lighting a Ḥanukkah lamp, a woodcutter stoned for working on a festival day, a Tabernacle and a man carrying the symbolic fruits of Sukkot, carpenters working with stolen wood, a bull attacking a cow, a merchant selling a ship, and a judge. The style of the illuminations resembles that of the school of Niccolo di Giacomo da Bologna.

Diverging from the approach used in decorating Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* in Sepharad and Ashkenaz, in Italy this work was often accompanied by detailed text illustrations. A noteworthy example is found in a manuscript in the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem (Ms. Heb. 4° 1193), copied in Spain or in Provence in the first half of the 14th century. The first part of the manuscript was later illuminated in Italy, around 1400, perhaps in Perugia, in the style of Matteo di Ser Cambio. Apart from border decorations, the *Mishneh Torah* includes text illustrations in initial-word panels and in the margins of the first 40 pages. The beginning of the "Book of Love [of God]" depicts a man holding a Torah scroll within the initial-word panel, while in the bottom border another man is seated by a bed, reciting the *shema* before retiring for the night. Other illustrations depict men gossiping and punishment by stoning.

Other schools are known to have existed in central and northern Italy at the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century. These schools were sometimes initiated by a single patron – a book and art lover who ordered illuminated manuscripts for his private use or as presents for friends and relations. One such school revolved around a physician named Daniel b. Samuel ha-Rofe at the end of the 14th century.

Another group of manuscripts from the end of the 14th and early 15th century was executed for a father and son of the Bethel family. The father, Jehiel b. Mattathias, commissioned manuscripts at the end of the 14th century. A *Sefer Arukh ha-Shalem* written by *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome, copied in Perugia in 1396 (Parma, Biblioteca Palatina Parm. Ms. 3012), and a *siddur* from Pisa of 1397 (formerly Sassoon Ms. 1028) were both ordered by Jehiel. Other manuscripts were commissioned by his son, Jekuthiel, between 1415 and 1442.

15TH-CENTURY SCHOOLS. Many different types of texts were illuminated in Italy in the 15th century. A copy of Jacob ben Asher's *Arba'ah Turim* copied in Mantua in 1435 is elaborately illuminated (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Rossiana 555). The manuscript is similar in style to Mantuan Latin illumination of the first half of the 15th century. At the beginning of each of the four sections of this legal treatise is an illustration that relates to the text: a synagogue scene with men praying before the Torah ark, a scene of the slaughtering of animals and fowl, a wedding scene, and a court scene. Another important manuscript, perhaps from Lombardy, is a *Mishneh Torah* manuscript, bound in two volumes (one in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Rossiana 498 and the other in a private collection in New York). The opening of the introduction and each of the 14 books is decorated with a large miniature illustrating the text. Other illustrations appear in the margins of the text and all provide a wealth of information concerning the realia of Jewish life in 15th-century Italy.

Arguably the most richly illuminated Hebrew manuscript from Renaissance Italy is the *Rothschild Miscellany* (Jerusalem, Israel Museum MS 180/51) commissioned by Moses ben Jekuthiel ha-Kohen and possibly produced in Ferrara. It contains approximately 70 religious and secular works including Psalms, Proverbs, Job, a *siddur*, a *Haggadah*, and Isaac b. Solomon ibn Abi *Sahula's *Meshal ha-Kadmoni*. In addition to many biblical scenes and the illustrations of Sahula's fables, the manuscript depicts numerous religious practices and customs regarding prayer and life cycle events.

A copy of the *Canon of Medicine* by the physician-philosopher Avicenna (988–1037) documents medical practices in Renaissance Italy (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria Ms. 2197). Included among the illustrations are scenes of patients bringing their urine specimens to a physician for analysis, bathing in water, sitting nude in the sun, and subjecting themselves to cupping, bloodletting, and surgery. A *Halakhic Miscellany* (Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod, Heb. 337), was written in Padua in 1477. The illustrations are executed in two different styles. Some of the scenes, such as the depiction of a wedding in which the bridegroom is wearing a yellow circle, are executed in a sophisticated Renaissance style, while other illustrations are portrayed with simple linear forms similar to those of Joel ben Simeon.

Florence, driven in part by the patronage of wealthy Jewish bankers, became a major center for the creation of illuminated Hebrew manuscripts in the 15th century. The *Rothschild Maḥzor* (New York, The Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, MS 8892) was copied in Florence in 1490 for the wealthy Jewish banker Elia of Vigevano. More than two-thirds of its pages are decorated, but the art was produced by three different workshops. Most of the text illustrations were executed in a manner that is similar to those found in manuscripts associated with Joel ben Simeon, while the last part of the manuscript was executed using rich pigments and motifs that are typical of contemporary Christian manuscripts from Florence. Another example of fine illuminations executed in a Florentine style is found in a *Book of Psalms, Job, and Proverbs* (New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library Ms. 409), copied in Florence in 1467, which contains full-page miniatures preceding Psalms and Job, in addition to as finely illuminated borders on other pages. Naples was another important center of Hebrew illumination during the 15th century. The best-known example of this school's work is the *Aberdeen Bible* (University of Aberdeen, Ms. 23), possibly written in Naples in 1493. A Bible in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale ms. hébreu 15) reveals how a text written and partially illuminated in the Iberian peninsula, probably in Lisbon at the end of the 15th century, was then transported to Italy where other illuminations were added. These lush decorations, which appear for example at the opening of the book of Isaiah, are so profusely embellished with an Italian architectural frame enhanced with grotesques and putti that the ornamentation appears to be almost three dimensional. This high point of manuscript illumination occurs at a time when Hebrew printed books are becoming more readily available, marking the beginning of the decline of manuscript illumination.

[Bezalel Narkiss / Evelyn Cohen (2nd ed.)]

Post-Medieval Illumination

The creation of illuminated Hebrew manuscripts climaxed in Renaissance Italy. Although decorated handwritten books continued to be produced after printed books became readily available in the 16th century, they rarely equal the sophisticated illumination of the manuscripts that were produced in the latter part of the 15th century. A notably fine 16th-century example is found in a prayer book penned in 1520 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Fondation Smith-Lesouef, Ms. 250).

Two different types of decorated Hebrew manuscripts thrived after the 16th century. *Ketubbot*, primarily those created in Italy, but also in Northern Europe and Central Asia, were often adorned. In addition to ornamental motifs, some were decorated with biblical figures, at times referring to the names of the bride and bridegroom, and with images from the

contemporary artistic vocabulary, which included images such as the signs of the zodiac, the senses, and the four elements. *Megillot*, especially scrolls containing the text of the Book of Esther, were decorated primarily in Italy, Holland, Central Europe, Central Asia, and North Africa. Aside from architectural motifs and floral designs, the scrolls often contained depictions of the figures and events mentioned in the text. In Italy, marriage poems, documents for rabbinical ordinations, and even licenses for *sheḥitah* were decorated as well.

A new phase in the development of decorated Hebrew manuscripts emerged in the 18th century in Germany and Central Europe, when wealthy Court Jews commissioned handwritten and painted books as luxury items. Many of these are personal prayer books, which include *Haggadot*, *seder berakhot*, *seder tikkunei Shabbat*, and *seder brit milah*. Some of these manuscripts were intended as wedding presents for brides and contain contemporary depictions of women. Many of the *Haggadot* were inspired by the printed edition of the Amsterdam *Haggadah* of 1695. Other features that reveal the influence of printed books are the inclusion of a decorated title page or the indication that the manuscript was written using *otiot Amsterdam*, the style of letters utilized for Amsterdam imprints, even though the book was written elsewhere.

Initially Vienna was the main center of this later flowering of manuscript decoration, but the practice spread to other cities, such as, Altona, Hamburg, Darmstadt, Fürth, Mannheim, and Berlin. Among the most noted scribe/artists are Aaron Wolf Herlingen of Gewitsch, Meshulam Zimmel of Polna, Aryeh Judah Leib of Trebitsch, Joseph ben David Leipnik, Uri Phoebus Segal, and Jacob Sofer of Berlin. The revival continued until the late 18th century. Some manuscripts, such as *omer* books, were copied and decorated in the 19th century, but the production was extremely limited. The 20th century witnessed a renewed interest in the art of manuscript illumination, which continues today, particularly in the form of *ketubbot* and *Haggadot* commissioned for private individuals.

[Evelyn Cohen (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: References to books and articles which appear in L.A. Mayer, *Bibliography of Jewish Art* (1967), are quoted by referring to their number (e.g., Mayer, 2680). GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS AND HISTORIES can be found as early as 1778 in Tychsen (Mayer, 2674); D. Kaufmann, in: Mueller (Mayer, 1792), 255–311; M. Steinschneider (Mayer, 2524), 24–27; idem (Mayer, 2523), 326ff.; G. Margoliouth (Mayer, 1638); Frauberger (Mayer, 742); Leveen (Mayer, 1496); E.N. Adler (Mayer, 24, 25); R. Wischnitzer (Mayer, 2811/2846); Landsberger, in: C. Roth (Mayer, 2232), 377–454; J. Gutmann (Mayer, 2970) and B. Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, Jerusalem (Encyclopaedia Judaica), 1969. CATALOGS OF COLLECTIONS AND EXHIBITIONS: M.L. Genaro et al., *Codici decorati e miniati dell' Ambrosiana, ebraici e greci* (1959); Mayer, Art, index, s.v. names of towns and collections; E. Munkacsi (Mayer, 1818); B. Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts from Jerusalem Collections*, The Israel Museum, Exhibition Catalog no. 40 (1967). HELLENISTIC MANUSCRIPTS: Mayer, Art, 1496 (J. Leveen); 2207 (C. Roth); 2775, 2776A (K. Weitzmann); 1900, 1901 (C.O. Nordström); 1071, 1073 (H.-L. Hempel); 2972 (J. Gutmann); C.R. Morey, *Early Christian Art* (1958); P. Romanoff, in: JQR, 26 (1935), 29–35. ORIENTAL ILLUMINATION: R. Hoering, *British Museum Karaite Manuscripts…* (1899); Mayer, Art, 2515 (Stassof); 669, 670, 670A (R. Ettinghausen); 2003 (R.H. Pinder Wilson and R. Ettinghausen, in P. Kahle); 1721 (M. Metzger); H. Yalon, in: KS, 30 (1954/55), 257–63 (Heb.). SPANISH ILLUMINATION: Mayer, Art, 56, 59 (Z. Ameisenowa); 3009C (S. Schwarz); 1868 (M. Narkiss); 2809, 2828, 2839, 2855 (R. Wischnitzer-Bernstein); 1728B (T. Metzger); 2204, 2205, 2210, 2221, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2235–37 (C. Roth); 2160, 2161, 2164 (H. Rosenau); 2969 (J. Gutmann); 2061 (S. Radojćić); 2302 (A. Scheiber); 1837A, 1096, 2991A (B. Narkiss); 2900 (F. Wormald); 360 (R. Edelman); C.O. Nordström, in: *Synthronon*, 2 (1968), 89–105; B. Narkiss, in: *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies*; J. Gutmann, in: *Art Journal*, 27:2 (1967/68), 168–75; M. Metzger, in: *Gesta*, 6 (1966), 25–34 (Eng.); C. Roth, *Gleanings* (1967), 316–9; B. Narkiss, in: *The Golden Haggadah, Introductory Volume* (1970); idem, in: KS, 34 (1958/59), 71–79; 42 (1966/67), 104–7; M. Meiss, in: *Journal of Walters Art Gallery*, 4 (1941), 45–87. ASHKENAZI (FRENCH AND GERMAN) ILLUMINATION: Mayer, Art, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58 (Z. Ameisenowa); 1147 (B. Italiener); 2203 (C. Roth); 1866 (M. Narkiss); 1222A (E. Katz and B. Narkiss); 2[3], 2819, 2825, 2827 (R. Wischnitzer-Bernstein); 2975 (Birds' Head Haggadah); 523 (E. Roth); 1781, 1782 (E. Moses); 1431, 1433, 1435, 1438 (F. Landsberger); 992 (J. Gutmann); 1662, 1663 (A. Marx); 723 (M. Fooner); 2193 (C. Roth); 1760 (O. Mitius); 1130 (M.J. Husung); 2981 (O. Kurz); 2246 (S. Rothschild); 2846, 2876 (R. Wischnitzer-Bernstein); 857 (D. Goldschmidt); 2239 (E. Roth); 2991 (B. Narkiss); 2023 (J. Pinkerfeld); 72A (H.L.C. Jaffe and L. Fuks); Wischnitzer, in: MGWJ, 75 (1931), 69–71; idem, in: JQR, 25 (1934/35), 303–6; M. Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederlaendischen und franzoesischen Kupferstichs im XV. Jahrhundert*, 2 (1908) and 9 (1934); M. Geisberg, *Der Meister E.S. und Israel van Meckenem* (1924); A. and W. Cahn, in: *Yale University Library Gazette*, 41:4 (1967), 166–76, pls. 177–82; M. Metzger, in: *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet* (1966), 1237–53; L. Mortara Ottolenghi, in: *Quaderni dell'Universitá di Geneva* (1967). ITALIAN ILLUMINATION: Mayer, Art, 2318 (R. Schilling and G. Swarzenski); 735, 738, 742 (H. Frauberger); 2847 (R. Wischnitzer-Bernstein); 1814, 1818 (E. Munkácsi); 2206, 2223 (C. Roth); 2990A (Milan Exhibition); D. Kaufmann, in: *Juedisches Volksblatt*, 52 (1863; see AZDJ); idem, in: REJ, 36 (1898), 65–74; B. Narkiss, in: KS, 43 (1967/68), 285–300 (Heb.); idem, in: *Ariel*, 21 (1968), 51–59 (Eng.); M. Brizio, *Catalogo delle cose d'Arte e di Antichità d'Italia* (1933), 161–63, 3 reproductions; I. Levi, in: REJ, 89 (1930), 281–92; G. Mazzatinti, *Inventario dei manoscritte della Biblioteca Rovigo* (1893), 4, no. 5; C. Bernheimer, *Paleografia Ebraica* (1924). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** GENERAL: L. Avrin, "Micrography as art," in: *In Etudes de paléographie hébraïque* (1981); I. Fishof, *Jüdische Buchmalerei in Hamburg und Altona: Zur Geschichte der Illumination hebräischer Handschriften im 18. Jahrhundert* (1999); L.S. Gold (ed.), *A Sign and a Witness: 2,000 Years of Hebrew Books and Illuminated Manuscripts* (1988); J. Gutmann, *Hebrew Manuscript Painting* (1978); idem, "Thirteen Manuscripts in Search of an Author: Joel ben Simeon, 15th-Century Scribe-Artist," in: *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore,* 9 (1970), 76–95; P. Hiat (ed.), *A Visual Testimony: Judaica from the Vatican Library* (1987); *Jüdische Handschriften: restaurierin, bewahren, präsentieren* (2002); K. Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art between Islam and Christianity: The Decoration of Hebrew Bibles in Medieval Spain* (2004); M. Metzger, *La Haggada enluminée* (1973); T. Metzger, *Les Manuscrits hébreux copies et decorés à Lisbonne dans les dernières décennies du XVe siècles* (1977); T. and M. Metzger, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1982); V. Basch Moreen, *Miniature Painting in Judaeo-Persian Manuscripts* (1985); B. Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated*

Manuscripts in the British Isles: A Catalogue Raisonné., vol. I (in 2 parts): *The Spanish and Portuguese Manuscripts* (1982); C. Roth (ed.), *Jewish Art: An Illustrated History* (Rev. ed. by Bezalel Narkiss, 1971); A. Nachama and G. Sievernich (eds.), *Jüdische Lebenswelten* [vol. 2], Katalog (1991–92); S. Sabar, *The Art of the Ketubbah*, New York: Library of The Jewish Theological Seminary, forthcoming; idem, *Ketubbah: Jewish Marriage Contracts of the Hebrew Union College Skirball Museum and Klau Library* (1990); U. and K. Schubert, *Jüdische Buchkunst,* I (1983); U. Schubert, *Jüdische Buchkunst*, II (1992); G. Sed-Rajna, *The Hebrew Bible in Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts* (1987); idem, *Le Maḥzor enluminé; les voies de formation d'une programme iconographique* (1983); idem, *Manuscrits hébreux de Lisbonne* (1970); idem, *Les Manuscrits hébreux enluminés des bibliothèques de France* (1994); C. Sirat, *Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* (2002); Y. Zirlin, "Celui qui se cache derrière l'image: Colophons des enlumineurs dans les manuscrits hébraiques," in: *Revue des études juives,* 155:1–2 (1996), pp. 33–53.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FACSIMILES: MEDIEVAL ILLUMINATION: *The Ashkenazi Haggadah* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1985); *The Barcelona Haggadah* (London: Facsimile Editions, 1992); *The Bird's Head Haggada*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Tarshish Books, 1965–67); *Il Canon Medicinae di Avicenna nella tradizione ebraica: Le miniature del manoscritto 2197 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna* (Giuliano Tamani, ed. Padua: Editoriale Programma, 1988); *Die Darmstädter Pessach-Haggadah*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: K.W. Hiersmann, 1927); *Die Darmstädter Pessach-Haggadah*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1971); *The Golden Haggadah*, 2 vols. (London: Eugrammia Press, 1970); *Haggadah* (German *Sassoon Haggadah*) (Zürich: Lichtdruck AG, 1985); *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1898); *The Kaufmann Haggadah* (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1957); *Kaufmann Haggáda* (Budapest: Kultura International, 1990); *Codex Maimuni: Moses Maimonides' Code of Law: The Illuminated Pages of the Kaufmann Mishneh Torah* (Budapest: Corvina, c. 1984); *The Kennicott Bible* (London: Facsimile Editions, 1985); *Machsor Lipsiae* (Vaduz: Société pour le Commerce Intercontinental Trust, 1964); *The Parma Psalter: A Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Hebrew Book of Psalms with a Commentary by Abraham Ibn Ezra* (London: Facsimile Editions, 1996); *The North French Hebrew Miscellany* (London: Facsimile Editions, 2003); *The Prato Haggadah* (New York: The Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary (forthcoming); *The Rothschild Maḥzor* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1983); *The Rothschild Miscellany* (London: Facsimile Editions Ltd., 1988); *The Rylands Haggadah: A Medieval Sephardi Masterpiece in Facsimile* (New York: Abrams, 1988); *The Sarajevo Haggadah* (London: W.H. Allen, 1963); *The Sarajevo Haggadah* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1984); *The Washington Haggadah: A Facsimile Edition of an Illuminated Fifteenth-Century Hebrew Manuscript at the Library of Congress Signed by Joel ben Simeon* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1991); *The Worms Maḥzor* (London: Cyelar Publishing, 1985). POST-MEDIEVAL ILLUMINATION: *The Book of Esther* (Budapest: Helikon Publishing House, 1989); *The Copenhagen Haggadah* (Altona-Hamburg, 1739; Tel Aviv: Nahar Publishing, 1986); *Grace after Meals and Other Benedictions* (Copenhagen: Forlaget Old Manuscripts, 1969); *Me'ah Berakhot* (London: Facsimile Editions, 1994); *Perek Shirah* (London: Facsimile Editions, 1996); *Pesah Haggadah* (Ashkenaz, 1729; Tel Aviv: Nahar Publishing, 1985); *Scroll of Esther: Facsimile Edition Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem* (Tel Aviv: W. Turnowsky, 1997); *The Rosenthaliana Leipnik Haggadah* (Tel Aviv: W. Turnowsky, 1987); *Die Von Gelderen Haggadah* (Vienna and Munich: Verlag Christian Brandstätter, 1997).

ILNA'E (Schoenbaum), ELIEZER ISAAC (1885–1929), philosopher. Ilna'e, who was born in Kovrin, Lithuania, grew up under the opposing influences of Jewish enlightenment and Jewish traditionalism. For approximately 35 years he lived in Gomel (Homel), where he was active in Zionist affairs. His writings there included *Ha-Ẓiyyoniyyut ve-ha-Materialiyyut* ("Zionism and Materialism," 1906), *Yesodei ha-Meẓi'ut ve-ha-Hakkarah* ("Fundamentals of Reality and Consciousness," 1913). After World War I he settled in Jerusalem. In 1923 he published a Hebrew translation of Wilhelm *Jerusalem's *Introduction to the Study of Philosophy.* Ilna'e's *Me-Ever le-Ḥushiyyut* ("Beyond Sense Perception"), posthumously published by his friends (1930), contains Ilna'e's biography. The starting point of Ilna'e's philosophy is the problem of the nature of the soul. He claimed that contemporary psychology, grown too cautious of metaphysical influences and too reliant on natural science, had lapsed either into physiology or become involved in internal contradictions. The ego and non-ego are both active subjects possessing will and knowledge, each counteracting the other. Using this basic assumption explains how all psychic qualities, through the interaction of ego and non-ego, gradually come to develop: sensation, the reproductive power, conceptualization, reflection and imagination, the forms of place and intellect. Ilna'e distinguishes three levels of ego: "the subordinate ego," dealing with internal bodily functions necessary for growth and existence; "the intermediate ego," devoted to the struggle for existence; and finally, "the superior ego," comprising whatever voluntary activity manifests itself upon the completion by the "intermediate ego" of its work of organization. At present this "superior ego" cannot be apprehended, but we are nevertheless indirectly aware of it. Ilna'e's theories are particularly helpful in explaining hypnotic and parapsychological phenomena.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bergmann, in: *Davar* (1928/29), Suppl. no. 15; J.L.G. Kahanowitz, *Me-Homel ad Tel-Aviv* (1952), 91–96.

[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

ILYA (Pol. **Ilja**), village in Molodechno district, Belarus; birthplace of *Manasseh b. Joseph, who founded a yeshivah there. It is assumed that the Jews settled in Ilya in the 17th century. They exported timber westward via the Ilya and Nieman rivers and flax and grain to the big cities. In the 19th century few Jews remained exporters; most were small merchants and artisans. A local Jew opened a big glass factory. In the mid-18th century the proselyte Avraham ben Avraham, whom the Catholic Church claimed was the lost son of Count Valentine Potocki, refused to return to Christianity and was burned at the stake. The Jewish population numbered 894 in 1847, 829 (58% of the total population) in 1897, and 586 (40.2%) in 1921. During World War I the Cossacks burned down most of the houses in the town and murdered one Jew. After the war, with the help of *YEKOPO, the Jewish stores and workshops were reopened. The glass factory was refurbished and a sawmill and

pitch factory were opened. From 1922 a Hebrew school and library with 5,000 books were in operation.

Holocaust Period

On Sept. 17, 1939, the Soviets entered the area. On the outbreak of war between Germany and the U.S.S.R. on June 22, 1941, some Jews managed to escape eastward into the Soviet Union. In the first days of July the Germans set up headquarters in the town. On July 8, two Jews were shot as Communist activists. A ghetto was established in early October. In January 1942 the youth began to organize and make contact with the partisans. On March 14, 1942, Soviet partisans attacked the Chocienczyce estate near Ilya. Among them were a few Jews from Ilya, and 70 Jews who worked there joined them. The following day the SS arrived in Ilya and accused the Jews of cooperating with the partisans. On March 17 Jews were ordered to assemble in the city square. The head of the Judenrat, Josef Rodblat, was ordered to hand over those connected with the partisans but he refused to cooperate, and instead, with David Rubin, encouraged escape to the forests. The Germans murdered 520 Jews in the cold storage depot, and left about 100 essential artisans. On June 7, 1942, the Germans executed the artisans. A number of young Jews escaped into the forests and joined Soviet partisan units. Few of Ilya's Jews survived until the liberation in summer 1944.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Poland, Główny Urząd Statystyczny, *Skorowidz miejscowości Rzeczypaspolitej Pólski*, 7 pt. 2 (1923), s.v.; A. Kopelovich (ed.), *Sefer Ilyah* (Heb. and Yid., 1962); *Yad Vashem Archives*. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** PK Polin, vol. 8 (2005).

[Aharon Weiss / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

IMAGINATION, the power of the soul which retains images derived from sense perception, or which combines such images or their parts into new composite images, which took on a special meaning in philosophy. To Aristotle (*De Anima*, 3), the term "imagination" denoted the faculty of the soul which, as one of the internal senses, functions as an intermediary between the external senses and the *intellect, possessing qualities of both. Receiving individual physical images from the five senses (or from a sixth, "common" sense), the imagination either imitatively retains them, filing them in the memory, or passes them on in a more organized and composite form to the intellect, where cognition is completed. Thus, while being different from sense perception, imagination is still dependent on the senses. Also, while imagination is different from thought, images are the objects of thought. Aristotle's definition of the imagination was generally accepted, sometimes with certain modifications, by medieval Muslim and Jewish philosophers. For example, Isaac *Israeli stated that imagination, being intermediate between perception and reason, is joined to both. Deriving from the neoplatonic source also used by al-Fārābī, however, Israeli goes further to say that the imagination is capable of an activity of its own which is no longer dependent on the material supplied by the senses and preserved in memory. This activity opens access to metaphysical truth with the help of images, and manifests itself in translating metaphysical truths into symbols (see A. Altmann and S.M. Stern, *Isaac Israeli* (1958), 142–3). Maimonides, who attributes to the imagination the functions of retaining impressions by the senses, combining them, and forming images (*Guide of the Perplexed*, 2:36), sees the action of the imagination as being opposed to the action of the intellect (*Guide* 1:73, tenth proposition), and seems to identify the imagination with "common" sense (see Wolfson, in *Jewish Studies in Memory of George Kohut* (1935), 583–98). The discussion of the imagination in medieval Jewish philosophy usually takes place within the context of a discussion of *prophecy. Some philosophers, like Abraham *Ibn Daud, attributed to the imagination no function of prophecy, and considered the intellect as the exclusive organ of prophetic revelation. Others, like Israeli (Altmann and Stern, *op. cit.*, 144–5), Maimonides (*Guide*, 2:36), and *Judah Halevi (*Kuzari*, 4:3) saw prophecy as extending equally to the imagination and the intellect. In prophecy, according to Maimonides, the influence of the active intellect is received by both the imagination and the intellect. This influence extends to the imagination alone only in the case of oracles, dreams, and the inspirations of statesmen. In post-medieval philosophy, *Spinoza rejects the role of the intellect in prophetic revelation and considers the imagination alone as the instrument of prophecy. Thus, in Spinoza's system prophets occupy the place which soothsayers occupy in the system of Maimonides.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wolfson, in: HTR, 28 (1935), 69–113; idem, in: JQR, 25 (1935), 441–67; R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic* (1962), 207–19; Z. Diesendruck, in: *Jewish Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams* (1927), 99–123; Guttmann, Philosophies, index.

[Alfred L. Ivry]

IMBER, NAPHTALI HERZ (1856–1909), poet and author of "*Ha-Tikvah*" ("The Hope"), the Zionist and later the Israel national anthem. He was born in Galicia where he received an intensive traditional but no secular education. Imber went to Palestine with Laurence *Oliphant, a Christian Zionist whom he met in Constantinople in 1882 and whom he served as secretary and adviser on Jewish affairs in Palestine (1882–88). In 1888, he returned to Europe but soon his restless nature took him back to the East and he wandered as far as Bombay. In India, as in Palestine, he was wooed by missionaries and was later accused of apostasy. Even Israel *Zangwill, with whom he became friendly in London, believed that Imber converted to Christianity in order to escape starvation. Imber inspired the character of Melchizedek in Zangwill's novel *Children of the Ghetto.* In 1892 he went to the United States and traveled throughout the land. After a brief visit to London, he returned to America where he spent the rest of his life in squalor, misery, and alcoholism. Fortunately, the poet again found a patron; this time in the person of Judge Mayer *Sulzberger, who gave him a monthly subvention.

Imber's colorful personality attracted Amanda Katie, a Protestant physician of high intellect and of unusual charm.

She converted to Judaism and married him, but after a brief interval of happiness, their marriage was dissolved. *Tikvatenu* (later changed to *Ha-Tikvah*) appeared in his first volume of poems *Barkai* ("Dawn") and is dated "Jerusalem 1884." In his second volume of poems, *Barkai he-Ḥadash* ("The New Dawn"), published in 1900 by his devoted brother Shemaryahu, there was a poem dedicated to his wife ("*Shir ha-Shirim*"). Imber published part of his biography in the *Jewish Standard* (London), and it was republished by G. Yardeni-Agmon in D. Carpi (ed.), *Ha-Ẓiyyonut* (1970), 357–462. In 1905, his Hebrew translation of Fitzgerald's *Rubāiyāt of Omar Khayyām* was published under the title *Ha-Kos* ("The Cup"). Imber also translated some of his own poems into English and wrote several tracts in English on talmudic literature. For English translations of his works, see Goell, Bibliography, 30.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Mivḥar Kitvei Naftali Herẓ Imber* (1929), includes a biography of the poet by Shemaryahu Imber; D. Sadan (ed.), *Kol Shirei Naftali Herẓ Imber* (1950); Waxman, Literature, 4 (1960²), 206 f.; E. Silberschlag, in: *Judaism*, 5 (1956), 147–59. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** B. Winehouse, "N. Herz ('Hertzele') Imber," in: *Jewish Quarterly*, 24/3 (1976), 6–9; Y. Enav, "*Mikhtavim shel Imber el Zangwill*," in: *Ha-Ẓiyyonut*, 4 (1976), 363–90; Y. Kabakov, "*Me-Iggerotav shel N.H. Imber*," in: *Ha-Do'ar* 58, 36 (1978), 611–13; Y. Kabakov, "*N.H. Imber be-Eynei Doro*," in: *Ha-Do'ar*, 59/1 (1980), 8–9; 59, 2 (1980), 23–25; N. Rogel, "*Be-Ikvot N.H. Imber be-Ereẓ Yisrael*," in: *Kivunim*, 44 (1994), 115–25; Y. Frenkel, "*Od lo avdah Tikavateinu*," in: *Ha-Ummah* 128 (1997), 408–12; G. Nahshon, "*Ha-Tadmit shel Yehudei Teiman be-Eynav shel N.H.Imber*," in: *Moznayim* 71, 3 (1998), 19–20.

[Eisig Silberschlag]

IMBER, SAMUEL JACOB (**Shmuel-Yankev**; 1889–1942), Yiddish poet. Born in Sasów in Austrian eastern Galicia (now Sasiv, Ukraine), son of the Hebrew writer Shmaryahu Imber and nephew of Naphtali-Herz *Imber, the author of *Ha-Tikvah, he studied at the University of Lemberg and made his literary début in 1905 with a poem in the *Tshernovitser Vokhnblat*. In 1907 he published poems in Polish. In Lemberg, with Melekh *Ravitch, he strove to promote the aesthetic ideals of neo-Romanticism, inspired by Jewish writers such as Arthur *Schnitzler and Stefan *Zweig. The influence of Heinrich *Heine, whom he translated into Yiddish, is also conspicuous. With his verse collection *Vos Ikh Zing un Zog* ("What I Sing and Say," 1909) and with his poetic romance *Esterke* (1911), he became the acknowledged leader of a generation of Galician Yiddish writers. *Esterke* recounts the 14th-century legend concerning the love of King *Casimir III for the daughter of a Jewish blacksmith. The tone is one of Romantic nationalism, while despite Imber's noted enthusiasm for Polish-Jewish symbiosis, the illicit love is portrayed as inevitably doomed. In 1912 he visited Palestine, which resulted in a volume of delicate poetry somewhat reminiscent of Eliakum *Zunser or Abraham *Mapu, *In Yidishn Land* ("In the Jewish Land," 1912), in which Rachel rejoices at the sight of her returned children once more tilling the soil. During World War I Imber edited *Inter Arma* ("Amidst the Clash of Arms," 1918), a volume including not only his own war poetry but also that of his Lemberg associates Uri Zevi *Greenberg, and Melekh *Ravitch. Immediately after World War I he founded the literary monthly *Nayland* (1918–19) as the organ of the Galician neo-Romantic movement. Imber achieved full maturity in his last poems, in his essays in Yiddish and his polemic prose in Polish. Imber was murdered in Ozernaya by Ukrainian antisemites during pogroms following the Nazi occupation of the town in 1942.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, *Leksikon*, 1 (1928), 87–90; LNYL, 1 (1956), 80–2; M. Ravitsh, *Mayn Leksikon*, 1 (1945), 17–19; S. Bickel, *Shrayber fun Mayn Dor*, 1 (1958), 152–60; S. Liptzin, *Maturing of Yiddish Literature* (1970), 131–5. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Ch. Shmeruk, *The Esterke Story in Yiddish and Polish Literature* (1985).

[Sol Liptzin / Hugh Denman (2nd ed.)]

°**IMBONATI (-TUS), CARLO GUISEPPE** (?1650–1696), Italian Hebraist. A Cistercian, Imbonati was trained in rabbinic bibliography by his fellow Cistercian J. *Bartolocci, the fourth volume of whose great work (*Kiriath Sepher… Bibliotheca magna rabbinica*…, Rome, 1693) he edited; he added a fifth volume, *Magen ve-Ḥerev u-Milḥamah – Bibliotheca Latino-Hebraica*… (1694), which listed Christian writers on Jews and Judaism. It also included a polemical tract directed against Jewish denial of the messiahship of Jesus.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Steinschneider, in: ZHB, 3 (1899), 86, no. 238; Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 1054 no. 5264.

[Raphael Loewe]

IMITATION OF GOD (**Imitatio Dei**), a theological concept meaning man's obligation to imitate God in His actions.

The doctrine of the imitation of God is related to the biblical account of the creation of man in the image of God, which acknowledges a resemblance between man and his Creator. Yet man is to imitate God, not impersonate Him (see Gen. 3:5). The main biblical sources for the injunction to imitate God are found in the command to be holy as God is holy and to walk in God's way (Lev. 19:2; Deut. 10:12, 11:22, 26:17). Man is to be God-like in his actions, but he cannot aspire to be God. This distinguishes the biblical notion from the pagan attempts to achieve apotheosis or absorption in the deity (see D. Shapiro, in *Judaism*, 12 (1963), 57–77). Man is to imitate God in loving the stranger (Deut. 10:18–19); in resting on the Sabbath (Ex. 20:10–11); and in other ethical actions. The idea of the imitation of God finds clear expression in rabbinic writings, especially the statements of the *tanna* Abba Saul. On the verse, "This is my God and I will glorify Him" (Ex. 15:2), he comments: "Be like Him. Just as He is gracious and merciful, so be thou also gracious and merciful" (Mekh., Shirah, 3). Abba Saul also comments on the verse, "You shall be holy as I the Lord your God am holy" (Lev. 19:2) – "The household attendants of the king, what is their duty? To imitate the king" (Sifra 19:2). Another classic expression of the ideal of imitating God in rabbinic literature is that of Ḥama bar Ḥanina, who expounded the verse, "After the Lord your God ye shall walk" (Deut. 13:5): "How can man walk after God? Is He not a consuming fire? What is meant is that man ought

to walk after [imitate] the attributes of God. Just as the Lord clothes the naked, so you shall clothe the naked. Just as He visits the sick, so you shall visit the sick. Just as the Lord comforted the bereaved, so you shall also comfort the bereaved; just as He buried the dead, so you shall bury the dead" (Sota 14a and parallels). The rabbis admonish the Israelites to imitate the qualities of divine mercy, forbearance, and kindness. They do not counsel imitating God in His attribute of stern justice. The ways of the Lord served the rabbis as ideals of conduct. There are similarities between the rabbinic conception of the imitation of God and that of the Greek philosophers, especially Plato (see Shapiro, loc. cit.). In the writings of Philo, the doctrine of imitating God is associated with the Platonic idea of becoming "like God" (see H.A. Wolfson, *Philo*, 1 (1947), 194–6). Among medieval Jewish philosophers, Maimonides dealt most extensively with the concept of the imitation of God. He lists among the commandments "to emulate God in His beneficent and righteous ways to the best of one's ability" (*Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, positive commandment 8). Other codes also list the imitation of God as a commandment: *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* (vol. 2 (1905), positive commandment 7); *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh* (ed. by Ch. B. Chavel (1961), 726 ff.); and others (see Shapiro, loc. cit. 75). Maimonides relates the commandment to imitate God with the ethical admonition to follow the middle way. In his *Guide of the Perplexed*, as in his philosophy in general, Maimonides stresses that the acquisition of speculative knowledge, especially the knowledge of God, should be the goal of human life, but in the final chapter of the *Guide* he holds that such knowledge leads to the imitation of God. Thus he writes: "The perfection in which man can truly glory is attained by him when he has acquired – as far as this is possible for man – the knowledge of God, the knowledge of His providence, and of the manner in which it influences His creatures in their production and continued existence. Having acquired this knowledge he will then be determined always to seek lovingkindness, justice, and righteousness and thus to imitate the ways of God" (*Guide*, 3:54). In Jewish mysticism and Ḥasidism the doctrine of imitating God originated in the notion that the **sefirot* are reflected in man's soul and body. The most vivid expression of this idea is in Moses Cordovero's *Tomer Devorah* (*The Palm Tree of Deborah*, tr. by L. Jacobs, 1960), which begins: "It is proper for man to imitate his Creator, resembling Him in both likeness and image according to the secret of the Supernal Form. Because the chief Supernal image and likeness is in deeds, a human resemblance merely in bodily appearance and not in deeds debases that Form.… Consequently, it is proper for man to imitate the acts of the Supernal Crown which are the 13 highest attributes of mercy." In kabbalistic writings, imitation of God is seen as an actual imitation of the divine nature as revealed in the *sefirot*, whereby man becomes worthy of God's grace (see Jacobs' introduction to *The Palm Tree of Deborah*, 37). These ideas were developed in the ḥasidic writings and in the writings of the Mussar movement. Modern writers, especially those influenced by Kantian philosophy, place emphasis on the idea of the imitation of God. God is seen as the ideal toward which man's ethical behavior should aim.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* (1936), 199 ff.; G.F. Moore, *Judaism*, 1 (1927), 441; 2 (1947), 110 ff.; M. Silver, *The Ethics of Judaism* (1938), 185 ff.; M. Buber, *Israel and the World* (1963), 66–78. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** W.Z. Harvey, "Holiness: A Command to Imitatio Dei," in: *Tradition,* 16 (1977), 7–28; L. Kaplan, "Maimonides and Soloveitchik on the Knoweldge and Imitation of God," in: G. Hasselhoff (ed.), *Moses Maimonides (1138–1204): His Religious, Scientific, and Philosophical Wirkungsgeschichte in Different Cultural Contexts* (2004), 491–523; M. Kellner, "Gersonides on Imitatio Dei and the Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge," in: *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 85 (1995), 275–96; H. Kreisel, "Imitatio Dei in Maimonides' Guide of the Perplexed," in: *AJS Review*, 19 (1994) 169–211; S. Rosenberg, "You Shall Walk in His Ways," in: *Edah Journal,* 2 (2002), 1–17; K. Seeskin, *Searching for a Distant God: The Legacy of Maimonides* (2000); W.S. Wurzburger, *Ethics of Responsibility: Pluralistic Approaches to Covenantal Ethic* (1994).

[Seymour Siegel]

IMMANUEL (Heb. עִמָּנוּ אֵל – this spelling, everywhere in two words, of which the first has everywhere a musical accent of its own: *merekha* in Isa. 7:14, *ṭifḥa*ʾ in Isa. 8:8 and 8:10, is that of the manuscripts and of most early prints, "With us is God"), the name to be given to a still unborn baby boy according to Isaiah 7:14, apparently as a symbol which verse 16 is intended to explain. The name is commonly supposed to occur again in 8:8, where the still unborn child is supposed to be apostrophized; but in fact the words *ʿimmanu'el* are here, as they are universally admitted to be in 8:10, not a proper name but a simple statement to the effect that "with us is God." The name Immanuel does not appear at all in the talmudic or midrashic literature. The Christian tradition identified the *ʿalmah* (see below) with the virgin mother Mary, and Immanuel with Jesus (Math. 1:20 ff.). The medieval Jewish commentator David *Kimḥi (on Isa. 7:14) comments that the sign was to strengthen Ahaz's conviction in the truth of the prophet's message. This would imply that the sign be contemporary with Ahaz and not a symbol for a future occurrence. The birth of Immanuel therefore could not take place, as Christianity has it, in the distant future after the period of Isaiah.

Ginsberg's Views

According to H.L. Ginsberg, the background of "the Immanuel sign" is explained by Isaiah 7:1 ff. as follows: In the reign of King Ahaz of Judah, kings Rezin of Aram and Pekah son of Remaliah of Israel marched against Jerusalem, and the news of their advance struck terror in the hearts of both the House of David and its subjects. YHWH, however, ordered *Isaiah to go out and meet Ahaz at a certain spot and tell him to stop worrying about "those two smoking stubs of firebrands" (i.e., those "has-beens"). (5) "Because the Arameans – with Ephraim and the son of Remaliah (as in verses 4 and 9, Pekah is referred to only as "the son of Remaliah" by way of disparagement; cf. "the son of Tabeel" in verse 6 and Saul's spiteful "the son of Jesse" and "son of Ahitub" in I Sam. 20:30, 31; 22:7, 9, 12, 13) – have plotted against you, saying (6) 'We will march

against Judah and invade and conquer it, and we will set up as king in it the son of Tabeel,' (7) thus said my Lord YHWH: It shall not succeed, It shall not come to pass. (8) For the head of Aram is Damascus, And the head of Damascus is Rezin;… (9a) The head of Ephraim is Samaria, And the head of Samaria is the son of Remaliah." It is felt at this point that the unspoken implication is that the Davidic polity, in contrast, is not a purely human one; its head is not Ahaz but God. This was clearly the understanding of the Chronicler, for, in narrating the encounter between Ahaz's predecessor Abijah and Pekah's predecessor Jeroboam (I) son of Nebat (II Chron. 13:8) he has put into the former's mouth a speech which, though it also embodies the ideas dear to himself, is patently modeled on the present speech of Isaiah. Here are some selected bits: (II Chron. 13:8) "Now, do you think you can stand up to the kingdom of YHWH which is committed to the descendants of David? To be sure, you are a great multitude. But with you are (only) the golden calves that Jeroboam made to serve you as gods … (Verse 12) So marching at the head with us is God…. O Israelites! Do not fight YHWH the God of your fathers, for you shall not succeed." Obviously, the Chronicler, like most moderns, understood Isaiah's argument in Isaiah 7:5–9a to be that the attempt of Aram and Israel could not possibly succeed (Isa. 7:7; II Chron. 13:12b) because the only real forces on their side were human forces (Isa. 7:8a, 9a; II Chron. 13:8), whereas "with us is God" (II Chron. 13:12a). However, one modern scholar, Kemper Fullerton, went further: he realized that the account in Isaiah (no less than the one in Chronicles cited here, although not by him) did not leave "whereas with us is God" to be inferred; it is said in so many words, only they have gotten displaced. Once it has been pointed out, there can be no doubt but Isaiah 8:8b–10 belongs in the context of 7:5–9. For (1) 8:10 first goes 7:5–7 one better: Even if all the nations in the world were to plot against us it would not succeed; cf. *ʿuẓu ʿeẓah* in 8:10 with *yaʿaẓ lo* in 7:5 and *yaqum lo* in 8:10 with *taqum* in 7:7. And then it expressly adds *ki ʿimmanu ʾel*, "For with us is God." (2) Given a choice between taking 8:8b as a threat against "your land, O Immanuel" (why should the not-yet conceived child of 7:14 be addressed?), and taking it as an assurance that "with us is God, and his wings shall be spread (protectingly) over the entire width of your land (O Ahaz)" – cf. 31:5; Ps. 17:8; 36:8; 57:2; 63:8; Ruth 2:12 – how can one do otherwise than agree with Fullerton? However, 8:8b has suffered some damage in the process of displacement. As a minimum, add *waw* (*vav*) at the beginning and place *ʿimmanu ʾel* עִמָּנוּ אֵל immediately after it. Then have 8:8b–10 follow directly on 7:9a, as follows: (8:8b) "But with us is God, And his wings shall be spread as wide as your land is broad (9) Note well (read *deʿu* with LXX), all you (read *yaḥdaw*) peoples; Listen, you remotest parts of the earth; Gird yourselves – you shall be broken; Gird yourselves – you shall be broken; (10) Hatch a plot – it shall be foiled; Agree on action (similarly "strike bargains," 58:13 and Hos. 10:4) – it shall not succeed. For with us is God!" Only after this comes 7:9b; but after that, for reasons that will be explained presently, come verses 14b–16. Thus: (7:9b) "If you do not believe – since you cannot be believed – (14b) look, the young woman shall conceive (future as in Judg. 13:5 in light of Judg. 13:3, since otherwise the futurity of the following verb would have had to be indicated by the form *we-yaledah*) and shall bear a son. You (*we-qaraʾta*, as some Mss. vocalize and some ancient versions render) shall name him 'With us is God' (Immanuel). (15) (By the time he learns to reject the bad [e.g., ink?] and choose the good [e.g., milk?], people will be feeding on curds and honey [for lack of agriculture, verses 23–25, 21–22]). (16) For before the lad knows to reject the bad and choose the good, the ground whose two kings you dread shall be abandoned." In this way, the "With us is God" sign makes an excellent conclusion to the "With us is God" assurance. By the same token, it will become obvious, on reflection, that where the sign stands in the received text, between verses 10–14a and 17, it is inapposite, for two reasons: first, verse 11 leads us to expect here a sign "down in Sheol or up in the sky"; and second, the tone of verses 13–14a and verse 17 leads us to expect an omen that bodes ill for Judah, not for Aram and Israel. The *amora* R. Johanan (Sanh. 96a) rightly inferred from Isaiah 38:8 that prior to abruptly receding ten steps in the reign of Hezekiah the shadow has abruptly advanced ten steps in the reign of Ahaz (for us that involves regarding *be-maʿalot*, "on the steps of" before *ʾAḥaz* as a contamination, due to the four other occurrences of *maʿalot* in the same verse, of an original *bi-Yme*, "in the days of"). Taking a hint from R. Johanan, Ginsberg inferred that this is the "sign" that was originally related between 7:14a and 7:17.

It is obviously no accident, in the light of the foregoing, that the story that Isaiah offered such a sign (7:11) is told, like the just cited one about the recession of the sun in the reign of Hezekiah, in the third person. Prophets never tell such stories about themselves. But is the extant sign story of Isaiah 7, the story of the Immanuel sign, conceivable, in contrast to the one about the forward leap of the sun here reconstructed, even in a first person account by Isaiah? The answer is that the Immanuel sign is unhistorical. In the first place, it is inept even as a legend. A comparison of verse 9b with Exodus 4:1, 5, 8, 9 (the common keyword is *heʾmin*, "to believe") shows that the narrator intended to have Isaiah reinforce his reassuring prediction to Ahaz with a sign as convincing as those in Exodus 4:1–9 (a staff turned into a snake and then back into a staff; healthy skin afflicted with a white eruption and then healed again; water turned into blood) – or like the two already mentioned prompt and miraculous signs of Isaiah which, respectively, we have reconstructed between 7:14a and 17 and we can still read in II Kings 20:8–11 and Isaiah 38:22, 7–8. To claim that the Immanuel sign, which consists merely of still further predictions, is anything of the sort takes a lot of hardihood, if that is the word. In the second place, the explication of the Immanuel sign takes a complicated form whose point is difficult to grasp. A harem girl of Ahaz (so Luzzatto, who interprets *ʿalmah* in light of the *ʿalamot* of Song 6:8) shall conceive and bear a son (prophets confidently predict such things only in third person accounts) whom Ahaz is to name "With us is

God" in token of the fact that only a few years after that "the ground whose two kings you dread shall be abandoned." However, how does such a name signify such a thing? There is a remarkably similar name interpretation in 8:3–4 (see Isaiah, ch. 7–9); only there (1) conception and birth are not predicted in advance, and (2) the interpretation of the name causes no difficulty. For the name is "Pillage hastens, looting speeds," and any intelligent child can understand how that signifies, "Two cities are going to be plundered at an early date" (8:4). To symbolize in the same way the early abandonment of the farmland of the two countries, the child of chapter 7 ought to have been named "Abandonment hastens, desertion speeds" (*miharah ʿazuvah, ḥashah neṭushah*). It is decidedly no accident that the straightforward self-explanatory account of a symbolic child naming is couched in the first person and the fuzzy, elusive, puzzling one, in the third. For an analogous case, see *Hosea (A). The child-naming sign of Isaiah 7 is a palpably legendary reflex of the one in chapter 8, the name of the child in the former being suggested by Isaiah's assurance "with us is God" (see above) and its signification by the predication of Judah's depopulation in 6:11–12 and of again – as 7:17 shows – Judah's reversion to a pastoral economy as a result of the abandonment of its farmland in 7:18ff.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. Fullerton, in: JBL, 43 (1924), 253ff.; E.G. Kraeling, in: JBL, 50 (1931), 277–97; H.L. Ginsberg, in: *Tarbiz*, 20 (1950), 29–32; J.J. Stamm, in: VT, 4 (1954), 20–33; idem, in: ZAW, 68 (1956), 46–53; W. McKane, in: VT, 17 (1967), 208–19.

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

IMMANUEL (ben Solomon) OF ROME (known in Italian as **Manoello Giudeo** – "Immanuel the Jew"; c. 1261–c. 1335), poet. Born in Rome, a scion of the Ẓifroni family, Immanuel moved in circles of scholars and poets. At times he was in charge of the correspondence of the Jewish community of Rome and addressed the community on festive occasions. The supposition that he held a high post in the community has not been proven, nor has the assumption that he was a physician been substantiated. Immanuel left Rome for unknown reasons, but his departure may have been connected with the papal edict of expulsion issued against the community in 1321. He then lived in Perugia, Fabriano, Fermo, Camerino, Ancona, Gubbio, and Verona where he probably was a private tutor in the homes of wealthy patrons.

Maḥbarot, his best known literary work, comprises poems and *meliẓot* (a type of rhymed prose, found in medieval Spanish-Jewish literature, which closely resembles the *maqāma*). A single narrative runs through the work giving it structural unity; this characteristic is also in the tradition of the *maqāma* and of certain literary works (consisting of prose and poetry) found in romance languages, such as Dante's *Vita Nova*. Immanuel says that the work was inspired by a patron, whom he designates as *sar* ("prince"; he probably was not a Maecenas, as usually stated by Immanuel's biographers, but simply a rich Jew), and in whose home he lived in Fermo. The work consists of a preface and 28 *maḥbarot* (sing. *maḥberet*, Heb. for *maqāma*), hence its title, *Maḥbarot* (first complete edition Brescia, 1491; Constantinople, 1535; Berlin, 1796; Lemberg, 1870; the latest scientific edition, Jerusalem, 1984). His meters, style, imagery, and figurative language are mostly similar to those of Solomon ibn *Gabirol, *Judah Halevi, and especially Judah *al-Ḥarizi, whose *Taḥkemoni* Immanuel held as a model, but he also takes strophic forms and motifs from Italian literature. The subject matter of *Maḥbarot* is mostly gay, at times frivolous, but almost always witty. The artistic form is but a vehicle to prove Immanuel a skillful master of language whose aim it is to arouse the admiration of the reader. His punning and play on biblical terms have not been surpassed. *Maḥbarot* contains poems on love, wine, and friendship, riddles, epigrams, epistles, but also poetry of a serious nature, such as elegies and religious poems. The *piyyut* "**Yigdal*," included in the daily prayer book, is an abridged adaptation of a poem by Immanuel included in the *Maḥbarot* (no. 4) whose subject is Maimonides' 13 Principles of Faith.

Influences on Maḥbarot

While Immanuel was a disciple of the Spanish school, and therefore indirectly adhered to many characteristics of Arabic poetry, the Italian influence can unmistakably be detected in many of his *maḥbarot*. At times, he applies the Arabic meter to Italian verse. Around 1300 he started to write Hebrew sonnets. According to the study of D. Bregman, 38 sonnets, usually love poems reflecting the influence of Dante and Cecco Angioleri (with erotic-realistic connotations), were included in the *Maḥbarot.* He was the first to introduce the 14-line Petrarchian sonnet into Hebrew literature. In his love poetry, he often follows the path of the Italian *dolce stil novo* school whose views and ideas and use of language he faithfully reproduced in Hebrew. The last three lines in one of Immanuel's sonnets are a verbatim translation of a sonnet by *Dante. Another poem, an encomiastic verse to himself, extolling his mastery of all arts and crafts, is an imitation in Hebrew of the structure and metric form of the Italian "*Sirventese del maestro di tutte l'arti*." On the other hand, the suggestion that the Italian novella greatly influenced Immanuel's narratives seems to be without foundation.

Maḥberet ha-Tofet ve-ha-Eden (his last *maḥberet*, also published separately, Prague, 1613), which is an account of Immanuel's journey through hell and paradise, follows the general concept of the *Divina Commedia*, some of the Dantesque episodes even serving as model. Daniel, Immanuel's guide through the netherworld and paradise, has been taken for Dante; others have identified him with the prominent personage whose death burdened Immanuel with thought of his own fate in the world to come and stimulated his visionary journey through hell and paradise; or with a friend, also named Daniel, whose throne Immanuel saw in paradise. Ascending the ladder of wisdom to heaven, Immanuel sees the patriarchs, the prophets, the righteous, the sages of all the generations, and the righteous gentiles who were tolerant of

other faiths. Toward the end of his journey, he is shown the seats reserved for his living contemporaries, including his relatives. The assumption that Immanuel was a friend of Dante is not substantiated by the sources and lacks all foundation as has been shown by Umberto Cassuto and Cecil Roth. He was, however, a friend of the poet Bosone da Gubbio with whom he exchanged sonnets in commemoration of the death of Dante. Immanuel's death was the subject of an exchange of sonnets between Bosone da Gubbio and the poet Cino da Pistoia, in which the two poets eulogized him and ranked him with Dante. He also wrote some sonnets in Italian and exchanged poems with other Italian poets of his time. Immanuel's sonnets in Italian were often published, as well as his amusing "*Bisbidis*" describing conditions at the court of Verona. H. Brody published the first part of the new edition of the *Maḥbarot* based on manuscript material, in 1926, and A.M. *Habermann the first vocalized edition, based on printed works and on manuscript material, together with a commentary and a translation of Immanuel's Italian sonnets (1946 (*recte*: 1950), 1957). A new vocalized edition, based on manuscript material, with commentary and bibliography was published by D. Jarden (1957, c. 1984^2). Parts of the *Maḥbarot*, especially the 28^{th} *maḥberet*, have been translated into German, Italian, English, Hungarian, Latin, and Yiddish.

Other Works

Other works by Immanuel are (1) a no longer extant work on the symbolism of the Hebrew alphabet which was perhaps entitled *Migdal Oz*; the introductory poem is included in the *Maḥbarot*; (2) *Even Boḥan*, a hermeneutic work, in manuscript (the introduction published by L. Dukes in *Rabbinische Blumenlese* (1844), 268–70); (3) Commentaries to almost the whole Bible in which Immanuel mainly explains the literal meaning; sometimes, however, offering allegorical, philosophical, and mystic interpretations. Among his published commentaries are that to Proverbs (Naples, 1487; repr. 1990) in which Immanuel is erroneously called Immanuel b. Jacob; parts of that to Psalms (published by De' Rossi, Parma, 1806); the first part of the commentary to the Pentateuch (in *Archiv fuer wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testamentes*, 1 (1867–69), 363–84), the commentary to Psalms (incomplete, 1879–84), and the commentaries to Esther (1880), to Lamentations (1881), and to Ruth (1881); the commentary to Song of Songs, published by S.B. Eschwege (1908; Ravitski, 1970), and the commentary to the first chapter of Genesis published by F. Michelini Tocci (1963). Immanuel's commentaries to other books of the Bible are either extant in manuscript or known through the author's reference to them. A philosophical epistle addressed to *Hillel b. Samuel of Verona was published by Steinschneider (*Israelietische Letterbode*, (1881–82), 166–7.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: U. Cassuto, *Dante e Manoello* (1921); S. Tchernichowsky, *Immanuel ha-Romi* (1925); Sonne, in: *Tarbiz*, 5 (1933/35), 324–40; C. Roth, in: RMI, 17 (1951), 422–46; idem, in: *Modern Language Review*, 48 (1953), 26–32; Waxman, Literature, 2 (1960), 65–74; G. Raphael (Bat-Yehudah), *Yehudah al-Ḥarizi ve-Immanuel ha-Romi* (1941); Zinberg, Sifrut 1 (1955), 388–410; S. Morais, *Italian Hebrew Literature* (1926); 9–51. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Yarden, *Leshono shel ha-Maḥberot* (1954); *Perush li-Meggilat Shir ha-Shirim*, ed. Y. Ravitski (1970); D. Goldstein, in: HUCA, 42 (1971), 243–50; Carmi, *The Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse* (1981), 421–27; *The Mahberot, Fourteenth Canto: the Inheritance*, ed. V.E. Reichert (1982); M. Rosenthal, in: *Approaches to Judaism in Medieval Times*, 2 (1985), 169–85; D. Malkiel, in: *Prooftexts*, 16:22:2 (1996), 169–73; D. Bregman, in: *Prooftexts*, 11:3 (1991), 231–39; idem, in: RMI, 61:1–2 (1995), 43–85; idem, *Shevil ha-Zahav: ha-Sonet ha-Ivri bi-Tekufat ha-Renesans ve-ha-Barok* (1995); idem, *Sharsheret ha-Zahav: ha-Sonet ha-Ivri le-Dorotav* (2000); *L'inferno e il paradise*, ed. G. Battistoni, A. Luzzatto, and E. Weiss Levi (c. 2000); *Mahbereth prima* (il destino), ed. S. Fumagalli, M.T. Mayer, and G. Shaked (2002); T. Rosen, *Unveiling Eve* (2003), 124ff.

[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto / Angel Sáenz-Badillos. (2^{nd} ed.)]

IMMA SHALOM (late first and early second century C.E.), wife of *Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, and according to the aggadic tradition of the Babylonian Talmud, also the sister of Rabban *Gamaliel of Jabneh. The Tosefta (Nid. 6:8) mentions R. Eliezer's wife in passing, though not by name. The earliest and best attested tradition which mentions Imma Shalom by name is found in the *Mekhilta de-Millu'im*, an addition to the Sifra on Leviticus, apparently from the school of R. Ishmael (Epstein, ITL 641). There (Sifra, ed. Weiss 45c, Vatican 66, ed. Finkelstein, 194–195) it is told concerning one of R. Eliezer's students that "he once made a halakhic decision in the presence of R. Eliezer his master. R. Eliezer said to Imma Shalom his wife: 'I would be surprised if he lives out the week.' The student died before the week was out. His students asked him: 'Our master, are you a prophet?' He replied: 'Neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet am I. Rather I have a tradition from my teachers that any student who makes a halakhic decision in the presence of his master is liable to die.'" This tradition is quoted as a *baraita* in the Jerusalem Talmud (Shev 6:1 36c), in the classic aggadic Midrashim (Lev. R. 20:6; PdRK 26: Tanḥ, Aḥre Mot 6), and in the Babylonian Talmud (Er. 63a).

The Babylonian Talmud tells three more *aggadot* about Imma Shalom. The first is a continuation of the Babylonian Talmud's famous story about the excommunication of R. Eliezer at the hands of Rabban Gamaliel and his colleagues. By way of introduction, the Babylonian Talmud informs us (BM 59b) that Imma Shalom was not only R. Eliezer's wife but also Rabban Gamaliel's sister. Narrative embellishments of this sort are very common in the *aggadot* of the Babylonian Talmud and should not be taken as reflecting ancient historical information. The Talmud relates that after Eliezer's excommunication Imma Shalom did not permit her husband to prostrate himself in the supplications after the **Amidah* (to prevent him praying for his humiliation and so bring punishment upon his excommunicators). On one occasion she found her husband prostrating himself, and exclaimed: "You have killed my brother!" And indeed they immediately blew the *shofar* to proclaim the death of the *nasi* Gamaliel. When Eliezer asked how she knew this, she replied: "I have a tradition from my paternal grandfather's house; 'all gates are locked

except the gate of wounded feelings.'" Clearly, the description of Imma Shalom's almost prophetic ability to predict the future on the basis of a tradition which she received from her grandfather (Rabban Gamaliel I) echoes the narrative line of the original tannaitic story, except that now Imma Shalom takes on the role of prophet, and her husband the role of the confused observer.

The second *aggadah* (Shab. 116a–b) tells of a certain "philosopher" in Imma Shalom's vicinity, who served as a judge and who had the reputation of not accepting bribes. She and her brother contrived a lawsuit, ostensibly in connection with the division of their patrimony, inherited from their father, Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel I, for the purpose of embarrassing this judge, and showing up his true character. Imma Shalom sent him a golden lamp before submitting the case to him. He ruled that the patrimony should be divided equally. Gamaliel said to him: "In our Torah it says that where there is a son the daughter does not inherit," to which he retorted: "Since the day you were exiled from your land, the law of Moses has been superseded by a new law" (Mss. read "the law of the Evangelium"), "and there it states that a son and daughter inherit equally." The next day Gamaliel sent him a Libyan ass. When they subsequently came before him he said to them: "I have looked at the continuation of the Evangelium and it states there: 'I did not come to subtract from the law of Moses but [so in the Mss.] to add to it,' and there it states that the daughter does not inherit where there is a son." Imma Shalom exclaimed: "Let thy light shine forth like a lamp"; whereupon Gamaliel retorted: "An ass came and kicked over the lamp."

The third *aggadah* relates that Imma Shalom and Eliezer had very beautiful children (Ned. 20b). When asked the reason for this, she attributed this to her husband's great modesty in their marital relations, which she described in some detail. This tradition was included in the collections *Kallah* (1:1) and *Kallah Rabbati* (1:15).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y, Gilat, *R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, A Scholar Outcast* (1984), 417, 428, 484; T. Ilan, in: *AJS Review*, 22:1 (1997), 11–16.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

IMOLA, town near Bologna, central Italy. Little reliance can be placed on the report that Jews settled in Imola in 640 but were expelled in 976. Jews are known positively to have lived there only in the 14th century, and around 1495 the Ibn *Yaḥya family settled in Imola after they left Spain. In 1555 the Jews were confined to a ghetto; on this occasion the chronicler Gedaliah ibn Yaḥya reports that his business worth 10,000 scudi was ruined. When the Jews were expelled from the Papal States for a second time, in 1593, the community ceased to exist. From the 17th until 19th century there is evidence that Jews sporadically lived for some periods in Imola. From 1877 one Jewish family – Fiorentino – dwelled there. During the years 1944–45 a number of Italian or foreign Jews in transit were helped by the population and by the *Jewish Brigade.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Milano, Italia, 250; Roth, Italy, index; Ravà, in: *Educatore Israelita*, 21 (1873), 174–6. A. Ferri, *Dal Regno al Regime – Ebrei imolesi dall'unità d'Italia alle leggi razziali* (1998).

[Attilio Milano / Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

IMPALEMENT, method of execution employed in the Ancient Near East, whereby a living body was pierced between the legs or in the solar plexus by being thrust upon a spike fixed on the ground. The Code of Hammurabi (§153, in Pritchard, Texts, 172) prescribes impalement for a woman who caused her husband's death because of another man; and the Middle Assyrian Laws (§53, in Pritchard, Texts, 185), for a woman convicted of inducing her own abortion. Assyrians and Persians used to impale chiefs of a city that had revolted against them. In Ezra 6:11 the punishment to be incurred by anyone who would change Darius' edict about the rebuilding of the Temple is probably impalement. The same Darius threatens Arakha, pretender to the throne of Babylon, with impalement: "This Arakha and the nobles, his main followers, shall be impaled in Babylon" (see Roux in bibl.). Herodotus (3:159) reports that he actually impaled 3,000 of them. Since impalement was an established practice in Persia, it may be that *talah* in Esther 2:23; 5:14 (LXX 7:9, σταυρωθήτω, "impale"); 7:10; 9:13–14 refers to this method of execution. It is also possible that the religiously motivated executions of Numbers 25:4 and II Samuel 21:6–13 refer to impalement. However, the meaning of the verb used in these passages to describe the execution, *hokiʿa* (הוקיע, *hiphʿil* of יקע), cannot be determined with certainty. The Septuagint renders it as either παραδειγματίζω, "make an example of," or ἐζηλιάζω, "expose to the sun." While the hanged man should be buried the very day of his execution (Deut. 21:22–23), the corpses of the victims in II Samuel 21:6–13 were exposed for about six months before being buried. It is worth noting that the body of the impaled mother convicted of abortion was denied burial (Middle Assyrian Laws, 53). Unless new data will become available one cannot, however, say with certainty that impalement was practiced by the Israelites.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* (1913²), 351; R. Dussaud, *Les origines cananéennes du sacrifice israélite* (1921), 287ff.; G. Roux, *Ancient Iraq* (1966), 371.

IMPRISONMENT, the act of depriving a person of his liberty by restricting his freedom of movement and confining him within a particular defined locality, where he is under the direct and constant supervision of the confining authority. This form of restraint on individual liberty is sometimes referred to as arrest or detention (*maʿaẓar*) and sometimes as imprisonment (*ma'asar*). The most frequent cases of imprisonment are:

(1) arrest of a person suspected of having committed a criminal offense in order to ensure his arraignment and presence at the trial or to prevent him from interfering with the course of inquiries;

(2) detention of a person convicted and sentenced to death or banishment, pending execution of the sentence;

(3) imprisonment without trial by virtue of an administrative order of the government, issued against a political background;

(4) imprisonment aimed at compelling compliance with the instruction of a judicial tribunal;

(5) imprisonment imposed as a punishment for the commission of an offense.

The first four categories of imprisonment were known in most ancient legal systems; punitive imprisonment, however, was apparently unknown in the legal systems of the ancient East or in Greek and Roman law, in keeping with the dictum of Ulpian: "*carcer enim ad continendos homines, non ad puniendos habari debet*" ("prison is intended for the confinement, and not punishment, of people"). Most European legal systems only came to give general recognition to imprisonment as a punitive measure from the commencement of the 14th century onward (see W. Mittermaier, *Gefaengniskunde* (1954), 2–3, 3–17; Von Hentig, *Die Strafe*, 2 (1955), 159–83; see also *Imprisonment for Debt).

IN THE BIBLE

Biblical references to imprisonment within the context of Jewish law (the imprisonment of Joseph in Egypt (Gen. 39:20; 40:3–4, 7; 42:16–19) and of Samson by the Philistines (Judg. 16:21) were not within that context) are made in the cases of detaining a transgressor until delivery and execution of the judgment (Lev. 24:12; Num. 15:34) and as an administrative measure (I Kings 22:27; II Chron. 16:10; Jer. 37:15–16; 38:4–14); at the close of the biblical period imprisonment is mentioned as one of the means entrusted to the court, presumably for the purpose of compelling compliance with its instructions (Ezra 7:25–26).

IN THE TALMUDIC PERIOD

In the Talmud there are *halakhot* relating to a person detained in prison (with reference to the laws of Sotah – Sot. 4:5), a person promised his release from imprisonment (with reference to the laws of the paschal lamb – Pes. 8:6), and a person released from prison (with reference to the laws of Festivals – MK 3:1). During this period there were Jewish and gentile prisons for imprisonment at the hands of Jews and gentiles respectively (Pes. 91a; TJ, Pes. 8:6, 36a, and MK 3:1, 81c). Mention is made of a building inhabited by the warder of the prison in Maḥoza, a Babylonian city, the majority of whose residents were Jewish (Yoma 11a; see also TJ, Kid. 4:12, 66d).

Detention of a suspect pending completion of the judicial proceedings against him continued to be the most common form of imprisonment in this period (Mekh., Nezikin, 6; Ket. 33b); his detention was forbidden, however, unless it was possible to point to evidence tending to prove commission of the offense (TJ, Sanh. 7:10, 25a). It was also customary to detain a person who had been convicted and sentenced to death pending execution of the sentence (Sif. Num., 114; Sanh. 11:4). The sages interpreted the passage from the Book of Ezra (7:25–26) as authority for the court to imprison a person refusing to comply with its instructions (MK 16a), and to this end severe conditions of detention were sometimes imposed (*Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, ed. by B.M. Lewin, Mashkin, p. 68).

Imprisonment as *punishment for an offense is known for the first time during the talmudic period (referred to as *hakhnasah la-kippah*, i.e., confinement in a "cell" – Sanh. 9:5; Tosef., Sanh. 12:7–8). This punishment was imposed in two cases: after the offender had committed an offense for which the punishment was **karet* (*Divine Punishment) three or more times; and for the offense of *murder whenever the court was unable – on account of procedural and formal defects – to convict the accused but was convinced that he had murdered the deceased. Conditions of imprisonment in the "cell" were particularly severe (Sanh. 81b). The sages found a hint for punitive imprisonment in a biblical passage; it was, however, apparently a rabbinical enactment (*takkanah*) made by virtue of the sages' authority to impose punishment for criminal offenses – even beyond the framework of the pentateuchal law – whenever rendered necessary by the existing exigencies (see **Takkanot* and Yad, Roẓe'aḥ, 4:8–9).

IN THE POST-TALMUDIC PERIOD

In the post-talmudic times increasing recourse was had to imprisonment within the Jewish legal system and, along with pretrial detention and imprisonment to compel compliance with the instructions of the court, punitive imprisonment – imposed in respect of various types of offenses – became a common phenomenon in Jewish law, particularly from the early 14th century onward.

This phenomenon was linked to the problem of Jewish judicial autonomy in the various centers of Jewish life. This autonomy related primarily to the field of civil law, but in most Jewish centers it extended also to criminal law (see *Penal Law), although varying in scope from center to center (see *Autonomy, Judicial; *Mishpat Ivri). One of its manifestations in the field of criminal law was the existence of Jewish prisons in various centers, as is evident from numerous halakhic and historical sources; in particular, much material on this subject is available regarding the situation in Poland and neighboring territories, covering details such as the names of some of the prisons and their Jewish warders, their salaries, etc. (see Elon, in bibl., pp. 178–84). Imprisonment, within its various categories, was imposed by the *bet din* even in centers where there were no prisons under Jewish supervision, execution thereof being entrusted to the governmental authorities (Elon, *ibid.*, 184f.).

Arrest and Detention

In the ninth century, the Babylonian *Gaon* *Paltoi decided that it was permissible to arrest an offender on the Sabbath if knowledge about him first came to light on this day (*Halakhot Pesukot min ha-Ge'onim* no. 135); later, a contrary decision was given by Sherira Gaon (*Shibbolei ha-Leket* no. 60) and the problem was discussed over a long period in the Codes (Rema, OH 339:4). In Spain various *halakhot* were fixed concerning

the arrest of a person, particularly with reference to his release on guarantee or bail (Resp. Rosh, 13:3; Rashba, vol. 2, no. 242; Ribash, resp. 234–9, 508). Detention was also employed as a means of preventing someone from taking flight in circumstances calculated to cause great hardship to another, e.g., if the husband sought to place his wife in the position of an *agunah*; in this event it was decided that arrest was permissible even on the Sabbath (*Shevut Ya'akov*, vol. 1, no. 14).

Imprisonment to Compel Compliance with the Court (Ma᾽asar Kefiyyah)

Imprisonment was used by the court as a means of compelling a husband to grant a bill of divorce (*get*) to a wife with whom marriage was prohibited (Rashi, Pes. 91a; Ribash, resp. 348), as well as in all other cases where it is permitted to compel the husband to grant a *get* (Rashba, vol. 2, resp. 276) and also as a means of compelling the levir to grant *ḥaliẓah* (Resp. Rosh 52:8; see *Levirate Marriage and *Divorce, and compare the legal position in the State of Israel in this respect).

Contempt of Court

Imprisonment was also used as a sanction for noncompliance with various instructions of the court (Rif. resp. 146; Ritba, resp. 159; *Takkanot Medinat Mehrin* (Moravia), no. 247; *Pinkas ha-Medinah* [*Lita*], no. 546). Imprisonment was mentioned by some of the *posekim* as a sanction available to the court (Maim. Yad, Sanhedrin 24:9; Tur, ḤM 2); other *posekim* made no mention thereof in this context (Sh. Ar. and Rema, ḤM 2), but in the later Codes this possibility was again acknowledged (*Levush, Ir Shushan, Sema, Urim ve-Tummim*, and *Netivot ha-Mishpat*, ḤM 2).

Punitive Imprisonment

SERIOUS CRIMES. The talmudic law of *hakhnasah la-kippah* (see above) became an analogy for the imposition of similar punitive imprisonment in certain cases of murder, when the possibility of carrying out the capital sentence was excluded according to the original law (Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 4:8–9). Punitive imprisonment was likewise prescribed in cases of homicide not carrying liability, according to the original law, for the death sentence (Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 2:2–5) in a case of murder involving doubt as to whether the death resulted directly from the murderer's act (Ribash, resp. no. 251), or if there was one witness only (i.e., if he proved to be reliable and delivered convincing testimony – *Yam shel Shelomoh*, BK 8:6). A sentence of death was imposed on a Jew who committed, for the third time, the offense of informing on and denouncing a fellow Jew to the gentiles, and other forms of punishment, including imprisonment, were imposed for a first or second offense of this nature (see Finkelstein, *Jewish Self-Government*, p. 362; and *Informers).

Commencing in the 14th century, imprisonment became accepted in Jewish law, under the influence of the surrounding legal systems (see above) as a regular mode of punishment in respect of numerous other offenses. It became one of the most common and effective sanctions to be adopted by the Jewish courts and in various *takkanot*, in answer to the circumstances and conditions of Jewish life in different periods.

OFFENSES AGAINST MORALITY AND THE FAMILY LAWS. The penalty of imprisonment was imposed upon commission of offenses such as having sexual relations with a non-Jew (*Zikhron Yehudah* no. 91), *adultery (i.e. in cases of sexual relations with a married woman – Ribash, resp. no. 351), sodomy (Mabit, vol. 1; resp. no. 22), and prostitution; and, in some localities, it was imposed "against certain youths who harass girls and women in the streets at nighttime" (see Elon, in bibl., p. 193). Imprisonment was also imposed as a punishment for marrying in a ceremony attended by less than a *minyan* – aimed at avoiding various kinds of secret marriages (Ribash, resp. no. 232; see also **Takkanot*; *Marriage).

OFFENSES AGAINST PROPERTY. Imprisonment was an accepted sanction for theft (see *Theft and Robbery; Ritba, resp. no. 159; *Divrei Rivot* no. 232; see also Elon, p. 194) and was imposed even when commission of the offense could not be proved by the testimony of two witnesses, but the court was persuaded of the theft on the strength of the circumstantial evidence (*Tashbeẓ* 3:168). Not only the thief was imprisoned, but also any person knowingly undermining the inquiry into the theft (Elon, p. 194).

ASSAULT AND INSULT. Imprisonment was prescribed as the punishment for *assault, and in certain places a monetary fine was imposed – nonpayment whereof rendered the offender liable to imprisonment (*Zikhron Yehudah* no. 36; Elon, p. 195). *Defamation was also punished with imprisonment (*ibid.*).

GAMBLING. Playing games of chance, a common phenomenon in the Middle Ages, was combated by the Jewish communal leaders and courts by the adoption of various stringent measures (see *Gambling), including imprisonment imposed on both male and female participants and on the owner permitting gambling to take place on his premises. In terms of a *takkanah* enacted in the Cracow community in the middle of the 17th century, a woman sentenced to imprisonment was to be detained *in nayen Dudik* ("in the new 'Dudik'" – the name of a jail possibly intended for female prisoners only), for the period "from completion of the *Shaḥarit* service until completion of the *Arvit* service in the Synagogue" (see Elon, p. 196) – so that she was enabled to return home in the evening without spending the night in jail.

SUNDRY OFFENSES. Imprisonment was also imposed in respect of offenses of a religious nature, e.g., in the case of a person who threatened to become an apostate unless his request be met for the performance of a ceremony of marriage between himself and a woman prohibited to him by law (Ritba, resp. no. 179); it was also used against the followers of *Shabbetai Ẓevi, and even against the followers of Ḥasidism in its early controversial stages. It was likewise imposed for delivering false testimony, smuggling, and other offenses. In *tak-*

kanot of the Cracow community, enacted at the end of the 16th century, the poor were prohibited, on pain of imprisonment, from begging for alms in the streets – the beadle of the synagogue being entrusted with the duty of collecting contributions and distributing them among the poor; this was justified on the ground that almsgiving in the streets was "tantamount to robbing the respectable poor," since such poor people were ashamed to beg for alms and turned solely to the communal charity box (Elon. pp. 196–7).

The Pillory and House Arrest

Putting offenders in the "Kuna," as the pillory was known in Poland and Lithuania, was a form of punishment meted out in these countries in the late Middle Ages, by Jews as well as gentiles. In some places the "Kuna" consisted of a chain attached to the wall of a synagogue, near the entrance, to which the offender was tied by his neck and hands for a number of hours and was aimed at submitting the offender to shame and ignominy. This form of punishment was commonly found in Catholic churches and on feudal estates and was sometimes imposed in the Jewish community as a punishment for defamation, informing, and like offenses (Elon, pp. 197–8). In the late 17th century, in the Hamburg congregation of Portuguese Jews, house arrest was a form of punishment imposed in respect of certain offenses (Elon, *ibid.*).

Treatment of Prisoners

It is apparent that punitive imprisonment was introduced into the Jewish legal system under the influence of legal systems surrounding the centers of Jewish life. This may be concluded from the use of the "Kuna" (see above) and from the fact that Jewish law, like other legal systems, only introduced imprisonment as a mode of punishment from the 14th century onward. In the process, Jewish law nevertheless stopped short of absorbing some of the accompanying features of imprisonment, such as the cruelty displayed toward prisoners and the inhuman conditions of their detention that prevailed in various countries until the 19th century. In various *takkanot* and responsa it was laid down, e.g., that prisoners awaiting trial were to be kept under different conditions of detention than those to which convicted prisoners were subject, and that the latter too were to be provided with food, clean quarters, and – separate therefrom – sanitary facilities (Elon, pp. 199–201)

[Menachem Elon]

APPLICATION OF JEWISH LAWS OF IMPRISONMENT IN CASE LAW OF THE ISRAELI SUPREME COURT

A detailed discussion of the essence, nature and use of the penalty of imprisonment in Jewish Law can be found in judicial decisions of the Israel Supreme Court, a number of which will be dealt with in this article.

General – Preservation of the Prisoner's Dignity

In the case of Segal (Cr. A 344/81 *State of Israel v. Segal*, PD 35(4) 313), the Supreme Court was asked to rule on the appropriate severity of the prison sentence to be imposed on an offender convicted of drug offenses. The Court (Justice Menahem Elon) began its opinion by relating to the difficulty inherent in a determination of the severity of the punishment: "The legislator entrusted him [the judge] with penal sentencing – especially in respect of the penalty of imprisonment – with an upper limit, but no lower limit" (p. 321 of the decision). Further on in the judgment, the Court relates to the duty under Jewish Law to preserve the dignity and rights of the prisoner, and points out: "Originally, Jewish Law did not recognize imprisonment as a means of punishment. Even after it became reconciled to the idea, under the influence of surrounding judicial systems and inexorable necessity, the halakhic authorities protested against it and warned that *human dignity must be safeguarded*, even in circumstances of incarceration. This matter is treated in an illuminating fashion in a responsum by R. Hayyim Palaggi (*Palache), in Ismir, Turkey, during the first half of the 19th century, who spoke against incarcerating people in 'dirty and desolate cells,' as was the practice in his city of Ismir" (Resp. *Hikekei Lev*, II, ḤM 5). The Court added that: "This assimilation of the law practiced in the surrounding society did not involve adopting the accompanying phenomenon of brutal treatment of prisoners, inhuman conditions regarding food and accommodation and the like, that persisted even into the 19th century in different countries. In the words of the historian Salo Baron: 'Jewish prisons, one of which may still be observed in the Altneuschule in Prague, resembled modern penitentiaries rather than medieval towers and dungeons.' It was forbidden to subject people awaiting trial to the same conditions of imprisonment as those already sentenced. Prisoners sentenced for non-capital offenses were not to be housed in filthy places, for although they had sinned, they were still sons of Israel and were to be imprisoned with dignity" (*ibid*, p. 327).

Prisoner's Right to Medical Treatment and to a Choice of Physician

In the Tamir case (APP 4/82 *State of Israel v. Tamir*, PD 37(3) 205), the Court heard a request by a prisoner to receive different medical consultation and treatment than those suggested by the prison authorities. The Court (Justice Menahem Elon) ruled that:

> It is well established that, by virtue of the principle of personal freedom of all who are created in the Divine image, no person's bodily integrity may be infringed without his consent… This basic right includes a person's right to select the physician to whom his medical treatment will be entrusted…

The Court noted that this right has its origins in Jewish legal sources (see *Medicine and Law), and that:

> The basic right to physical and mental integrity and well-being and to choosing the medical treatment which appears appropriate to him for their preservation, applies also to a person who is in prison or detention; the fact of imprisonment *per se* does not deprive him of any right, save where this is required by virtue of restrictions on his freedom of movement, or when there is an express provision of the law in this regard…

This Court has already stated that: "The right to physical integrity and human dignity is one to which prisoners and detainees are also entitled. The prison walls do not separate between a detainee and his human dignity… See how concerned the Sages were for a person's dignity and his rights, even if he had sinned. Maimonides, after discussing the various penal sentences available to the court, including imprisonment (Maim., Yad, Sanhedrin 24.9), makes the following concluding statement: 'All of these (punishments) are to be used at the discretion of the judge, in accordance with their appropriateness and their time. And in all these actions his intent must be for the sake of Heaven, and human dignity may not be a trivial matter in his eyes… for he must be cautious not to slight their honor' (*ad loc*., 10)…

Even with regard to a person sentenced to capital punishment (see *Capital Punishment), the Sages ordered that the executioner must carry out the death sentence in a manner which minimizes the suffering of the convicted criminal and without indignity, applying the verse 'And you shall love your neighbor as yourself' (Lev. 19:18) from which they derived the principle: 'Choose for him a favorable death' (Ket. 37b; Sanh. 45a, 52b); to teach that even a person condemned to death is still 'your neighbor'…" (pp. 205–6 of the judgment).

In its decision, the Court ruled that "the statutory provisions imposing the duty of examination and treatment on the prison authorities […] do not deprive the prisoner of his right to the medical advice and treatment of his own choice, provided that he is prepared to bear the costs involved therein" (p. 209 of judgment)

Creditor's Duty to Attend to Debt-Prisoner's Needs

In the Tamir case, the Court proceeded to discuss the rights of prisoners under Jewish Law:

It is instructive to cite an enactment of the Council of the Principal Communities of Lithuania in 1637, regarding the obligation imposed on a creditor to provide food to his debtor while the latter is in prison for non-payment of his debt. Jewish Law originally imposed an absolute prohibition against imprisoning a debtor, who is unable to pay his debt, due to the resultant injury to his personal freedom… however, the proliferation of swindlers who avoided paying their creditors, using various fraudulent techniques, and a wave of bankruptcies, forced the halakhic authorities and the heads of the autonomous bodies in the various communities to allow the imprisonment of debtors, under certain terms and conditions, albeit only for a fixed and limited period of time. We can learn of one such condition from the aforementioned enactment, which stated as follows:

"If a creditor demands his debtor's imprisonment, he must provide for the latter's sustenance as determined by the court, and the cost of such sustenance shall be recovered together with his debt" (S. Dubnow (ed.), *Pinkas ha-Medinah* [*Lita*], Berlin, 5285 (1524), reg. 333, p. 70 J [for further detail, see *Imprisonment for Debt]).

…The guiding principle behind the attitude of Jewish Law to imprisonment is to be found in the exposition of Deuteronomy 25:3. On the basis of this verse, the Sages established an important principle in Jewish Law: "Once he [the guilty person] has been flogged, he is to be considered as your brother" (Mishnah, Mak. 3.15). This important principle applies not only after his punishment, but even while he is being punished, for he is your brother and fellow man, and his rights and his dignity as a human being are protected and remain with him (*ad loc.* pp. 207–208).

In the spirit of these provisions of Jewish Law, the Court ruled that the prison authorities have a duty to enable juveniles imprisoned therein to realize their right to study; that various books must be allowed into the prison, so long as there is no danger of immoral activity or incitement against the state; that prisoners be given beds to sleep on, so long as there is no tangible danger that the prisoners will use them for violent purposes against the jailers or against other prisoners; and that a prisoner has a right to take part and to vote in elections conducted in the state, for "the non-violation of any rights enjoyed by a prisoner, which were enjoyed by him before restrictions were placed on his freedom of movement, is to the prisoner's benefit, in order to preserve, insofar as possible, the connection between him and the free society from which he came and from which he is now temporarily separated by the prison walls; and it is also in the interests of society, so as to promote, insofar as possible, the prisoner's rehabilitation, and by so doing to facilitate his return and reintegration into society of which, even in his cell, he continues to be a part" (*ad loc.* pp. 210–13).

Prisoner's Right to Marital Relations: The Cities of Refuge Model

In the Weil case (HC 114/86 *Weil v. State of Israel*, PD 41(3) 477), the Supreme Court was asked to rule on a prisoner's right to have time alone with and to conduct marital relations with his spouse. The Court (Justice Menachem Elon) ruled that:

It is absolutely clear that the denial to a mature person of the opportunity for sexual relations for a lengthy period of time is a severe deprivation… The sexual impulse, according to Judaism, is a welcome and positive human characteristic. The Bible states that, after the creation of the world, "God saw all that He had made and it was very good" (Gen. 1:31). The Sages remarked that the words "it was very good" refer, *inter alia*, to the human [sexual] impulse, without which "no man would build a house, marry a woman, or have children" (*Genesis Rabbah* 9.7; cf. Yoma 69b). Judaism, in contradistinction to other religions, totally shuns sexual abstinence, both for ordinary people as well as for men of the cloth, and regarded such abstinence, like other forms of abstinence from the pleasures of this world, as a negative phenomenon (Yevamot 63aff.; and cf. Nedarim 20a, 22a, 77b; BM 84a, Eruvin 18a), and every person is enjoined to carry out the religious commandment to "be fruitful and multiply" as well as to fulfill his conjugal obligation to his spouse (see *supra*). What the *halakhah* requires is that man should utilize his impulses with the proper balance, pursuant to the Sages' bidding: "When dealing with the inclination [towards procreation]… the left hand should push away, but the right hand should draw them close" (Sotah 47a; for more on such "balancing methods" in the Sages' thought, see *Iggeret ha-Kodesh* attributed to Ramban, in *Kitvei Ramban*, Chavell edition, 1964, vol. II, p. 315ff.; and cf. A.L. Epstein, *Darkhei Ishut u-Minhageha*, 1959, pp. 27–29) (pp. 482–83 of the judgment).

The Court noted that, in the United States, case law has tended towards recognizing this right of the prisoner and facilitating its realization, and that in Spain there are explicit provisions in the Prison Ordinance facilitating such visits. In one judicial ruling in the U.S, this right was even recognized in respect of a Muslim prisoner by virtue of his freedom of religion, for his religion required him to engage in conjugal relations with his spouse.

The Court found an example of the appropriate attitude towards a criminal serving a prison sentence in Jewish Law, in the law relating to cities of refuge:

> Torah, as well as the *halakhah*, states that the purpose of this rule was to save the slayer from the vengeance of the victim's family ("the blood avenger"). However, it was also regarded, as early as in the tannaitic period, as a punishment for the homicide, and the exile took place even when there was no possibility of vengeance being taken, and even when the slayer waived his entitlement to such protection (*Sifrei*, Deut. §181; cf. *Or Sameah* on Maimonides, *ad loc.* 6.12; D.Z. Hoffman on Deut. 19:5)" (*ad loc.*, p. 494 (see at length *City of Refuge)).

The Torah's provisions regarding the conditions of the manslayer's confinement within the city of refuge are especially instructive, and the Court proceeded to examine them:

> Under the law, the slayer brought his family with him to the city of refuge; moreover, he was to be given a place to live and allowed to earn his livelihood and to receive an education, and other such necessities of life. As aforesaid, 42 cities populated by the Levites, who were counted amongst the teachers and sages of the people, served as cities of refuge, and this environment was intended to promote the prisoner-slayer's rehabilitation. These and other laws are detailed in various places throughout the Talmudic literature (see *Sifrei* on Numbers and Deuteronomy, *ad loc.*; Mak. 7a–13a; Tosefta, Mak., chapters 2, 3)" (ibid. p. 495; and see further *City of Refuge).

The Court concludes its deliberation on the cities of refuge as a model for the appropriate mode of punishment, by stating: "The law relating to the blood avenger and the cities of refuge does not apply today but, in discussing contemporary methods of punishment, we ought to carefully consider the concept underlying the method of punishment reflected in the cities of refuge. Exile to a city of refuge and its applicable rules is an example of deprivation of freedom – the exiled prisoner's freedom of movement is restricted, being forbidden to leave the confines of the city of refuge – that nevertheless preserves the human dignity of the offender, his position in his family, and his place in the society from which he came… The laws and principles reflected in the punishment whereby the prisoner is deprived of his freedom in the city of refuge to which he is exiled constitute an example of the ideal model of imprisonment, worthy of aspiration, even if the chances of its realization does not seem likely in the current reality of the society in which we live" (*ibid.*, p. 497).

On the basis of the above principles, the Court determined that a prisoner's right to marital relations with his spouse overrides the difficulties inherent in realizing this right – related to the performance of the prison sentence – and it therefore ruled that the prison authorities and the legislator have a duty to facilitate the realization of this right, by the granting of leave and by structuring cells in such a manner as to allow for marital visits in prisons.

This judgment was given prior to the enactment of the Basic Laws in the State of Israel. Today, following the enactment of the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, which requires that the interpretation and application of laws be conducted in a manner that synthesizes the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish state with its values as a democratic state, it is certainly obligatory on the courts in Israel to rule on these issues pertaining to human rights and dignity, according to the principles set down in Jewish Law over the generations.

Forced Imprisonment in the State of Israel

The Rabbinical Courts (Enforcement of Divorce Judgments) Law, 5755 – 1995, empowers Israeli rabbinical courts to use imprisonment as a sanction against a recalcitrant husband who refuses to issue a *get* to his wife, after a court has ordered him to do so (see **agunah*), as well as against those who refuse to undergo the *ḥaliẓah* ceremony (see *Levirate Marriage). The manner in which the imprisonment is performed is similar to the way it is conducted in the event of a contempt of court. Section 3A of the Law determines that if the recalcitrant husband is a prisoner, an order may be given for his seclusion in a special cell for a period of up to five days each time. See *Divorce, for an extensive treatment of this procedure.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Assaf, *Ha-Onshin aḥarei Ḥatimat ha-Talmud* (1922), passim; M. Shalpoverski, in: *Ha-Torah ve-ha-Medinah*, 5–6 (1952/54), 302–5; M. Elon, in: *Sefer Yovel le-Pinḥas Rosen* (1962), 171–201. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (1988), 1:10, 11, 26, 113, 389, 648f., 653, 664–666, 705; 3:1353; Idem, *Jewish Law* (1994), 1: 9, 10, 28, 127, 471; 2:802f., 808, 821f., 870; 4:1615; M. Elon and B. Lifshitz, *Mafteʾaḥ ha-Sheʾelot ve-ha-Teshuvot shel Ḥakhmei Sefarad u-Ẓefon Afrikah* (1986), 2:332, 336; B. Lifshitz and E. Shochetman, *Mafteʾaḥ ha-Sheʾelot ve-ha-Teshuvot shel Ḥakhmei Ashkenaz, Ẓarefat ve-Italyah* (legal digest) (1997), 230; M. Elon, *Kevod ha-Adam ve-Ḥeruto be-Darkhei Hoẓaʾah le-Poʿal* (2000); A. Sheinfeld, "Torts," in: N. Rakover (ed.), *Ḥok le-Yisrael* (1991), 138–42; I. Warhaftig and S. Rabinowitz, *"Arei Miklat be-Maʿarekhet ha-Anisha ha-Modernit – Dugmah Yissumit mi-Torat ha-Anishah shel ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri,"* in: *Shaʿarei Mishpat*, B(3) (2001), 353–81; E.Y. Waldenberg, "*Ma'asar ke-Emẓaʾi u-ke-Onesh – be-Ẓomet ha-Torah ve-ha-Medinah*, A (Alon Shevut) 1991, 389.

[Menahem Elon (2nd ed.)]

IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT, the imprisonment of a debtor who fails to pay his debt on or before the date due.

Prevalence in Other Legal Systems

Influenced by Roman law (see *Execution (civil law)), imprisonment for debt was the most common means of personal coercion found in the debt collection procedures of various medieval legal systems. It developed from the institution of slavery for debt, as practiced in ancient legal systems, but was

aimed at restraining the debtor's personal freedom rather than exploiting his labor potential. Imprisonment was imposed both on the debtor of means, who concealed his assets and thus attempted to evade payment of the debt, and on an impoverished debtor who owned no property at all. In certain periods debtors were incarcerated in "private" prisons, where they were subjected to various hardships at the creditor's behest, while elsewhere incarceration in public prisons only was allowed. Imprisoned debtors languished under difficult conditions and the discussion of imprisonment procedures and conditions occupies a prominent part of the legal and general literature of the Middle Ages (see J. Kohler, *Shakespeare vor dem Forum der Jurisprudenz* (1919[2]), 1–160).

Modern legal systems have introduced far-reaching changes into the institution of imprisonment for debt. In most continental systems it has been completely, or almost completely, abolished; in England and in many states in the U.S. imprisonment for debt is still practiced, but is only imposed in the case of a debtor of means who evades payment of the debt, and the period of imprisonment is limited and prescribed (see H.S.G. Halsbury, *Laws of England*, 2 (1953[3]), 638ff.; E. Pfiffner, *Schuldverhaft und Personalarrest im Vollstreckungsverfahren*, 1957).

Biblical and Talmudic Sources

Originally, Jewish law absolutely rejected the concept of imprisonment for debt. Biblical law prohibits the creditor from prejudicing the debtor's basic necessities of life. The creditor is enjoined to "stand outside" and not to enter the debtor's home in order to collect his *pledge (Ex. 22:24–26; Deut. 24:6, 10–12), a fortiori, therefore, it is forbidden to imprison the debtor (see also *Execution, civil law). It is noteworthy that at that time Jewish law in general gave only the most limited recognition to the use of imprisonment, even in the field of criminal law (see *Imprisonment). This absolute prohibition was maintained in talmudic times and for a considerable time thereafter. Thus, Maimonides laid down: "but if the debtor is found to have no assets or only such as form part of the "arrangement" (see *Execution, civil law) that is made for the debtor, then the debtor is allowed to go his way and he is not imprisoned" (Yad, Malveh 2:1).

The Post-Talmudic Period

This attitude of Jewish law underwent a substantive change in the 14th century, the beginnings of such change being already traceable to the 13th century. In the latter half of the 13th century a vigorous halakhic debate ensued regarding the continued validity of the accepted rule against imprisonment for nonpayment of a debt. These doubts were strongly motivated by socioeconomic factors of the time. The development of commercial life and the practice of credit facilities on the one hand, and the prevalence of concealment and fraudulent disposition by debtors of their assets to evade their *obligations on the other hand, obliged creditors – and eventually even the borrowers as well – to seek more effective means of debt collection than those hitherto available under Jewish law. The prevalence of evasion of debt and concealment of assets on the part of debtors – by way of a fictitious assignment or alienation thereof to a wife or minor children, or by way of fictitious *admission of indebtedness to a relative, thus giving the latter a preferential right to recover out of the debtor's property – is widely referred to in the responsa literature of contemporary scholars (see, e.g., Resp. Rashba, vol. 2, nos. 225, 283, 312, 360; vol. 4, no. 158; Resp. Rosh, nos. 78:1 and 2).

Although these halakhic scholars employed various measures to render such fraudulent dispositions invalid (*ibid.*, and Resp. Rosh, no. 78:3), they remained adamantly opposed to the sanction of imprisonment of debtors. It became customary, however, as was the practice in the contingent legal systems, for the parties themselves to stipulate expressly in the bond of indebtedness that the creditor would have the right to imprison the debtor upon his failure to pay the debt. Nevertheless, it is recorded that Solomon b. Adret held that a debtor could not be imprisoned on the strength of such a condition, even though he had been concealing his assets in the particular case (Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 1069). Similarly, Asher b. Jehiel rejected the possibility of the debtor's imprisonment in two other cases, on the ground that the Bible permitted the deprivation of an individual's liberty only in the case of a thief who lacks the means of making restitution and is sold for his theft (Ex. 22:2; see also *Execution, civil law), but not for any other kind of debt; he added that even an express condition between the parties providing for the debtor's imprisonment is void and unenforceable, since it is a condition relating to one's person (*tenai she-ba-guf*), and not one concerning a monetary matter (*tenai she-ba-mamon*) and there is no freedom of contract in respect of the former (see *Contract), which is in the nature of a *Jus Cogens*, rather than a *Jus Dispositivum* (Resp. Rosh, 68:10; 18:4). This opinion was still followed by Jacob b. Asher and by other scholars of this period (Tur, ḤM 97:31; *Maggid Mishneh* and *Migdal Oz*, Malveh 25:14).

Certain scholars of this period, however, already acknowledged a substantive change in the law concerning the imprisonment of a debtor. It was first mentioned in Germany by Alexander Suslin ha-Kohen, who decided – on the basis of a liberal interpretation of a talmudic statement used as a peg for his opinion rather than as proof – that "a person who has the means and fails to pay shall be imprisoned" (*Sefer ha-Aguddah*, Shab., no. 150). A more detailed account of the socioeconomic background to, and the evolution of, the relevant change in the law, is to be found in the responsa of *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet (Ribash). Bar Sheshet was asked to decide on the validity of an agreement between a creditor and his debtor providing for the latter's imprisonment upon his failure to pay the debt (an agreement current among the Jews at this time – see Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat*…, 137–40). He delivered a reply comprised of three parts (Resp. Ribash, no. 484). In the first, he gave a detailed exposition of the halakhic reasons for opposing the imprisonment of the debtor, despite an express condition to this effect: since regarding the creditor-debtor relationship the Torah stresses that the debtor shall not be deprived of his

basic necessities for survival, his personal imprisonment is certainly prohibited: and since even an ordinary laborer may retract from a work contract (see *Labor Law), it therefore follows that a debtor may not be imprisoned and deprived of his personal freedom in such a drastic manner; that a condition of the above-mentioned kind is a *tenai she-ba-guf* (see above) in respect whereof there is no freedom of contract; and in deciding against imprisonment for debt, Asher b. Jehiel had already established a precedent in the matter (see above). In the second part of his responsum, Bar Sheshet described the current position in the Saragossa community, of which he was spiritual leader, and noted the existence of a *takkanah* enacted by the local community (see **Takkanot ha-Kahal*) whereby the judges used to imprison a debtor who had agreed to submit to such action upon his failure to repay the debt; a debtor could be imprisoned even in the absence of such a condition if he was unable to provide sureties for payment of the debt. Bar Sheshet added that when he wished to object to the *takkanah* as being contrary to biblical law, he was answered that this was a regulation in the interest of trade (*takkanat ha-shuk*), aimed at swindlers and intended so as not to have "the door bolted before borrowers," which persuaded him not to interfere with the practice. In the third part of his responsum, Bar Sheshet explained the halakhic basis for this decision, in the course of which he introduced a new approach to the question of imprisonment for debt in Jewish law, an approach founded on two basic premises: first, the doctrine that "payment of a debt is a *mitzvah*, the upholding whereof shall be compelled" (Ket. 86a; see also *Obligations, Law of), which Bar Sheshet interprets liberally, allowing for imprisonment to be included as one of the means of compulsion; secondly, that compulsion by imprisonment is only permissible in circumstances which warrant the inference that the debtor is a man of means deliberately concealing his property from the creditor, but when the debtor is a pauper without any means of payment it is clear, Bar Sheshet holds, that his imprisonment is forbidden – notwithstanding his own express consent thereto – since in this case the injunction "You shall not be a creditor unto him" (Ex. 22:24) applies.

This innovation, which distinguishes, for the purposes of imprisonment, between a debtor of means evading payment and an impoverished debtor, was not lightly accepted in the Jewish legal system. In the following century Israel *Isserlein vigorously opposed imprisonment for debt under any circumstances whatsoever (*Leket Yosher*, YD, pp. 79 f.), and it was likewise opposed by Joseph *Caro (Sh. Ar., ḤM 97:15) and Isaac *Adarbi (*Divrei Rivot*, no. 302). The innovation was accepted, however, by such scholars as Samuel de *Medina (Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM no. 390), Elijah b. Ḥayyim (Resp. Ranaḥ, no. 58), and Moses *Isserles (Rema, ḤM 97:15) and thereafter it became accepted in Jewish law (see e.g., *Yam shel Shelomo*, BK 8:65; *Levush, Ir Shushan* 97:15; Sma, ḤM 107, n. 10; see also Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat*…, 172 ff.) In a series of additional directives, special conditions of imprisonment were laid down, to be applicable even where the imprisonment of the debtor was considered permissible. Thus, for example, it was prescribed that a lenient form of imprisonment should be imposed (*Takkanot Megorashei Castilia be-Fez* (1545), quoted in *Kerem Ḥamar*, 2:4a, *takkanah* 22), and only in a "dignified prison," i.e., one with proper standards of cleanliness, sanitation, and hygiene (*Ḥikekei Lev*, ḤM no. 5).

Tax Debts

The halakhic scholars took a different and more stringent attitude toward the evasion of tax payments. The various governments under whose protection the Jews resided in post-talmudic times imposed heavy taxes, as "toleration money," on their respective Jewish communities and any delay in payment put the Jews in danger of persecution and expulsion. Communal leaders and halakhic scholars also attached much importance to taxes levied on individual members for the upkeep of communal services, a source of revenue on which organized communal life was largely dependent (see *Taxation). Accordingly, even in times when the scholars were absolutely opposed to imprisonment for debt, it was nevertheless permitted in respect of a tax debt. (It is possible that Rashi to Pes. 91a and *Hassagot Rabad*, Malveh 25:14, favoring imprisonment for debt, were intended to refer to a tax debt, since in their time imprisonment for an ordinary debt had not yet been permitted.) Asher b. Jehiel, who was strongly opposed to imprisonment for debt, noted that the prohibition applied to a debt between a man and his neighbor and that in respect of "the king's tax" it was customary for the communities to imprison a defaulter because "the law of the land is the law" (see **Dina De-Malkhuta Dina*; Resp. Rosh 68:10). Elsewhere (Resp. Rosh 7:11) he added the important detail that it was customary in communities of the Diaspora to imprison debtors for failure to pay a communal tax, such debtors not being brought before the court but adjudged by the city elders in accordance with local custom (see also *Zikhron Yehudah* no. 79).

Notwithstanding this stringent attitude of the scholars toward a tax debt, it would seem that even in this case it was customary to distinguish between a debtor of means and a pauper, although there are indications that in later times imprisonment for a tax debt was imposed without distinction (see Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat*…, 207 n. 365). An equally stringent approach was customarily adopted by communal leaders in the case of imprisonment for the nonpayment of a fine (see below; see also *Taxation).

Takkanot Ha-Kahal Concerning Imprisonment for Debt

One of the legal sources for the continued development of Jewish law has been the *takkanot* enacted in all fields of the law throughout the ages. Legislation of this kind was mostly instituted by the halakhic scholars, but a substantial part – particularly from the tenth century onward – stems from *takkanot* enacted by the community through its leaders. A great deal of enactment of this kind was directed toward the problem of imprisonment for debt, because of its close connection with the social and economic conditions in the community. The *takkanot* mentioned by Bar Sheshet and Asher b. Jehiel (see

above) are early illustrations of such enactments on the subject of imprisonment for debt and many instances of these can be found in the *takkanot ha-kahal* of Poland, Lithuania, and Germany, dating from the end of the 16th century onward. The end of the 16th century until the middle of the 17th century was a period of severe economic crisis for the Jews of these countries, giving rise to an increase in cases of nonpayment of debt and bankruptcy (see Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat*…, 172ff.). Numerous communal *takkanot* from this period deal with *boreḥim* (a term originally applied to runaway debtors or bankrupts and later to all defaulting debtors), with much attention being paid to the question of imprisoning the debtor. These *takkanot* often permitted imprisonment of the debtor, if only for a short period, though he might be a pauper without means of making payment, a fact that evoked strong criticism from the halakhic scholars.

In *takkanot* of the Cracow community (1595), a precise procedure was laid down for the recovery of a debt from a debtor pleading the lack of means to make payment: first, the pronouncement of a ban for three days, followed – in default of payment – by imprisonment of the debtor for eight days in the communal prison (the "*dudik*"; see *Imprisonment); thereafter, an investigation for a period up to 30 days, to ascertain the truth or otherwise of the debtor's plea. The automatic eight-day imprisonment of the debtor, even when he is likely to be a pauper (except when he is known to be the victim of accident, fire, or robbery) was justified by the initiators of the *takkanah* because of the increase in the number of swindlers and their evil ways (see M. Balaban, in JJLG, 10 (1912), 335). Nine years later it was laid down in another Cracow *takkanah* that, "on account of the existing situation," any debtor pleading a lack of means to repay a debt exceeding "200 Polish gold coins," would be liable to imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months, unless "it is known that he has suffered some loss as a result of fire or robbery, etc." and provided that the debtor be released for one month after each month of imprisonment (see P.H. Wettstein, in *Oẓar ha-Sifrut* (1891–92), 600f.). These *takkanot* prescribed imprisonment not only in respect of a debt arising from a loan, but also for debts arising from tort, nonpayment of a teacher's salary, and taxes (M. Balaban, in: JJLG, 11 (1916), 99f.). In the case of a tax debt, imprisonment was prescribed "until the tax and expenses be paid," such exceptional severity being justified at the time on the grounds that many considered themselves at liberty to ignore tax payments without considering that this amounted to "robbing the public," for which reasons the public was to be carefully warned about the matter (M. Balaban, loc. cit., 356).

This general trend, at times increased by additional stringent measures, is reflected in a long series of communal *takkanot* from the 17th and 18th centuries. The *takkanot* of the *Council of Four Lands of 1624 provided that a debtor pleading a lack of means was rendered liable to imprisonment for a period of one month (except in the clear case of an "act of God") and that a debtor known to have willfully squandered his money could be imprisoned for one year. Similar provisions are to be found in the *takkanot* of the Council of Lithuania (1623–52) and the Council of Moravia (1650–59) and in the *takkanot* of the communities of Posen (1642), Nikolsburg, and Tiktin (in the first half of the 18th century). The main difference between the various *takkanot* lay in the period of imprisonment laid down in each case, the fact of imprisonment being recurringly justified as an emergency measure, specifically designed to cope with the ever-increasing number of swindlers (for details, see Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat*…, 180–225).

An instructive *takkanah*, illustrative of Jewish law's humane approach toward the debtor – despite its far-reaching sanction of the use of imprisonment – is one enacted in 1637 by the Council of Lithuania, which obliged a creditor who demanded the debtor's imprisonment to provide for the latter's sustenance as determined by the court, but gave the creditor the right to recover the cost of this together with the debt (S. Dubnow (ed.), *Pinkas ha-Medinah* [*Lita*], p. 70 no. 333); fulfillment of this requirement by the creditor was a precondition to the imprisonment of the debtor. This *takkanah* marks a significant divergence from the prevailing trend in other legal systems of that time, in which no consideration was given to the needs of the debtor during his imprisonment.

The provisions of the *takkanot ha-kahal* regarding the automatic imprisonment – even if only for a very short period – of any debtor failing to make payment, represented a deviation from the fundamental principle of Jewish law against prejudicing an impoverished debtor in any manner or form, and consequently evoked strong criticism from halakhic scholars. It must be borne in mind that such authority as Jewish law confers on communal leaders to enact *takkanot*, even though they may be contrary to a particular rule of Jewish law, is confined to the fields of the civil and criminal law, and does not apply to matters of ritual law (*issur ve-heter*). The question of imprisoning an impoverished debtor was looked upon as a matter falling within the sphere of ritual law, by which it was forbidden. Thus R. Joel *Sirkes (first half of the 17th century) stated: "those imprisoning even someone who has no means to pay, in terms of communal *takkanot*, have no authority to rely on and it was also written by Ribash that it is forbidden to seize the [debtor's] person; and the community has no power to make such an enactment in contravention of an *issur*" ("prohibition"; Baḥ, ḤM 97:28). Similarly, 100 years later Jonathan *Eybeschuetz states: "in our time it is the custom simply to imprison a debtor who has no means to pay and no protest is made; perhaps all this is done on the premise that everyone is concealing his assets; the matter requires reflection, for they have no authority to rely on" (*Urim ve-Tummim* ḤM 97, n. 13). It is clear that Eybeschuetz was not quite reconciled to the attempt to justify the indiscriminate imprisonment of debtors on the grounds of the existing social and economic realities, nor to the presumption that seemingly called for every debtor to be suspected in advance of concealing his assets. Indeed, eventually these *takkanot ha-kahal* which sanctioned even the imprisonment of impoverished debtors – if only for a short

and fixed period – came to be rejected by the Jewish legal system, since they amounted to a direct and material contradiction of the fundamental principle of Jewish law that imprisonment is not to serve as a punitive measure, but as a means of recovering a debt when the debtor is able to pay but conceals his assets and evades payment (see also *Taxation).

In the State of Israel

The problem of imprisonment for debt engaged the attention of the Knesset for a period of ten years. In 1957 a bill was introduced which proposed the complete abolition of imprisonment for debt, a proposal which was, however, rejected by a majority of the Members on the grounds that it did away with an important means of debt recovery in the case of stubborn debtors. In the Knesset debates on this and other related bills introduced from time to time, the attitude of Jewish law toward the problem was frequently cited – those who favored imprisonment for debt stressing the change in the course of time from its complete prohibition to its eventual permissibility in the light of changed economic and social circumstances – with reference to a stubborn debtor of means. This attitude of Jewish law was finally accepted by the Knesset and embodied in the Execution Law, 5727 – 1967. Under this law (secs. 67–74), an inquiry is made by the Chief Execution Officer into a debtor's financial position, in order to ascertain his ability to comply with the judgment; thereafter the debtor may be ordered to pay the debt in a lump sum or in installments, and upon his failure to do so within the period prescribed by the chief execution officer, he may be imprisoned for a period not exceeding 21 days, if no other means exist of compelling his compliance with the judgment. It is further provided that a debtor who has served the term of imprisonment ordered against him may not be imprisoned again in respect of the same debt or installment. In the case of a judgment for a debt deriving from maintenance for a wife, children, or parents, an imprisonment order may be issued without prior inquiry into the debtor's financial position.

[Menachem Elon]

The Israeli Supreme Court decision in the *Perah* case (HC 5304/92 *Perah v. Minister of Justice*, PD 47(4) 715), which relies on Jewish law regarding imprisonment for debt, changed the legal situation in the country and created a new legal reality [p. 1]. In that case the Perah Organization petitioned the Court to nullify Regulation 114 of the Execution Regulations, pursuant to which "the Chief Execution Officer may issue an arrest order … if by the date the order is issued the judgment debtor has not shown that there is another method of executing the judgment (p. 2)."

This regulation created a situation in which the Chief Execution Officer does not bear the burden of proof of demonstrating, in a judicial proceeding, that the debtor has the means to pay; instead, the debtor must prove that there is another means of enforcing the debt, and therefore there were no grounds for his imprisonment This legal position led to the issuance of imprisonment orders without the debtors being brought before the Chief Execution Officer, prior to, and as a condition for their imprisonment, and thousands of citizens being imprisoned because of debts, under inappropriate conditions and without consideration for their basic rights, even if only for short periods of time. In the *Perah* judgment, the Court cited (p. 1) its decision in the *Rechtman* case (CA 523/70 *Rechtman v. Kork*, PD 25(2) 542) in which, shortly after the law had been enacted, the Court expressed its doubts as to the legality of said regulation.

In the *Perah* decision, Justice Elon set out the entire perspective of Jewish law regarding this issue and the developments that have occurred in that context (see above). Justice Elon described the legislative process leading to the Knesset's enactment of legislation on this matter, and showed how the members of the Knesset who supported the imposition of imprisonment for debt based themselves on the approach of Jewish law. Accordingly, they stressed the difference between imprisonment as punishment for non-payment and imprisonment imposed after an in-depth clarification conducted by a judge regarding the debtor's economic ability. Justice Elon's conclusion was that imprisonment for non-payment of debt in Jewish Law was intended for the debtor financially capable of paying but who evades payment and hides his assets, thereby frustrating the creditor's attempt to collect his debt. It is only in this situation that imprisonment for debt is permissible under Jewish law, as in such cases it is not imposed as a punishment, but rather as a means of inducing the debtor to pay the debt. The justification for accepting the position of Jewish law in accordance with these developments derives from the same factors that engendered the developments themselves: the existence of swindlers who hide their assets in order to avoid paying a debt, and the need to avoid "locking the door" upon borrowers, i.e., to insure the survival of the institution of credit that borrowers require. Indeed, as stated above, as finally enacted the law allows for imprisonment for debt, while establishing "clear boundaries to guarantee that under no circumstances will imprisonment be used against an impoverished debtor who is unable to pay the debt, and it will only be imposed on a debtor who is financially solvent and hides his assets – i.e., as a means of compelling him to disclose his property for the purpose of paying the debt …" (*Perah* at 314).

In view of the above, the Court invalidated Regulation 114 of the Execution Regulations.

Justice Elon further added that the said regulation should also be invalidated pursuant to the provisions of Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty, which establishes the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state. The values of a Jewish state are those reflected in Jewish law, as expressed above and as described at length in the *Perah* decision. These values have become the values of the democratic state, and over the course of recent generations all Western countries have either restricted imprisonment for debt to very limited circumstances, similar to those stipulated in Jewish law, or have entirely eliminated the possibility of such imprisonment.

It should be noted that today, following another amendment in the Execution Law (in 1994), debtors may still be imprisoned under section 70 of the Law, when found in contempt of the Execution Office. (See entry *Contempt of Court). Such imprisonment is not a penalty for the debt, but rather an incentive to comply with orders given by the Chief Execution Officer. Section 70 empowers the Chief Execution Officer to issue an imprisonment order against a debtor who fails to comply with these orders, e.g., the debtor's non-compliance with an order of payment that spreads the debtor's payments over a long period of time, or the debtor's refusal to sign a waiver of confidentiality designed to enable the Chief Execution Officer to ascertain the debtor's true financial position.

An additional amendment to the law, adopted in 1999, provides that a debtor may automatically be regarded as being a financially solvent debt evader if he fails to attend an investigation of his financial capacity. Here, too, the debtor may be imprisoned. But the law further provides (section 7 (b)) that a condition for the authority to imprison a debtor pursuant to the above provisions, is that there was complete and proper service of the execution office orders to the debtor. Accordingly, a debtor can only be imprisoned for failure to comply with an order if it was clearly delivered to the debtor's hands. Thus, according to these provisions, a debtor can only be imprisoned when it has been proven that he is avoiding a payment that he has the financial ability to make.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Dickstein, in: *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, 1 (1917/18), 29–76; B. Cohen, in: *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume* (1945), 113–32, republished in his *Jewish and Roman Law* (1966), 159–78; *ibid.*, 772–5. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat be-Darkhei Geviyyat Ḥov…* (1964), 111–237, 255–69; idem, ILR, 3 (1968), 107–19; 4 (1969), 111–3; idem, *Kevod ha-Adam ve-Ḥeruto be-Darkhei ha-Hotza'ah la-Poal* (2000), 111–237, 255–69, 275–369; idem., *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (1988), 1:483, 535 f., 575 f., 653, 1285; 3:1370 f.; idem, *Jewish Law* (1994), 2:588 f., 651, 708 f. 808, 1014; 3:1534; 4:1635 f.; idem, *Jewish Law* (*Cases and Materials)* (1999), 200 ff.; M. Elon and B. Lifshitz, *Mafte'aḥ ha-She'elot ve-ha-Teshuvot shel Ḥakhmei Sefarad u-Ẓefon Afrikah* (legal digest) (1986), 1:103; B. Lifshitz and E. Shochetman, *Mafte'aḥ ha-She'elot ve-ha-Teshuvot shel Ḥakhmei Ashkenaz, Ẓarefat ve-Italyah* (legal digest) (1997), 66.

INBAL, ELIAHU (1936–), Israeli conductor. Born in Jerusalem, Inbal studied in Jerusalem with Paul *Ben-Haim, at Celibidache's conducting classes in Hilversum, and at the Paris Conservatoire. In 1963, he won the International Guido Cantelli Competition. He made his British debut in 1965 with the London Philharmonic Orchestra and conducted many of the major orchestras, mainly in Europe, and the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, with whom he went on tour to Australia in 1966 and to the U.S. in 1967. In 1969 Inbal made his opera debut with *Elektra* in Bologna and in Siena (1971) he conducted the first performance since 1803 of Cherubini's *Anacréon*. He was chief conductor and director of the Frankfurt (Hessen) Radio Symphony Orchestra from 1974 to 1990 and chief conductor at the Teatro La Fenice, Venice, from 1986 to 1989. In 2001 he was appointed conductor and music director of the Berlin Symphonic Orchestra. His recordings include Donizetti's *Maria de Rudenz* with La Fenice, the complete orchestral works of Berlioz, Ravel, Scriabin, and Schumann, and the complete symphonies of Bruckner, *Mahler, and Shostakovich. He received the French Ordre des Arts et des Lettres (1990), and in 1996 was named conductor laureate of the Frankfurt RSO and honorary conductor of the Orchestra Nazionale della RAI.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; MGG².

[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz and Yohanan Boehm / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

INBAL DANCE THEATER (*inbal* – Heb. "clapper" of a bell), Israel dance company based mainly on Yemenite traditions. It was founded in 1949 by Sara *Levi-Tannai, who became the company's choreographer and artistic director, and Ovadia Tuvia, its musical director. Its first performance was given in July 1950. At first, the company was supported by the Histadrut; later it received financial aid from the America-Israel Cultural Foundation and the Ministry of Education. Inbal became a professional group in 1952. Levi-Tannai wrote songs which eventually were accepted among the new Israeli folk tunes. She devised a choreography synthesizing Yemenite tradition and Israeli shepherd dances. Inspiration for Inbal dances came also from the Ḥasidim and from the Jews of the *Hadramaut, and their movements reflected their desert environment. Dancing, singing, and acting were one indivisible unit. Sources of the Inbal repertoire are the religious traditions and the Bible. The group has performed *Yemenite Wedding, Midnight Prayer, At the Well, Deborah, the Queen of Sheba, the Boy Samuel*, and *Ruth*. Levi-Tannai received the Israel Prize in 1973 for her contribution to the Israeli dance. Two years later she passed away. In 2005 the manager of the dance company was Illana Cohen, who once danced under the guidance of Levi-Tannai.

[Yohanan Boehm / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

INBER, VERA MIKHAILOVNA (1890–1972), Soviet Russian poet. She was born and educated in Odessa and spent the years 1910–14 abroad. Her writings date back to 1911, when she joined the Acmeists, an anti-symbolist group of modernist lyric poets, which also numbered in its ranks Osip *Mandelshtam. After the Revolution she went over to the militantly civic-minded Communist romantic group known as the Constructivists, led by Ilya *Selvinski, but only joined the Communist Party in 1943. Vera Inber's best-known work is *Pulkovski Meridian* ("The Pulkovo Meridian," 1943), a classical, restrained poem of some 800 lines, which ranks as one of the best long poems on the theme of war in Soviet literature. The work depicts the siege of Leningrad, where she was a war correspondent between 1941 and 1944, and the heroism of its defenders. The same event inspired a book of essays, *Pochti tri goda* ("Almost Three Years," 1945), for which she was awarded the Stalin Prize in 1946. Another important book is the collec-

tion of literary essays titled *Vdokhnoveniye i masterstvo* ("Inspiration and Craftsmanship," 1957). Though no trailblazing innovator, Vera Inber is considered one of the more interesting of the Soviet poets of her generation. In contrast to many of her contemporaries, it appears she was virtually unaffected by her Jewish childhood: Jewish themes are absent from her work with the exception of some "illegal" poems whose attribution to her cannot be definitely confirmed.

[Maurice Friedberg]

INCENSE AND PERFUMES. In the ancient world, incense and perfumes were extremely precious commodities, sometimes even more than silver and gold, and were greatly sought after for their fragrance, for both secular and religious purposes. Among the gifts the Queen of Sheba brought Solomon, perfumes are mentioned (I Kings 10:2). "The spices and precious oil" were kept in the royal treasure chamber together with silver and gold (II Kings 20:13). Some maintain their value lay in their hygienic qualities, since they served to dispel the prevalent evil smells. It is probable that this is true of the incense burned with the sacrifices, where it was an antidote to the smell of the burning meat (cf. Avot 5:5, where the fact that sacrificial flesh did not become putrid is regarded as a miracle). It was stated that a woman needs to perfume herself but not a man, because she was formed from the rib – flesh – which is subject to putrefaction (Gen. R. 17:8). There is no doubt, however, that the main reason for the desire for perfumes was due simply to their fragrance. The price of incense and perfumes was extremely high, due to various reasons: the laborious task of extracting the aromatic juices, the expense and dangers involved in bringing them from distant countries of origin, and the high profits of the spice merchants' middlemen, who in certain cases kept secret the place of origin of the perfumes (see *Cinnamon).

Sources of Incense and Perfumes

Most incense and perfumes originate in tropical countries: cinnamon came from Ceylon and China, aloe (*algum) and *calamus from India; *nard from Nepal and the Himalayas, and *frankincense from India, Somaliland, and Arabia Felix, which last place also supplied *myrrh; *bdellium originated in Africa and the vicinity of Afghanistan, *tragacanth in the mountains of Asia Minor which was also the center for the growing of *laudanum and *galbanum (also widespread in Turkestan, Persia, Syria, and Crete). Among aromatic plants which grew in Israel were *henna, *saffron, and *balsam (the latter *besem*, *nataf*, and *ẓori* in the Bible; *ketaf, apparsemon*, and *balsemon* in rabbinic literature). Balsam was the perfume par excellence. In the time of the Mishnah and the Talmud other perfumes were extracted either from plants which were indigenous to Israel, or from plants, like the *rose, narcissus, and jasmine which originated in foreign countries and were successfully introduced and cultivated in Israel. Besides incense and perfumes of plant origin, aromatic ingredients were produced from fauna, such as *sheḥelet* "*onycha" (the mishnaic *ẓipporin*). Rabbinic literature mentions musk, and notes that it is derived from a beast (Ber. 43a); elsewhere it is called *muskin* (TJ, Ber. 6:6, 10d; from Gr. μόσχος. It is extracted from a gland in the body of the musk deer, *Moschus moschiferus*, which lives in Nepal and Tibet. Saadiah Gaon and Maimonides erroneously identified musk with the scriptural *mor* ("myrrh"). Apparently at different times efforts were made to grow other tropical perfumes. This is possibly the source of the *aggadah* about the growing of cinnamon in Ereẓ Israel. An interesting problem is posed by the statement of Theophrastus about calamus and schoenus, apparently two species of *keneh-bosem* – (*Cymbopogon*) growing in a valley not far from the Lebanon, probably the Ḥuleh area. The English naturalist H.B. Tristram, who explored Ereẓ Israel in the second half of the 19th century, wrote that the second species grew then in the vicinity of Lake Kinneret. Nowadays no trace of this is to be found.

The "Spice Route" through Israel

From what has been said, it is evident that "the garden of perfumes" to which the beloved is compared, in the Song of Songs (4:14–15) does not reflect the flora of Israel, since six of the plants mentioned do not grow there. It is an exotic, imaginary garden in which the aromatic plants of the world are assembled. Through Israel passed the "spice route" which led from the countries of the south and the east to the north and west, and from the north to Egypt (cf. Gen. 37:25). This route is very old, and it is not surprising that the children of Israel when traveling in the wilderness already obtained four species of perfumes and at least (see below) four ingredients of the incense which had their origin in different parts of Asia and Africa: myrrh, cinnamon, calamus, *keneh-bosem*, and *kiddah* (cassia; Ex. 30:23–24); balsam (*nataf*), onycha (*sheḥelet*), galbanum, and frankincense (*levonah*; Ex. 30:34). While the above applied to both perfumes and incense, the following remarks deal with each group separately.

Perfumes

The ancients liked to savor local aromatic plants. Of the lily (*shoshannah*; see *Flowers of the Bible), it is stated that "it exists only for its fragrance," and was placed upon the table on Sabbaths and festivals (Lev. R. 23:6).

FORMS OF PERFUME. Sometimes the perfume was in the form of granules that were smelled from time to time, as in "a bag of myrrh that lieth between my breasts" (Song 1:13), where congealed myrrh, which is also called *mor-deror*, is meant (Ex. 30:23). In the main, expensive perfumes were used in liquid form, dissolved in oil, this being *shemen ha-tov* ("the precious oil") frequently referred to in the Bible. Two methods are described for the preparation of "holy anointing oil": in the one, the aromatic sap or plant was boiled in oil; in the other, which was more economical, "they brought the roots and boiled them in water, and poured over them the oil which absorbed the smell. Finally they separated the aromatic oil from the water" (Ker. 5a). Some also put the aromatic plants

into oil which gradually absorbed the odor, as was customary in preparing rose oil (Shev. 7:7).

THE SALE OF PERFUMES. Perfume was sold in special shops, the perfumer's craft being regarded as a pleasant and agreeable occupation: "The world cannot exist without a perfumer and without a tanner – happy is he whose craft is that of a perfumer" (Kid. 82b). There were also itinerant peddlers of perfume, whose wares are called *avekat rokhel* ("powders of the merchant"; Song 3:6). Some falsified their wares, hence the caution against the adulteration of myrrh with *kumos* (acacia gum; Sitra 1:22). Harlots used perfumes extensively and the perfumeries were near "the market of harlots" (Ex. R. 43:7). The fragrant oils were sold in *ẓeloḥiyyot* ("small bottles"; Shab. 8:2; et al.), many of which have been found in archaeological excavations.

RITUAL AND SECULAR USES. Perfumes were used for ritual and secular purposes. "Holy anointing oil" was prepared in the wilderness for the *anointing of Aaron and his sons, of the Tabernacle and its utensils. This was prepared from four tropical aromatic ingredients dissolved in olive oil. The Torah forbade it to be used for ordinary purposes, and the preparation of an oil of like proportions was prohibited (Ex. 30:22–33). Samuel anointed Saul and David with the anointing oil, and Zadok anointed Solomon with it. Subsequently, usurpers to the throne of Judah took care to be anointed with the anointing oil. According to rabbinic tradition "a king's son does not require anointing [except in cases where his succession is disputed], nor were the kings of Israel anointed." In the days of Josiah, the anointing oil "was hidden," and from then on kings were anointed with balsam oil (Ker. 5b; TJ, Sot. 8:1, 22c). Oil saturated with perfume used for ordinary purposes was called "apothecary's oil" (Eccles. 10:1) or "precious oil" (*ibid.* 7:1). It "rejoices the heart" (Prov. 27:9); it is the "oil of gladness" (Ps. 45:8). Ecclesiastes, in its description of the life of pleasure says "let thy head lack no oil" (Eccles. 9:8). It was used for scenting the beard (Ps. 133:2) and was particularly favored by the youth (Song. 1:3). Perfume was, however, as can be expected, mainly used by women. The candidates for Ahasuerus' favor were treated "six months with oil of myrrh and six months with sweet odors and with other ointments of the women" (Esth. 2:12).

[Jehuda Feliks]

Incense Offerings

Incense of offerings is designated by two terms which were originally different in meaning: *ketoret* (*qeṭoret*) and *levonah. Qeṭoret* denotes primarily "that which goes up in smoke" and thus can refer to any type of burned sacrifice (Ps. 66:15). In several instances, the *pi'el* form of the root *ktr* (*qṭr*) appears without a direct object and in close parallelism with the root *zvḥ* ("to sacrifice"; I Kings 11:8; 22:44; II Kings 12:4; 14:4, cf. II Kings 22:17; 23:5; Isa. 65:3; Jer. 1:16; 7:9; 19:14). Hence it is doubtful that these verses contain a reference to incense offering, as suggested by many modern translations. But *qeṭoret* obviously does mean "incense" as attested in Ezekiel 8:11 (cf. Ezek. 16:18; 23:41) and probably in Deuteronomy 33:10 (*qeṭorah*), and I Samuel 2:28 as well. In sources usually assigned to priestly writers, *qeṭoret* and *qeṭoret* (*ha*)*sammim* (Ex. 25:6; 30:7; 31:11) designate an offering of a burning mixture of powdered spices, specifically, stacte, onycha, galbanum, and frankincense (Ex. 30:34–38). Many scholars hold that this recipe may have been taken from an older usage.

The second term for incense, *levonah* (Jer. 6:20; 17:26; 41:5), designates frankincense and is probably so called because of its white color (Heb. *lavan* "white"). *Levonah* is one of the ingredients in *qeṭoret* (*ha-*)*sammim* (Ex. 30:34). M. Haran distinguishes three different uses of incense in the Bible. As a supplement to sacrifice, the incense offering was concomitant to other offerings. Frankincense (*levonah*) was used without any additional aromatic ingredients. This custom is laid down in the ritual for the meal-offering (*minḥah*; Lev. 2:1ff.), for firstfruits (*bikkurim*; Lev. 2:14), and for the showbread (Lev. 24:7; cf. Neh. 13:5, 9). In no instance are spices added to the sacrifices of animals or birds. Incense was also offered in a censer called *maḥtah* (Lev. 10:1) or *miktar* (*miqṭar*; Ezek. 8:11). This was a separate offering which is given special prominence in the priestly sources (Num. 16:16–18). Another separate incense offering was performed by Aaron in order to stop a plague (Num. 17:11–12). In other passages (e.g., Isa. 43:23; Jer. 6:20; 17:26; 41:5) it is not clear whether a separate incense offering was intended or whether the *levonah* was to accompany the meal-offering. Since the sources do not specify the ingredients of the separate incense offering – Leviticus 10:1, Numbers 16:17, and 17:12 speak only of *qeṭoret* – its composition cannot be determined. When, however, the high priest was directed to carry a censer of burning incense of the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement, he used *qeṭoret sammim* (Lev. 16:12–13), but this practice is exceptional. There is no compelling reason to assume that the ritual of burning incense in censers appeared late in the Israelite cult. Egyptian paintings and reliefs from the New Kingdom depicting the sieges of various cities in Canaan and Syria occasionally show a man holding a censer of burning incense (see Gressmann, Bilder, fig. 105 and Pritchard, Pictures, fig. 334).

Except on the Day of Atonement, *qeṭoret* (*ha-*)*sammim* was always offered on a special altar, specifically, the "altar of *qeṭoret sammim*" (Lev. 4:7 see *Altar). The altar incense was burned each morning and evening by the high priest and came to be designated "perpetual incense" (*qeṭoret tamid*; Ex. 30:7–8). There is good reason to believe that the "altar of gold" (I Kings 7:48) which stood in Solomon's Temple (I Kings 6:20, 22) was an incense altar, a feature that may have been missing in Ezekiel's vision of the Temple (but see his reference to a table in 41:22). Scholars often compare this altar and the one mentioned in Exodus 30:1–7 to the horned limestone altars (tenth century B.C.E.) excavated in Palestine, especially to those of Megiddo and Tell Beit Mirsim. According to many scholars the horns were designed to support a bowl of incense. Though it is not known exactly when the practice of burning incense was absorbed into the Israelite cult, the suggestion

of Van Hoonacker that incense was introduced into Israel in the sixth century B.C.E. is certainly not vindicated by archaeological discoveries.

The offering of incense is treated with the utmost seriousness by biblical writers, who chastise the unqualified persons bold enough to offer it (Lev. 10:1–2; Num. 16:6ff.; II Chron. 26:16–21). Offering incense to other gods – a practice well attested in the Bible (I Kings 11:8; II Kings 22:17; 23:5; Jer. 1:16; 7:9; II Chron. 34:25; et al) – is particularly displeasing to the God of Israel (II Kings 22:17; Jer. 1:16; II Chron. 34:25). Its use according to the exact specified proportions was forbidden for nonholy purposes. The use of incense was not restricted to the cultic sphere. It was also offered in honor of distinguished persons (Ezek. 23:41; Dan. 2:46). The bride in Song of Songs 3:6 was perfumed with various types of incense. Proverbs 27:9 praises ointment and incense which "rejoice the heart." It was probably assumed that whatever pleased men would also please God. This may be reflected in Psalms 141:2, where prayer is compared to the rising smoke of incense.

[Jean Ouellette]

Another term for the ascending smoke of *ketoret* is *tamer*, the smoke being *timrah*; it was stated that the blessing over the incense had to be recited "as soon as the *tamarah* ascends" (Ber. 43a). From the Aramaic *gumra* ("coals") is derived the word *mugmar* for the incense upon the coals. Hence "to say the blessing over the *mugmar*" literally means "over the fragrant odor of the incense" (although in modern Hebrew the phrase is used as though the word is derived from "*gamar*," to finish, to mean "to congratulate on the completion of a task"). The verb is also used for the scent of incense permeating a room or clothes (cf. Shab. 18a).

Preparation of the Incense

An ancient *baraita* from the time of the Temple (Ker. 6a) describes the preparation of incense in the Tabernacle and the Temple. The preparing of incense was called **pittum ha-ketoret* and those who did the work were the *pattamim* ("compounders"). Although the Torah mentions the names of only four ingredients, according to rabbinic tradition "11 ingredients were mentioned to Moses at Sinai," and the increased number is arrived at by homiletical interpretation of that verse. These are (1) balsam, (2) onycha, (3) galbanum, (4) frankincense, (5) myrrh, (6) cassia-cinnamon, (7) spikenard, (8) crocus, (9) costus, (10) cinnamon bark, (11) cinnamon. Loew regarded the increase in the number of spices as determined by the import of new spices in the time of the Second Temple. The same chapter of the Torah, however, numbers among the components of the anointing oil, myrrh, cinnamon, and also *kiddah* which is a species of cinnamon similar to cassia-cinnamon and cinnamon bark. There is no ground for doubting the tradition that the other types of incense were already used in the wilderness. In the course of a year, 368 maneh (c. 580 lbs; c. 264 kg.) of incense were consumed. To these was added a small amount of *ma'aleh ashan* ("that which makes the smoke ascend"), apparently the plant *Leptadenia pyrotechnica* which contains nitric acid, and also *kippat ha-yarden*, the identity of which is unknown, but it has been suggested that it is the cyclamen. At the time of the Second Temple the preparation of incense for the Temple was the monopoly of the priests of the House of *Avtinas who kept the technique and exact proportions secret, for which they were censured by the rabbis (Yoma 3:11). The use of incense which was common in biblical and talmudic times steadily declined, and as though in memory of it the blessing "who createst diverse kinds of spices" is said in the *Havdalah*.

[Jehuda Feliks]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Krauss, Tal Arch, 1 (1910), 233–44; H. Bluemner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Kuenste bei Griechen und Roemern*, 1 (1912²), 328–55; Loew, Flora, passim; H.N. and A.L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible* (1952), index; J. Feliks, *Olam ha-Ẓome'aḥ ha-Mikra'i* (1968²), 231–77. INCENSE OFFERING: A. Van Hoonacker, in: RB, 23 (1914), 161–87 (Fr.); M. Loehr, Das *Raeucheropfer im Alten Testament* (1927); H.G. May, *Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult* (1935), especially plate xii; R. De Langhe, in: *Biblica*, 40 (1959), 476–94 (Fr.); M. Haran, in: VT, 10 (1960), 113–29 (Eng.); de Vaux, Anc Isr, index.

INCEST.

In the Biblical Period

The idea of what constituted a prohibited degree of kinship for sexual relations seems to have broadened during the biblical period. Among the ancestors of Israel there occurred an unusual number of marriages that are incestuous by later standards; evidently this was not merely condoned, but favored, as ensuring good stock (cf. Gen. 24:3–4; 38ff.; 28:1ff.). Thus Abraham married his paternal sister (Gen. 20:12 against Lev. 18:9), Jacob married two sisters (Gen. 29:21ff. against Lev. 18:18), and Amram, Moses' father, married his aunt (Ex. 6:20, against Lev. 20:19). As late as the time of David, marriage to a half sister was condoned (II Sam. 13:13). The standard of the laws thus reflects a tendency (that reached its culmination in post-biblical legislation) to broaden the scope of incest with the passage of time. Rabbinic theory recognized this, justifying the patriarchs' disregard of the Torah prohibitions on the ground that they were subject only to the *Noachide law of incest, which was far less comprehensive than that of the Torah (Sanh. 58a–b; Maim. Yad, Melakhim, 9:5).

[Moshe Greenberg]

In Jewish Law

The general prohibition against incest with one's "near of kin" (Lev. 18:6) has been held to be limited to the following degrees of consanguinity: parents (18:7); mother-in-law (20:14); stepmother (18:8); sister and half sister (18:9) (but not a stepsister as the Karaites maintained); granddaughter (18:10); aunt (18:12–13); wife of father's brother (18:14); daughter-in-law (18:15); brother's wife (18:16); stepdaughter and stepgranddaughter (18:17); and wife's sister during the lifetime of the former (18:18). This list is exhaustive and may not be added to by analogies (Sifra, Aḥarei-Mot 13:15), since creation of any criminal offense requires the express pronouncement both of

the conduct prohibited and the resulting punishment (see *Penal Law; cf. Ker. 3a; Sanh. 74a). A list of another 20 degrees of consanguinity was later drawn up, however, by way of analogy – albeit not to create additional criminal offenses, but as additional prohibitions of intercourse and impediments to *marriage (Yev. 21a; Maim. Yad, Ishut 1:6).

The punishment for the various offenses of incest varies – while biblical law prescribed death by burning for incest with one's mother-in-law (Lev. 20:14), it did not prescribe any particular mode of execution for other capital offenses of incest (Lev. 20:11, 12, 17, 19, 20, 21), some of which were clearly to be visited with *divine punishment (*karet*; Lev. 20:17, 20, 21). In talmudic law, the offenses of incest were eventually classified as follows:

(1) those punishable with death by stoning – incest with mother, stepmother daughter-in-law (Sanh. 7:4);

(2) those punishable with death by burning – incest with stepdaughter, stepgranddaughter, mother-in-law, grandmother-in-law, daughter, and granddaughter (Sanh. 9:1); and

(3) all other offenses of incest to be punishable with *karet* or *flogging (Maim. Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 1:4–7). As several of the offenses are threatened with both judicial and divine punishment (e.g., incest with mother and stepmother; Ker. 1:1), the rule was evolved that capital punishment would be imposed judicially only where the offense had been committed after previous warning that it was punishable and in the presence of witnesses; while divine punishment was deemed to apply where the offense had been committed without such previous warning and without witnesses being available (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 1:2–3). Flogging came to be administered not only by way of punishment for such incestuous acts as had been made criminal offenses, but also by way of admonition and rebuke (*makkat mardut*), for incestuous acts which were not criminal (Maim. *ibid.* 2:8). Occasionally, capital offenses were reduced to offenses punishable with flogging, as in the case of incest with one's wife's near relations after her death (*ibid.*)

Incest is a capital offense only where sexual intercourse has taken place (Shab. 13a), although complete penetration is not a required element (Maim. *ibid.* 1:10); but the prohibition to come near anyone of one's "near of kin" was interpreted to render any bodily proximity, within the prohibited degrees of kinship, punishable with flogging (Maim. Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 21:1) – except kissing or embracing one's mother, daughter, sister, or aunt, or such other relatives who do not normally arouse the sexual urge (*ibid.*, 21:6; and see *Sexual Offenses). The offense of incest is committed by the female as well as by the male participant (Yev. 84b; TJ, Sanh. 7, 9, 25a; Ker. 2:4; Maim. Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 1:1); but where the offense is committed upon an infant or upon a person asleep or by a person unaware of the incestuous relationship, only the initiator of the act is punishable (Ker. 2:6).

Each single act of sexual intercourse amounts to a complete commission of the offense (Maim. *ibid.* 3:12). The turpitude of this kind of offense is stressed in the Bible by such epithets as "wickedness" (*zimmah*, Lev. 20:14; Ezek. 22, 11), "corruption" (*tevel*, Lev. 20:12), "shame" (*ḥesed*, Lev. 20:17), and "impurity" (*niddah*, Lev. 20:21). Incest is one of the three cardinal offenses (together with murder and idolatry) which a man may not commit even in order to save himself from certain death (Sanh. 74a; Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah 5:2); nor in order to save another person's life (Tosef. Shab. 15:17); nor can there be any justification for its commission on any medical grounds (TJ, Shab. 14:4, 14d; Pes. 25a). Opinions are divided among medieval scholars as to whether a woman, as well as a man, must choose to die rather than commit incest. Some hold that a woman, being the passive partner, may submit to incest rather than be killed (Rashi to Yoma 82a; Isserles, YD 157:1 and cf. Tos. to Av. Zar. 54a), while others maintain that she should prefer death (ET, 6 (1954), 110). It is also maintained that the female's enjoyment is tantamount to the male's action (Tos. BK 32a), constituting "an overt act" for which her punishment is flogging.

In the State of Israel there is no statutory prohibition against incest as such, but it is an offense, punishable with five years' imprisonment, for anyone to have sexual intercourse with an unmarried girl below the age of 21 who is his or his wife's descendant, or his ward, or who has been entrusted to him for education or supervision (Section 155, Criminal Code Ordinance, 1936). Apart from this particular provision, it would seem that sexual intercourse within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity described above is, indeed, left to divine punishment.

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BIBLICAL PERIOD: E. Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws* (1944), 191–212; D.R. Mace, *Hebrew Marriage* (1953), 20ff.; E.A. Speiser, in: A. Altmann (ed.), *Biblical and Other Studies* (1963), 62–81; Z. Falk, in: *Tarbiz*, 32 (1963), 19–34. IN JEWISH LAW: M. Mielziner, *The Jewish Law of Marriage and Divorce* (1901[2]), 33–41; L. Blau, in: *Abhandlungen… Chajes* (1933), 6–21; E. Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws* (1944), 191–212; ET, 1 (1951[3]), 204–11, 214, 321–4; 2 (1949), 23f., 257–61; 4 (1952), 745–52; 6 (1954), 106–15. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (1988), 1:109, 175, 185, 196, 208, 248, 251, 282f, 297, 312, 318, 353, 396, 414, 434, 456f, 468, 655, 659, 670, 692f, 697, 711, 723, 808; idem, *Jewish Law* (1994), 1:122, 194, 207, 220, 230, 234, 289f, 293, 333f, 353, 373, 380f, 426; 2:483, 505, 529, 556f., 811, 815, 828, 854f., 860, 878, 892, 990.

INCLINATION, GOOD AND EVIL. There is a biblical basis to the idea of the existence in man's nature of an instinctive tendency or impulse (*yeẓer* as in Ps. 103:14 from *yaẓar*, i.e., to "form" or "create" as in Gen. 2:8), which, left to itself, would lead to his undoing by prompting him to act in a manner contrary to the will of God (whence the term *yeẓer ha-ra* or "inclination to evil"). Thus, in Genesis 5 it is stated that "every inclination of the thoughts of his – i.e., man's – heart is only evil continually" and again in Genesis 8:21 "for the inclination of man's heart is evil from his youth." The doctrine of the two inclinations (or drives) is a major feature of rabbinic psychology and anthropology. As a personification of the permanent dualism of the choice between good and evil, the rabbinic notion

of the two inclinations shifts this dualism from a metaphysical to a more psychological level (i.e., two tendencies in man rather than two cosmic principles). According to the rabbis, man was created with two opposing inclinations or tendencies, one impelling him toward the good and the other toward evil. This, in their opinion, was indicated by the employment in the term *Vayyiẓer* used in regard to man's creation in Genesis 2:7, of two *yods* (Ber. 61a). However, even the so-called *yeẓer ha-ra*, which corresponds roughly to man's untamed natural (and especially sexual) appetites or passions, is not intrinsically evil and, therefore, not to be completely suppressed. Without it, a human being would never marry, beget children, build a house, or engage in trade (Gen. R. 9:7). It is only when it gets out of hand that it becomes the cause of harm. An effective antidote is the study and observance of Torah (cf. Kid. 30b). This would suggest that the Torah is conceived as an ordering, guiding, and disciplining principle with regard to the untamed natural urges. While the *yeẓer ha-ra* is created in man at birth, the *yeẓer ha-tov*, which combats it, first makes its appearance 13 years later at the time of his *bar-mitzvah, i.e., when one assumes the "Yoke of the Torah" and with the onset of the age of reflection and reason (cf. Eccles. R., 4:13, 1). Unless it is checked and controlled, the *yeẓer ha-ra* will grow like habit. At first it resembles the thread of a spider's web but at the end it is like the stout rope of a wagon (Suk. 52a). Another parable describing the *yeẓer ha-ra* is that of a wayfarer who starts out by being taken in as a guest and ends by making himself the master of the house (*ibid.* 52b). Greatness does not necessarily render a human being immune from the power of the *yeẓer ha-ra*, which manifests itself in such traits as vindictiveness and avarice (Sif. Deut. 33), anger (Shab. 105b), and vanity (Gen. R. 22:6). In fact, the greater the man, the stronger are such tendencies apt to be in him. The *yeẓer ha-ra* operates only in this world. It does not exist in angels or other spiritual beings (Lev. R. 26:5). "In the world to come," said the *amora* *Rav, "there is no eating or drinking, procreation or barter, envy or hate" (Ber. 17a). The *yeẓer ha-ra* has been personified by being identified with Satan, man's tempter in this world and his accuser in the world to come, and also with the Angel of Death (BB 16a; cf. Suk. 52b). In Genesis (3:1ff.) the serpent is presented as man's tempter. Whether the devil, Sammael, merely employed the serpent as an instrument of himself assumed the form of a serpent is not clear from the text of the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch.

[Samuel Rosenblatt]

In Jewish Thought

Discussions of the two human inclinations, good and evil, constitute an integral part of theories of the soul in Jewish thought. At the same time, the fact that these aspects of the soul are called by value-laden names, "good inclination" and "evil inclination," frequently transforms a theoretical discussion into practical guidance regarding the proper behavior required to suppress the evil inclination as much as possible and to enable the good inclination to control it. Such practical guidance often forces the thinker to treat a related problem of theodicy: How can one explain the fact that God, who is good, implanted the harmful, evil inclination in the human being?

Maimonides integrated the "good inclination" and "evil inclination" in his Aristotelian theory of the soul. In accordance with his conception of the ultimate human good in terms of intellectual actualization, Maimonides identified the good inclination with the acquired human intellect (*Guide* 3:22), which in turn is identical with the "image (*ẓelem*) of God" (*Guide* 1:2). Conversely, the evil inclination is identified with the imaginative faculty common to humans and the higher animals (*Guide* 3:22), and which is responsible for both moral and epistemological harm. On the moral level, imagination leads people to follow their appetites, and on the epistemological level, it leads them to believe in the existence of impossible beings (*Guide* 2:12). Maimonides also presents the struggle among the faculties of the human soul in a manner consistent with an allegorical understanding of the three characters in the story of the garden of Eden: Adam represents intellect; Eve represents matter; and the serpent represents the evil inclination as embodied in imagination (*Guide* 1:2, 2:30).

Joseph *Albo, in his discussion of why the evil inclination is necessary, pointed out that without the appetitive nature of this faculty, which characterizes the animal soul, the human species would become extinct. Conversely, the good inclination, namely the rational soul, is the means of the individual's attaining spiritual immortality (*Book of Principles* 2:13). Isaac *Arama explained the existence of the evil inclination in terms of providing a challenge, presenting the opportunity to perform an evil act. The evil inclination thereby leads a person to examine his or her actions, to discern good from evil, and to decide freely to do the good (*Binding of Isaac*, ch. 8).

In the Kabbalah, the evil inclination was understood in cosmic terms, as disturbing the harmony of the cosmos symbolized by the **sefirot* Power (*gevurah*) and Kingdom (*malkhut*).

[Hannah Kasher (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Porter, in: *Biblical and Semitic Studies… Essays…* (1901), 91–156; G.F. Moore, *Judaism…*, 1 (1927), 479–93; S. Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* (1936), index; C.G. Montefiore and H. Loewe, *Rabbinic Anthology* (1938), index s.v. *Evil Inclination*. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Klein-Braslavy, *Maimonides Interpretation of the Adam Stories in Genesis* (*A Study in Maimonides' Anthropology*) (1986), 212–17 (Heb.); B. Braun, "True Will, or Evil Inclination: Two Ḥaredi Thinkers' Concept of Freedom," in: *Hagut*, 1 (1998), 97–125 (Heb.).

INCUNABULA.

Introduction

The term incunabula (or "cradle books") denotes books printed before 1500, including broadsheets, or other typographical products printed from letterpress composed of movable type. The first book known to be printed by Gutenberg in Germany dates from 1445. Jews were denied the opportunity of learning the art of *printing as long as it was exclusively practiced within Germany, where the strict rules of the guilds

forbade the admission of apprentices who were not proved to be legitimately born sons of Christian citizens.

In 1465 Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, two immigrant printers from Germany, established themselves at Subiaco, near Rome, printing books in Latin. It can be assumed that they were the teachers, instructors, or foremen of an industrious group of Jewish printers (or typesetters) supposed to have been active in Rome or its vicinity c. 1470 (see printers' list, no. 1).

Numbers of Incunabula

It has been estimated that c. 50,000 incunabula editions were published, c. 35,000 of them still represented by copies fully or partially preserved. Included in this total are the 175 (207) editions printed with Hebrew letters ascertained by copies preserved in public collections (see below). It is in no way certain that there is a complete list of all books printed in Hebrew during the 15th century. Two books supposed to have been printed before 1492 (S-TC 249 and 250) have not been included in the list at the end of this entry because there is no proof for their existence. Another case is the 15th-century Venetian *Haggadah woodcuts (*Soncino-Blaetter*, 1 (1925), 78) because it is not sure whether these are pages from a book or parts of a cycle of illustrations. During the last two centuries the interest in, and the knowledge of, Hebrew incunabula has increased considerably. While de *Rossi listed 60 items in 1776 and 86 in 1795, J. Jacobs in 1906 (in JE, 6 (1906), 778–9) enumerated 102, and A.M. Habermann in 1950 (in EIV, 2 (1950), 984–5) had 153 titles. H.M.Z. Meyer (in A. Freimann and M. Marx, *Thesaurus…* (1969^2), supplement to pt. 1) listed 185 incunabula of which ten were considered doubtful. The number of the "lost" incunabula has been estimated as one third of the number of "confirmed" editions. The scarcity of incunabula – and the high prices they command – though natural enough in view of the small editions printed and the lapse of time, is also due in a certain measure to the inroads of Church *censorship and book burnings in Italy, and in Spain to the Inquisition and expulsions.

Size and Number of Leaves

Incunabula have mostly appeared in folio format (106) against 40 in quarto and 29 in octavo or smaller formats. As to the number of leaves, it is impossible to account for those of the 70 incunabula which are only partially preserved. An analysis of the 105 complete editions reveals the following figures:

2 folios and 2 quartos each containing 1–16 leaves;
8 folios and 10 quartos and 3 smaller sizes each containing 17–96 leaves;
28 folios and 14 quartos and 5 smaller sizes each containing 97–192 leaves;
23 folios and 3 quartos each containing 193–400 leaves;
6 folios and 1 smaller size each containing 401–626 leaves.
Together 67 folios and 29 quartos and 9 smaller sizes = 105 incunabula.

Size of Editions, Appearance, Colophons

Owing to the scarcity of paper and the complicated manual work involved in the operation of the printing presses, editions were relatively small-sized. During the 1470s, many Latin books appeared in editions of 100 or 125 copies; Sweynheym and Pannartz produced only 275 to 300 copies of each of their twenty-eight publications. Hebrew printers, too, have occasionally reported on the size of their editions: 300 copies of the 1477 edition of the Book of Psalms (no. 40); 380 of *Ḥoshen Mishpat* in 1480 (no. 136); and 400 of David Kimḥi's commentary on the Latter Prophets (no. 148). It seems possible that Abraham Conat limited his *Tur Oraḥ Ḥayyim* to 125 copies.

The proto-printers were not interested in creating anything looking different from the style and form of the manuscript codices. Books from Conat's presses have often been taken for manuscripts with popular appeal. The early incunabula, therefore, have no title pages, open spaces are left for the illuminators and illustrators, and only at the end of the text, in the so-called *colophon, some information is given on the printer(s), their scholarly or technical staff, the place of work, and the date at which the printing was completed. Unfortunately, these colophons are often missing and very seldom contain all the information desired by the present-day bibliographer.

Printing Methods

Hebrew incunabula were printed by the same methods and with the same utensils as those used by the non-Jewish presses. A letterpress was composed from types, the lead block supporting each of them being 27 mm. long and 6 mm. wide (according to the reproduction in Thes. A10, 2), the same measurements as of the Latin types of the same body. Types were arranged into lines by putting them into a composing stick, they were then transferred into the wooden galleys, and impressions of – mostly – two corresponding pages were made in the manually operated printing presses. Each copy had to be printed separately, the press each time to be opened, the letterpress to be blacked with printer's ink, and a new sheet of moistened paper to be inserted. When Conat claimed that the daily output of his printing shop was only 125 copies he may be taking also into account typesetting and correcting. The printers were keen to economize, to lease typographical material from other printers, or to buy it second hand. In order to make the fullest use of the labor invested in typesetting, the printer of the Bible in Brescia in 1493 (no. 10) broke some of the columns of the letter-press composed for this edition into two parts, thus producing every time two pages of a handy pocket edition published by him in the same year (no. 49).

Pagination, Signatures, Voweled Texts, Title Pages, Ornamentation

The numbering of the leaves or pages, the inclusion of "signatures" (the special marks inserted at the bottom of the pages as a guide for the bookbinder's work of compiling the book from single sheets) are not to be found in the first decades of Hebrew printing, and make their appearance only at a later time. The first Hebrew text with vowels was printed in the Maḥzor Roma, 1485 (no. 102), signatures were first used by Joshua Soncino (no. 58), and the earliest attempt of a Hebrew

title page was made by Gershom Soncino in his edition of *Tur Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (no. 130). Eliezer Alantansi is the only Jew known to have used a printer's mark during the 15th century (nos. 128 and 134).

Joshua Soncino was also the first to introduce ornamented initials (see *Books: Book Illustrations). He fitted such letters into frames of similarly engraved woodcut borders, marking in this way the beginning of a book. Such headings appeared for the first time in his edition of the Talmud tractate *Berakhot*, 1483 (no. 58). Four years later (no. 173) he began to use a beautifully ornamented woodcut frame previously used by Francesco del Tuppo in his edition of the Fables by Aesop, published at Naples, Italy, on February 13, 1485. Joshua used this border several times for framing the first pages of his editions before he passed it on to other printing shops. Other Hebrew printers who used ornamented initial letters and borders were the Gunzenhausers of Naples. They printed with Soncino's woodcuts. The frame in Baḥya b. Asher's Pentateuch commentary (no. 117) was printed a month earlier in Leonardo Aretino's *L'Aquila* finished on June 27, 1492 by Aiolfo de Cantone. It may be assumed that this woodcut and all the other ornaments used by the Gunzenhausers were the work of Moses b. Isaac, a Jewish woodcut artist, the brother-in-law of Azriel Gunzenhauser.

The initials and frames used by the two Eliezers at Hijar and Lisbon (see printers' list no. 15 and 17) are produced from metal-cuts executed by the silversmith Alfonso Fernandes de Cordoba, a printer in Valencia (see printers' list no. 15).

Type Production, Paper

A Hebrew printer was able to acquire everything needed for his work by purchase, loan or exchange, the only exception being the Hebrew type which could not be obtained at the typefoundries or from other commercial sources. Every Hebrew printer therefore had to make his own set of matrices in order to case the typographical material required. The ductus to these types differs, of course, according to the style and taste of the scribes whose work was used as copy for the cutter of the punches (see *Printing; *Typography).

Hebrew incunabula were printed on excellent, locally made paper which stood the test of centuries and sometimes helps to locate books whose place of printing is not established by the colophon (no. 14). Copies of the same edition are known to have been printed on normal-size and on large-size paper, indicating that even then "deluxe editions" were produced. Thirty-six Hebrew incunabula survived in copies printed on parchment, thirty of them originating from Italian presses and six from Spain or Portugal. All these incunabula have also been published on ordinary paper.

Study of Incunabula

The study of incunabula has been hampered by the fact that more than one third of the editions known contain no information as to when, where, or by whom they were printed. Furthermore no colophons are preserved for a large number of books which survived in fragments only, having been saved from oblivion by the 16th-century custom of using waste paper as a substitute for wooden boards in book covers. The same applies to Hebrew incunabula, and this is the reason for the many lacunae in the list of Hebrew printers. The first to investigate incunabula systematically was the Italian Hebraist and collector G.B. de'Rossi. His careful description of 86 incunabula, most of them in his possession, is unsurpassed in spite of many corrections needed in detail. Moritz *Steinschneider in his *Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* (1852–1860) enumerated the incunabula described by de'Rossi more briefly and added 17 further incunabula. Important are his notes on the personalities of the printers, appearing as the third part of the catalog. In his article on Jewish typography in *Ersch-Gruber* encyclopedia (vol. 28, 1851, repr. 1938) he enumerates 89 numbers and estimates that there exist rather less than 100. Following the publication of many learned papers and special catalogs, Aron Freimann in his paper (*Ueber Hebraeische Inkunabeln*, 1902) arrived at a total of 101 incunabula which he arranged according to printing places and presses. Freimann-Marx's *Thesaurus Typographiae Hebraicae Saeculi XV* (1932) contains 330 large plates with facsimile reproductions of the typographically most important parts of 126 books, 123 of them incunabula. More recently, Y. Vinograd (1995) has collected 207 Hebrew incunabula.

The importance of Hebrew incunabula for Jewish scholarship lies in their use for textual criticism, these early editions having been printed from reliable manuscripts and edited and proofread by scholars. This is true, in particular, for the many Bible editions and the uncensored texts of the Talmud and Maimonides' Code.

Collections

Public collections of importance are listed below, the numbers attached indicating the number of Hebrew incunabula in their possession, duplicates not being counted:

Cambridge, University Library (29);
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College (65);
Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek (50, mostly from the Lazarus Goldschmidt Collection);
Frankfurt on the Main, Stadt-und Universitaetsbibliothek (49, formerly 59);
Jerusalem, Jewish National and University Library (65, mostly from the S. Schocken Collection);
London, British Museum;
New York, Jewish Theological Seminary (127);
Oxford, Bodleian Library;
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (34);
Parma, Bibliotheca Palatina (Collection de Rossi);
St. Petersburg, Bibliotheca Friedlandiana (34);
Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale (25);
Vienna, Kultusgemeinde (28).

List of Printers

Twenty-four (or twenty-six; see no. 9) Hebrew printing shops are known to have been working during the 15th century, 12 (14)

of them in Italy, nine in the Iberian Peninsula, one in Paris, one in Leiden, and one in Constantinople. For 18 of these presses their places of printing are mentioned in the colophons of the books produced by them. While the location of three more printing houses may be assumed with a certain degree of probability, it is impossible to place four of the printers on the map. On the other hand, the books printed for the "patrons" at *Faro do not indicate the name of their printers. There are, finally, five more or less completely preserved books (nos. 86, 88, 89, 111, and 149 in the list) which contain no colophon or any other means of identification of the printer, the place of printing, or the date.

The following is a complete list of printers based on the documentary evidence of the colophons in books preserved:

ITALY

1. OBADIAH (B. MOSES?), MANASSEH, and BENJAMIN, of Rome (colophon of no. 163). A comparison of the measurements of their book pages with the size of other contemporary productions has led to the assumption that they had learned the trade from Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, two German master printers working from 1465 at Subbiaco, a monastery in the neighborhood of Rome, and in Rome itself. It has been assumed, therefore, that Rome was the place of Hebrew printing sometime between 1469 and 1472. Identity of the typographical material used led to the conclusion that the books recorded as nos. 16, 107, 150, 153, 163, 167, and 170 also originate from this printing shop. Obadiah may be identical with his namesake under 2 (below).

2. SOLOMON B. JUDAH and OBADIAH B. MOSES (colophon of no. 156). The place of printing and the dating are conjectures based on typographical comparison. Obadiah may be identical with the leader of the group of printers under 1 (above).

3. *ABRAHAM B. GARTON B. ISAAC. He completed the printing of no. 171 on February 18, 1475, at Reggio di Calabria, as stated in the colophon. This is the first Hebrew book to appear with a full statement of all the three important bibliographical facts.

4. MESHULLAM CUSI and his sons, printers at *Piove di Sacco; their first-known work (no. 124) was published on July 3, 1475. The sons are supposed to have printed no. 98, using the typographical material belonging to their father's estate.

5. ABRAHAM B. SOLOMON *CONAT of Mantua, talmudist and physician. June 1476 and June 1477 are two dates recorded in the colophons of books originating from his press; his name is mentioned in no. 127, 143, 141, and 151, the place of printing in no. 127, and the dates in nos. 127 and 132. Printers employed by him were Abraham Jedidiah ha-Ezraḥi of Cologne and Jacob Levi of Tarascon, as well as his wife Estellina. The printing of no. 132 began at his presses but after the first 31 leaves *Abraham b. Ḥayyim dei Tintori of Ferrara took over and printed the remaining 60 leaves.

6. ABRAHAM B. ḤAYYIM DEI TINTORI. He completed no. 120 on May 17, 1477, and the remainder of no. 132 on June 25, 1477, working at this time at *Ferrara. Later on, printing at *Bologna for Joseph b. Abraham Caravita, he completed no. 13 on January 26, 1482. No. 54 has been ascribed to him. Nathan of Salo worked as editor of no. 152, and Joseph Ḥayyim b. Aaron Strasbourg Ẓarefati was corrector of no. 13. In 1488, Abraham himself served as corrector for Joshua Soncino.

7. JOSEPH, his son ḤAYYIM MORDECAI, and HEZEKIAH MONTERO, of Ventura. Joseph bears the title "Meister," probably because he was the apprentice of a German master printer. It has been suggested that his son was called Ḥayyim Mordecai and that the name Neriah is only based on a typographical error (ונריה instead of ובריה; Aram., "and his son"). No. 40 was finished in his printing shop on August 24, 1477, but no place of printing is mentioned in the colophons; some bibliographers assume that the work was done at Bologna. Nos. 41 and 42 are ascribed to this office.

8. ISAAC B. AARON D'ESTE and MOSES B. ELIEZER RAFAEL. Only one book is known to have been printed by this firm (no. 14). The colophon of their work gives no indication of the place or date of printing, but mentions the names of six co-workers employed.

9 (a). JOSHUA SOLOMON B. ISRAEL NATHAN SONCINO, the founder of this leading family of printers which for three generations produced books remarkable for their number, contents, and typographical perfection. The family originated from Speyer on the Rhine, and settled in the first half of the 15th century at Soncino, a small town in Lombardy. Joshua's name appears in the colophons of nos. 6, 55, 58, 65, 90, and 121. The place name is mentioned in nos. 6, 33, 58, 65, 71, 87, 101, and 139, while Naples as place of printing is reported in nos. 45, 55, 90, and 146. The earliest date recorded for Soncino is December 19, 1483 (no. 58), and the latest July 23, 1489 (no. 84); the list of books printed at Naples extends from May 25, 1490 (no. 90) to May 8, 1492 (no. 55). Editors of books printed by Joshua were: Solomon b. Perez Bonfroi Ẓarefati (no. 121) and Samuel b. Meir Latif (no. 71), both of them later employed by *Gunzenhauser, and David b. Eleazar ha-Levi (nos. 82 and 84), who had previously worked as corrector (no. 76); other correctors were Gabriel b. Aaron Strasbourg (nos. 58 and 65), the brother of Joseph Ḥayyim b. Aaron (no. 13), Abraham b. Ḥayyim dei Tintori (no. 6), and Mordecai b. Reuben Ẓarefati (nos. 82 and 84).

9 (b). JOSHUA SOLOMON SONCINO and JOSEPH IBN PESO. They completed on May 8, 1492, at Naples, the printing of no. 55. This is the most voluminous book ever printed by Joshua (see 9, above) and therefore he may have been obliged to execute this work in partnership, something he never did before or afterwards.

9 (c). BENEI SONCINO, the sons of Soncino. This imprint appears in nos. 108 (Soncino, October 31–December 29, 1485), 102 (Soncino and Casalmaggiore, September 10, 1485–August 21, 1486), and 63 (Naples, 1491). It is unknown if this was a partnership – and who were the partners – or if this is the name of an enterprise belonging to Joshua, as it is sometimes assumed.

10. JOSEPH B. JACOB GUNZENHAUSER (ASHKENAZI) and his son AZRIEL. Joseph's name is mentioned in nos. 43, 118, 144 and 165, first on March 28, 1487, and for the last time on January 23, 1490. Father and son are mentioned together in no. 122, and the son alone in nos. 114 and 117 (November 9, 1491, and July 3, 1492). They printed at Naples, as stated in the colophons of nos. 38, 43, 114, 117, 122, 144, 146, and 165. It is most probable that the first book printed by Joshua Soncino at Naples was produced by order of Joseph, because the name Ben Porat mentioned in the colophon as the initiator of this work is a synonym for Joseph (Gen. 49:22). The names recorded as Gunzenhauser's collaborators or employees are: Jacob Baruch b. Judah Landau, author of no. 149, who also edited no. 43, the first book to be printed by Gunzenhauser; his son Abraham, who corrected no. 114; Ḥayyim b. Isaac ha-Levi Ashkenazi (no. 51); Samuel b. Samuel of Rome (no. 38); Moses b. Shem Tov b. Ḥabib of Lisbon (no. 122); Samuel b. Meir Latif (no. 147), mentioned above as a member of Soncino's staff; Asher b. Perez Minẓ (= Min Ẓarefat), typesetter of no. 114; Samuel b. Hezekiah ha-Levi (no. 114); the brothers Solomon and Yom Tov b. Perez Ẓarefati (nos. 117, and 144), who presumably were the brothers of the Asher b. Perez, mentioned before. The Gunzenhausers remained in good relations with the Soncinos, as shown by the use of Soncino's woodcut in Gunzenhauser's book (cf. nos. 117 and 164).

11. GERSHOM (also called Menzlein) B. MOSES SONCINO, nephew of Joshua Soncino. During the 15th century he printed at Soncino (no. 158), Brescia (nos. 10, 24, 49, 123), Barco (no. 110), and at another unidentified place in Italy. This unsteady life was a result of chicanes which prevented a prolonged stay. Seventeen of the books printed by him are known to be incunabula, and 11 of them bear his name. Incunabula bearing his imprint are dated between December 19, 1488, and November 16, 1497. The only name of a co-worker given by one of his colophons is Eliezer b. Samuel who edited no. 158.

12. SOLOMON B. MOSES SONCINO, a brother of Gershom. According to the evidence of the colophons preserved, he has only one book (no. 125) to his credit. No dates or places of work are reported. It could be assumed that he was one of the "Sons of Soncino" (see 9 (c) above).

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

13. JUAN DE LUCENA, a Marrano printer working at Montalban, Spain. The names of his co-workers are recorded in no. 103, but there is no proof that the book described under this number was really a product of his printing shop.

14. SOLOMON B. MOSES IBN ALKABEẒ, a printer at Guadalajara, Spain. His name and place of residence are reported in nos. 136 and 148, the latter being finished during the last week of December 1480. Another book attributed to his press (no. 172) was published on September 5, 1476, while no. 148 was printed in 1482. Other books attributed to his presses, on the evidence of the typographical material used, are nos. 59, 62–64, 67, 70, 74, 80, 81, 112, 133, and 135.

15. ELIEZER B. ABRAHAM IBN ALANTANSI, owner of a printing shop and physician at Hijar, Spain. The name of the printer and the town are mentioned in the colophon of no. 134. Abraham b. Isaac b. David corrected no. 17, which was most probably printed by Eliezer for Solomon b. Maimon Zalmati. The books produced by Eliezer's presses are outstanding for their technical perfection and beautiful ornamentation. The frame printed in no. 16 has been praised by the historians of book illustration as the most remarkable example of this period. Most delicately incised animals, fruits, flowers, and ornamental lines enliven the black background, and the same balance between black and white is sustained in the composition of the initials. These metal engravings are the work of Alfonso Fernandez de Cordoba, a silversmith, type cutter, and printer in Valencia. Alfonso used the same frame, together with a suitable set of Latin initials, in the *Manuale Caesar Augustanum*, supposed to have been printed by him at Hijar in about 1487. But the relation between this book and Eliezer's publication is obscured by the fact that the Hebrew printing took place before and after the Latin printing, and that the frame shows proofs of wear and tear not to be found in the Hebrew books. This frame, together with the initial letters and other printing types used by Eliezer, can later be traced to the books originating from the presses of Eliezer Toledano (no. 19) in Lisbon.

16. PRINTING SHOP at FARO, a town in the Portuguese province of Algarve. The identity of the printer(s) working at this town for Don Samuel Gacon (no. 15, finished on June 30, 1487) and for Don Samuel Porteira (no. 73, published in December 1494 or 1496) is unknown. Nos. 60 and 79 are attributed to one or the other of these two patrons (or publishers).

17. ELIEZER TOLEDANO, mentioned as printer in nos. 19, 37, 115, and 166; the same colophons show Lisbon as his place of work. The earliest date in his colophons is July 18, 1488, while 1492 appears in no. 37. Eliezer, like his namesake in Hijar, was a physician and used in his books the frame, initial letters and printing types to be found in the works of the Hijar presses. It was therefore obvious to assume the identity of these two printers, especially as the activities at Hijar ended at approximately the time the work at Lisbon began. The distance between Hijar and Lisbon is approximately 400 miles, with Toledo as the midway station; that the new arrival was called by a name different from the one he bore at his place of departure is not surprising; it can be paralleled by many examples from European Jewry during the Middle Ages down to the 18th century. But no definite assertions can be made until further facts come to light.

18. SHEM TOV IBN ḤALA and his son JUDAH. They printed one book (no. 116), finished on October 21, 1491, at some unidentified place in Spain or Portugal.

19. MOSES IBN SHEALTIEL. The one book produced by him in Spain or Portugal (no. 159) contains no reference to place or date of printing.

20. SAMUEL B. MUSA, together with IMMANUEL, work-

ing as printers at Zamora, Spain; their names and place of work appear in the colophon of no. 174.

21. SAMUEL D'ORTAS and his three sons, one of them named ABRAHAM, printers at Leiria, Portugal. Their names are found in nos. 53 and 34, their place of work in no. 34 only. Their colophons are dated July 25, 1492, January 1494, and June 2, 1495.

CONSTANTINOPLE

22. DAVID and his son SAMUEL IBN NAḤMIAS, printers at Constantinople. Their edition of the *Arba'ah Turim* is dated December 13, 1493, as clearly stated in the colophon of no. 126. The correctness of the date has been doubted because other works were printed at this press at a much later period only.

KEY TO INCUNABULA LIST (BELOW)

Incunabula (index to places of publication)

Barco 110
Bologna 13, 40, 42, 54
Brescia 10, 24, 27, 49, 50, 66, 97, 123, 168
Casalmaggiore 102
Constantinople 126
Faro 15, 60, 73, 79
Ferrara 152
Guadalajara 59, 62, 63, 64, 67, 69, 70, 74, 80, 81, 112, 133, 135, 136, 148, 172
Hijar 7, 16, 17, 18, 36, 109, 128, 134, 137, 157
Iberian peninsula 1, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 39, 47, 56, 83, 93, 95, 96, 106, 131, 159, 160, 161
Italy 12, 14, 78, 86, 88, 111, 130, 169
Leiria 9, 26, 34, 53, 129
Lisbon 19, 25, 37, 52, 92, 115, 162, 166
Mantua 89(?), 120, 127, 132, 138, 141, 143, 151
Montalban 103
Naples 8, 11, 20, 21, 22, 23, 38, 43, 44, 45, 48, 51, 55, 89(?), 90, 91, 111, 113, 114, 117, 118, 144, 146, 147, 149, 164, 165, 175
Piove di Sacco 98, 119, 124
Reggio di Calabria 171
Rome 107, 145, 150, 153, 155, 156, 163, 167, 170
Sarco 100
Soncino 6, 33, 35, 57, 58, 61, 65, 68, 71, 75, 76, 77, 82, 84, 85, 87, 99, 101, 102, 104, 105, 108, 121, 125, 139, 140, 154, 158, 173
Spain 2, 3, 4, 5, 46, 116
Unknown 41, 94, 174

Incunabula (index to dates of publication)

1469 *108, 145, 150, 163, 167, 170*
1470 *108, 145, 150, 163, 167, 170*
1471 *108, 145, 150, 163, 167, 170*
1472 *108, 145, 150, 163, 167, 170*
1473 *153, 155*
1474 *153, 155*
1475 98, *103*, 124, *153, 155*, 156, 171
1476 *120*, 127, *138, 151*, 172
1477 *25*, 40, *41, 42, 120*, 132, 138, 151, 152
1478 *42, 120, 138, 151*
1479 *42, 120, 138, 151*
1480 *1, 12, 14, 42, 119, 120*, 136, *138, 151*
1481 *14, 25*
1482 13, *14*, 54, *113, 133, 135*, 148
1483 *14*, 58
1484 *14, 61*, 65, 121, 139
1485 *14*, 33, *68*, 97, *99, 102, 104*, 109, *110, 112*, 128, *137*
1486 *14, 35, 36*, 87, *102*, 105, *110, 137*
1487 *14*, 15, *16, 36*, 38, 43, 51, 71, 101, *110*, 134, *137*, 173, *174*
1488 6, *14, 16, 57*, 72, *110*, 122, *137*, 140, 154, 175
1489 *14, 16*, 75, *76*, 77, 82, 84, *110*, 107, 118, *137*, 144, 166
1490 *14*, 17, *22, 23, 44*, 45, *48, 85*, 90, *92, 110*, 125, *137*, 147, *149*, 158, 164, 165
1491 *8*, 19, *20*, 21, *22, 23, 37, 47, 48*, 115, 116, 123, 146, *159*, 168
Before 1492 25
1492 *8, 22, 23*, 24, *26, 37, 48*, 53, 55, 114, 117, *162, 174*
1493 *26*, 27, 49, 66, 126
1494 10, *26, 60, 73, 79* 1495 *11, 26*, 34, 129
1496 *60*, 62, *73, 79*, 100, 110
1497 78, 130, 169
1498
1499
Unknown 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 18, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 39, 46, 50, 52, 56, 83, 86, 88, 89, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 106, 131, 141, 142, 143, 157, 160, 161
After 1482 59, 62, 63, 64, 67, 69, 70, 74, 80, 81

† Numbers given in italics indicate either a span of possible publication dates or one uncertain date.

List of Incunabula (alphabetical from no. 106)

ABBREVIATIONS USED:

Goff Heb = F.R. Goff (ed.), *Incunabula in American Libraries* (1964), 316–25;
Thes = Freimann-Marx, *Thesaurus Typographiae Hebraicae*… (1967–69²); signatures in parentheses refer to vol. 2 in preparation;
S-TC = Short-title catalog in *Supplement, ibid.*

1. THE HOLY BIBLE – Complete Edition. Pentateuch, Prophets and Hagiographa. [In Spain or Portugal], printer unknown [1480?]. Folio.

Goff Heb 12; Thes (B50); S-TC256.

2. (–.–) [?] Unvocalized text in 2 columns, 28 lines to a full page. [Spain], printer & date unknown. Folio.

Goff Heb 16, 6; Thes (B54); S-TC257.

3. (–.–) [?, or Pentateuch only]. Unvocalized text, one column, 28 lines to a full page. [Spain], printer & date unknown. Folio.

Goff Heb 16, 3; Thes B38; S-TC258.

4. (–.–) [?] Unvocalized text in one column of 30 [?] lines to a full page. [Spain], printer & date unknown. Folio.

S-TC259.

5. (–.–) [?, or Prophets only]. Text with vowels & accents, 2 columns, 27 or 29 lines to a full page. [Spain], printer & date unknown. Folio. Probably "Portugal, 1487."

S-TC260.

6. (–.–). Corrected by Abraham b. Ḥayyim dei Tintori. Soncino, Joshua Soncino, Iyar 11, 5248 (= April 22, 1488). Folio.

Goff Heb 8; Thes A45; S-TC49.

7. (–.–) With Targum Onkelos. [Hijar, Eliezer Alantansi], no date.

S-TC229.

8. (–.–) [Naples, Joshua Soncino, 1491 or 1492]. Folio.

Goff Heb 9; Thes A75; S-TC69.

9. (–.–) [? or Pentateuch only]. [Leiria, Don Samuel D'Ortas], date unknown.

S-TC253.

10. (–.–) Brescia, Gershom Soncino, Sivan 19–25, 5254 (= May 24–30, 1494). Octavo.

Goff Heb 10; Thes A81; S-TC89.

11. (–.–) [? or Prophets & Hagiographa only]. Vocalized text, two columns, 32 lines to a complete page. [Naples?], printer unknown, [1495?] Quarto.

S-TC110.

12. (–) PENTATEUCH With Targum Onkelos and Rashi. יי for the name of God and ה for Elohim. [Italy?], printer unknown, [1480?]. Folio.

S-TC109.

13. (–.–) With Targum Onkelos and Rashi. Corrected by Joseph Ḥayyim b. Aaron Strasbourg Ẓarefati. Printed for Joseph b. Abraham Caravita. Bologna, Abraham b. Ḥayyim dei Tintori, Adar I 5, 5242 (= January 26, 1482). Folio.

Goff Heb 18; Thes A15; S-TC22.

14. (–.–) With Targum Onkelos, Megillot, and Haftarot. Corrected by Joshua bar Jekuthiel, typesetting by Isaiah and Judah, sons of Samuel Raphael Ha-Rofe, and by Benjamin and Joseph, the sons of Elhanan bar Eliezer, and Solomon bar Solomon. [Northern Italy], Isaac b. Aaron d'Este and Moses b. Eliezer Raphael, [1480–1490]. Folio.

Goff. Heb 13; Thes B40; S-TC27.

15. (–.–) Printed by order of Don Samuel Gacon. Faro, printer unknown, Tammuz 9, 5247 (= June 30, 1487). Folio.

Thes B14; S-TC233.

16. (–.–) With Megillot and Haftarot. [Hijar], Eliezer ibn Alantansi [1487–88?]. Folio.

Goff Heb 14; Thes B12; S-TC227.

17. (–.–) With Targum Onkelos and Rashi. Corrected by Abraham B. Isaac b. David. Printed for Solomon b. Maimon Zalmati. Hijar [Eliezer ibn Alantansi], Av 5250 (= July 19–August 17, 1490). Folio.

Goff Heb 19; Thes B11; S-TC228.

18. (–.–) With Megillot and Haftarot. [Hijar, Eliezer ibn Alantansi], date unknown. Octavo.

S-TC 230.

19. (–.–) With Targum Onkelos, Rashi, and a poem by David ben Joseph ibn Yaḥya. Corrected by Joseph Calphon. Lisbon, Eliezer Toledano [probably in collaboration with Judah Gedaliah], Av 5251 (= July 8–August 6, 1491). Folio.

Goff Heb 20; Thes B20; S-TC240.

20. (–.–) Vocalized text with accents. 19 lines to a full page. [Naples, Joshua Soncino, 1491?]. Quarto.

Thes A70a; S-TC61.

21. (–.–) With Rashi, Megillot, Haftarot and Megillat Antiochus. Naples, Benei Soncino, 5251 (= 1491). Folio.

Goff Heb 21; Thes A70; S-TC63.

22. (–.–) With Haftarot. [Naples, Joshua Soncino], date unknown. [Between 1490 and 1492]. Folio.

Goff Heb 17; Thes A98; S-TC64.

23. (–.–) [Naples, Joshua Soncino], date unknown. [Between 1490 and 1492?]. Octavo.

Goff Heb 16, 1; Thes A99; S-TC65.

24. (–.–) With Megillot and Haftarot. Brescia, Gershom Soncino, Shevat 24, 5252 (= January 23, 1492). Quarto.

Goff Heb 15; Thes A78; S-TC84.

25. (–.–) Vocalized text with accents. 32 (?) lines to a full page. [Lisbon?], Eliezer [Toledano?], before 1492. Folio.

S-TC245.

26. (–.–) Vocalized text with accents. 17 lines to a full page. [Leiria?, Don Samuel d'Ortas or his sons?, between 1492 and 1495?]. Octavo.

S-TC262.

27. (–.–) Vocalized text with accents. Megillot and Haftarot. Brescia, Gershom Soncino, Kislev 15, 5254 (= November 24, 1493). Octavo.

Thes (A79); S-TC85.

28. (–.–) With Haftarot. 2 columns, 25 or 26 lines to a full page. [At a unknown place in Spain or Portugal, printer and date unknown]. Folio.

Thes (B55); S-TC261.

29. (–.–) With Haftarot. Unvocalized text. 18–19 lines to a full page. Place, printer and date unknown [Spain or Portugal?]. Quarto.

Goff Heb 17, 2; Thes (B39); S-TC263.

30. (–.–) Vocalized text with accents. Place [Spain or Portugal], printer, and date unknown. Folio.

Goff Heb 16, 5; Thes B49; S-TC264.

31. (–.–) Vocalized text with accents. 2 columns, 15 lines to a full page. Place [Spain or Portugal], printer, and date unknown. Folio.

Goff Heb 16, 4; Thes B48; S-TC265.

32. (–.–) Corrected according to the Hilleli codex. With Megillot and Haftarot. 1 or 2 columns, 32 lines to a full page. Printed somewhere in Spain or Portugal, printer and date unknown. Folio.

Goff Heb 16, 2; Thes B30; S-TC266.

33.(–) FORMER PROPHETS. With commentary by David Kimḥi [Soncino], Joshua Soncino, Ḥeshvan 6, 5246 (= October 15, 1485). Folio.

Goff Heb 22; Thes A31; S-TC36.

34. (–.–) With Targum Jonathan and commentaries by Levi b. Gershom and D. Kimḥi. Leiria [Don Samuel d'Ortas and his] three sons, Shevat 19–21, 5254 (= January 26–28, 1495). Folio.

Goff Heb 23; Thes B27; S-TC254.

35. (–) LATTER PROPHETS. With commentary by D. Kimḥi [Soncino], Joshua Soncino [1486?]. Folio.

Goff Heb 24; Thes A39; S-TC42.

36. (–.–) [Hijar, Eliezer ibn Alantansi, 1486–7?].

Thes (B10); S-TC223.

37. (–.–) ISAIAH AND JEREMIAH with commentary by D. Kimḥi. Lisbon, Eliezer Toledano [probably together with Judah Gedaliah], 5252 (= 1491–92). Folio.

Goff Heb 25; Thes B21; S-TC242.

38. (–) HAGIOGRAPHA with commentaries by D. Kimḥi on Job, by Joseph b. Simeon Kara on Lamentations, and by Rashi on the remaining books. [Corrected or typeset by] Samuel b. Samuel of Rome. Naples [Joseph Gunzenhauser], Tishri 9, 5248 (= September 26, 1487). Quarto.

Goff Heb 26; Thes A59; S-TC72.

39. (–.–) Unvocalized text; 30–31 lines to a full page. [Spain or Portugal], printer and date unknown.

Goff Heb 27; Thes (B56); S-TC 267.

40. (–) PSALMS. With commentary by D. Kimḥi. [Bologna], Meister Joseph, Neria [his son?] Ḥayyim Mordecai and Hezekiah Montro of Ventura, Elul 20, 5237 (= August 29, 1477). Folio.

Goff Heb 28; Thes A13; S-TC 24.

41. (–.–) Unvocalized text. 19 lines to a full page. Without indication of place, printer, or date [pl. and pr. as in No. 40; 1477?]. Duodecimo.

Thes A14a; S-TC25.

42. (–.–) With an index for 149 psalms and Grace after Meals. [place and printer as in no. 40; between 1477 and 1480]. Duodecimo.

Thes A4a; S-TC26.

43. (–.–) With commentary by D. Kimḥi edited by Jacob Baruch b. Judah Landau. Naples, Joseph Gunzenhauser, Nisan 4, 5247 (= March 28, 1487). Quarto.

Goff Heb 29; Thes A57; S-TC70.

44. (–.–) [Naples, Joshua Soncino, 1490?]?

Goff Heb 31, 3; Thes A91; S-TC58.

45.(–.–) Together with Job AND PROVERBS. Naples [Joshua Soncino], Kislev 29, 5251 (= December 12, 1490). Quarto.

Goff Heb 32; Thes A68; S-TC60.

46. (–.–) [Spain, Shem Tov ibn Ḥalaz and his son Judah], date unknown. 32mo.

S-TC247.

47. (–.–) [Spain, or Portugal, printer unknown, 1491?]. 32mo.

Goff Heb 126, 3; Thes B32 A; S-TC268. [Perhaps identical with no. 46].

48. (–.–) [Naples, Joshua Soncino, 1490–1492?]. Duodecimo.

Goff Heb 31, 1 and 2; Thes A100; S-TC66.

49. (–.–) Brescia, Gershom Soncino, Tevet 7, 5254 (= December 16, 1493). Duodecimo.

Goff Heb 30; Thes A80; S-TC86.

50. (–.–) With ד for the name of God. 16 lines to a full page. [Brescia, Gershom Soncino], date unknown. Duodecimo.

Thes A80A; S-TC87.

51. (–) PROVERBS with commentary by Immanuel b. Solomon of Rome. Corrected [or typeset] by Ḥayyim b. Isaac ha-Levi Ashkenazi. [Naples, Joseph Gunzenhauser, 1487]. Quarto.

Goff Heb 34; Thes A58; S-TC71.

52. (–.–) With the commentary *Kav ve-Naki* by David b. Solomon ibn Yaḥya. [Lisbon, Eliezer Toledano], date unknown. Folio.

Goff Heb 35; Thes B23; S-TC244.

53. (–.–) With Targum Onkelos and commentaries by Menahem ha-Meiri and Levi b. Gershon. Typesetting by Abraham b. Samuel d'Ortas [Leiria], Don Samuel d'Ortas, Av 1 5252 (= July 25, 1492). Folio.

Goff Heb 33; Thes B26; S-TC252.

54. (–) THE FIVE SCROLLS. Esther with commentary by Abraham ibn Ezra, the other books with Rashi. [Bologna, Abraham dei Tintori, 1482]. Folio.

Thes A16; S-TC23.

55. Mishnah. Mishnayot with commentary by Maimonides. Naples, Joshua Soncino and Joseph ibn Peso. Iyar 11, 5252 (= May 8, 1492). Folio.

Goff Heb 82; Thes A73; S-TC68.

56. (–) Unvocalized text without commentary. 30–31 lines to a full page. [Spain or Portugal, printer and date unknown].

S-TC269.

57. (–) Avot. With commentary by Maimonides. Translated from the Arabic by Samuel b. Judah ibn Tibbon. [Soncino, Joshua Soncino, 1488 (?)]. Folio.

Goff Heb 83; Thes A41; S-TC43.

58. BABYLONIAN TALMUD. Berakhot, with Rashi, Tosafot, Piskei Tosafot, and the commentaries of Maimonides and Mordecai b. Hillel. Corrected by Gabriel b. Aaron of Strasbourg. Soncino, Joshua Soncino, Tevet 20, 5244 (= December 19, 1483). Folio.

Goff Heb 102; Thes A26; S-TC28.

59. (–) Berakhot with Rashi. [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, after 1482]. Folio.

Goff Heb 103, 2; Thes B5; S-TC212.

60. (–.–) [Faro, Don Samuel Gacon, 1494 or 1496]. Folio.

Goff Heb 103, 1; Thes B16; S-TC235.

61. (–) Shabbat, with Rashi and Tosafot. [Soncino, Joshua Soncino, about 1484]. Folio.

Goff Heb 11; Thes A29; S-TC31.

62. (–) Eruvin, with Rashi. [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, after 1482]. Folio.

Thes (B6); S-TC213.

63. (–) Yoma, with Rashi. [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, after 1482]. Folio.

Goff Heb 119; Thes B74; S-TC214.

64. (–) Beẓah, with Rashi. [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, after 1482]. Folio.

Goff Heb 105; Thes B58; S-TC215.

65. (–.–) With Rashi, Tosafot, Piskei Tosafot and commentaries by Maimonides and Mordecai b. Hillel. Corrected by Gabriel b. Aaron of Strasbourg. Soncino, Joshua Soncino, Adar I 6, 5244 (= February 2, 1484). Folio.

Goff Heb 104; Thes A28; S.-T.C. 30.

66. (–.–) [Brescia, Gershom Soncino, 1493]. Folio.

Thes A88; S-TC88.

67. (–) Ta'anit. [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, after 1482]. Folio.

S-TC216.

68. (–) Megillah with Rashi, Tosafot, etc. [Soncino, Joshua Soncino, 1485(?)]. Quarto.

Thes A33; S-TC24.

69. (–) Ḥagigah, with Rashi. [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, after 1482]. Folio.

Goff Heb 108; Thes (B7); S-TC217.

70. (–) Ketubbot, with Rashi. [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, after 1482]. Folio.

Goff Heb 112; Thes B7 B; S-TC218.

71. (–.–) With Rashi, Tosafot and Piskei Tosafot, edited by Samuel b. Meir Latif. Soncino [Joshua, Soncino], Kislev 20, 5248 (= December 5, 1487). Folio.

Goff Heb 111; Thes A43; S-TC46.

72. (–) Gittin, with Rashi and Tosafot. Soncino [Joshua Soncino], Adar 6, 5248 (= February 19, 1488). Folio.

Goff Heb 106; Thes A44; S-TC47.

73. (–.–) With Rashi. Faro, printed for Don Samuel Porteira, Tevet 15, 5257 or Tevet 11, 5257 (= December 12, 1496 or December 16, 1496). Folio.

Goff Heb 107; Thes B15; S-TC234.

74. (–) Kiddushin, with Rashi. [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, after 1482]. Folio.

Goff Heb 113; Thes B6; S-TC219.

75. (–.–) With Rashi, Tosafot and Piskei Tosafot. [Soncino, Joshua Soncino, 1489]. Folio.

Goff Heb 114; Thes A51; S-TC52.

76. (–) Bava Kamma, with Rashi, Tosafot and Piskei Tosafot. Corrected by David b. Eleazar ha-Levi. [Soncino, Joshua Soncino, 1489(?)]. Folio.

Goff Heb 100; Thes A49; S-TC50.

77. (–) Bava Meẓia, with Rashi and Tosafot. [Soncino, Joshua Soncino, 1489]. Folio.

Goff Heb 101; Thes A50; S-TC51.

78. (–) Sanhedrin, with Rashi and Tosafot. [Somewhere in Italy], Gershom Soncino, Kislev 21, 5258 (= November 16, 1497). Folio.

Goff Heb 116; Thes A84; S-TC93.

79. (–) Shevu'ot with Rashi. [Faro, for Don Samuel Gacon or Don Samuel Porteira, 1494 or 1496]. Folio.

Goff Heb 118; Thes B17; S-TC236.

80. (–) Middot, with Rashi. [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, after 1482]. Folio.

Thes B7.D; S-TC220.

81. (–.–) Ḥullin, with Rashi. [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, after 1482]. Folio.

Goff Heb 110; Thes B57; S-TC221.

82. (–.–) With Rashi, Tosafot and Piskei Tosafot, edited by David b. Eleazar ha-Levi (Pizzighetone), corrected by Mordecai b. Reuben Ẓarefati of Basle. [Soncino, Joshua Soncino], Tammuz 15, 5249 (= June 14, 1489). Folio.

Goff Heb 109; Thes A53; S-TC53.

83. (–.–) [Spain or Portugal], printer and date unknown. Folio.

Goff Heb 110, 2; Thes B35; S-TC221.

84. (–) Niddah, with Rashi, Tosafot and Piskei Tosafot, edited by David b. Eleazar ha-Levi, corrected by Mordecai b. Reuben Ẓarefati of Basle. [Soncino, Joshua Soncino], Av 25, 5249 (= July 23, 1489). Folio.

Goff Heb 115; Thes A54; S-TC54.

85. PRAYER BOOKS. Various prayers, according to the German rite. [Soncino, Solomon Soncino, 1490(?)]. Quarto.

Goff Heb 121; Thes A87; S-TC100.

86. (–) SIDDUR. Daily prayers, German rite. [Italy, printer and date unknown]. Octavo.

Goff Heb 122; Thes A97; S-TC107.

87. (–.–) Tefillat Yaḥid, the so-called *Sidurello*. Daily prayers, Roman rite. Soncino [Joshua Soncino], Iyar 2, 5246 (= April 8, 1486). Octavo.

Goff Heb 121; Thes A35; S-TC39.

88. (–.–) Roman Rite. [Italy, printer and date unknown]. Duodecimo.

Thes A95; S-TC106.

89. (–.–) Various prayers according to the Roman rite. [Italy, printer and date unknown]. Printed at Naples(?) or Mantua, 1513 (?). Octavo.

Goff Heb 123; Thes A96; S-TC108.

90. (–.–) Seder Tefillot. Daily prayers according to the Spanish rite. A poem by Moses b. Shem Tov b. Ḥabib. Printed for Ben Porat [= Joseph (probably Gunzenhauser)]. Naples, Joshua Soncino, Sivan 5, 5240 (= May 25, 1490). Quarto.

Goff Heb 124; Thes A90; S-TC57.

91. (–.–) Spanish rite. [Naples, Joshua Soncino, date unknown.] Octavo.

Goff Heb 126, 1; Thes A92; S-TC59.

92. (–.–) Seder Me'ah Berakhot, Spanish rite, with graphic symbols for the sounds of the *shofar*. [Lisbon, Eliezer Toledano, 1490(?)]. Octavo.

Goff Heb 125; Thes B44; S-TC239.

93. (–.–) Spanish rite, 13 lines to a full page, [Spain or Portugal, printer and date unknown]. Octavo.

Thes B43; S-TC27.

94. (–.–) Spanish rite. ׳׳ for the name of God, 11 lines to a full page. Octavo.

S-TC 272.

95. (–.–) Spanish rite. ׳׳ for the name of God; 15 lines to a full page. [Spain or Portugal, printer and date unknown]. 16mo.

Goff Heb 126, 4; Thes B46; S-TC273.

96. (–.–) Spanish rite. 18 lines to a full page. [Spain or Portugal, printer and date unknown]. 16mo.

Goff Heb 126, 5; Thes B47; S-TC274.

97. (–.–) Of an undetermined rite. [Brescia, Gershom Soncino, 1485.] Duodecimo.

Goff Heb 127; Thes A102; S-TC90.

98. (–) SELIḤOT, German rite. [Piove di Sacco, Meshullam Cusi's sons, 1475]. Folio.

Thes A3; S-TC12.

99. (–.–) German rite. [Soncino, Joshua Soncino, 1485(?)].

Thes A34; S-TC38.

100. (–.–) German rite. Vocalized text. Sarco, Gershom Soncino, Tishri 8, 5257 (= Sept. 15, 1496). Folio.

Goff Heb 96; Thes A83; S-TC92.

101. (–) SEDER TAḤANUNIM. Roman rite. Soncino [Joshua Soncino], Iyyar 23, 5247 (= May 16, 1487). Quarto.

Goff Heb 99; Thes A40; S-TC44.

102. (–) MAḤZOR Minhag Roma, Soncino and Casalmaggiore, Benei Soncino, Tishri–Elul 20, 5246 (Sept. 10, 1485–August 21, 1486). Folio.

Goff Heb 73; Thes A37; S-TC41.

103. (–.–) le-Yom ha-Kippurim. [Montalban?, Juan de Lucena, his daughters Theresa and Juana, together with Diego de Monbel and Inigo de Gurcos, 1475(?)]. Octavo.

Goff Heb 72; Thes B53; S-TC201.

The identification of the printing house is questionable.

104.(–) PASSOVER HAGGADAH; together with tractate Avot, German rite. [Soncino, Joshua Soncino, approx. 1485]. Quarto.

Thes A38; S-TC35.

105. (–.–) [Soncino, Joshua Soncino, 1486]. Duodecimo.

Goff Heb 42; Thes A36; S-TC40.

106. AARON B. MESHULLAM HA-KOHEN OF LUNEL, *Orḥot Ḥayyim*. [Spain or Portugal], printer and date unknown. Folio.

Goff Heb 2; Thes B37; S-TC275.

107. ABUDRAHAM, DAVID B. JOSEPH B. DAVID, *Perush ha-Berakhot ve ha-Tefillot*. Lisbon, Eliezer Toledano [probably with the collaboration of Judah Gedaliah], Tevet 1, 5250 (= November 25, 1489), Folio.

Goff Heb 36; Thes B19; S-TC238.

108. ADRET, SOLOMON B. ABRAHAM (Rashba). Responsa. [Rome(?), Obadiah, Manasseh, and Benjamin of Rome, between 1469 and 1472]. Octavo.

Goff Heb 95; Thes A25; S-TC6.

109. ALBO, JOSEPH, *Sefer ha-Ikkarim*. Soncino, Benei Soncino, Ḥeshvan 22, 5246 (= December 29, 1485). Folio.

Goff Heb 64; Thes A32; S-TC37.

110. ALFASI, ISAAC, *Halakhot*. [Hijar, Eliezer Alantansi, between 1485 and 1490]. Folio.

Goff Heb 44; Thes B34; S-TC231 and 276.

111. (Anonymous) LU'AḤ, Calendar for the year 5257 [Barco, Gershom Soncino, 1496.]

Goff Heb 3; Thes A82; S-TC91.

112. (–) *Sefer Kol Bo*. [Italy (or Naples), printer unknown, 1485(?)]. Folio.

Goff Heb 67; Thes A94; S-TC105.

113. (–) *Megillat Antiochus*, Aramaic text with Hebrew translation; Judah Halevi, *Mi Khamokha*; and: *Tefillat ha-Derekh*; Benedictions for different occasions; Passover Haggadah; *Ḥaruzim* (rules and calculations for the calendar). [Gudalajara(?), Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ(?), 1482 (?)]. Folio.

S-TC209–211.

114. (–) *Petaḥ Devarai*. [Naples, Joshua Soncino], Adar II 1, 5252 (= February 28, 1492). Quarto.

Goff Heb 91; Thes A72; S-TC67.

115. AVICENNA, *The Canon*. Translated from the Arabic by Joseph b. Judah al-Lorki and Nathan b. Eliezer ha-Me'ati. Corrected by Abraham b. Jacob Landau, typesetting by Asher b. Perez Minz. Naples, Azriel Gunzenhauser, Kislev 7, 5252 (= November 9, 1491). Folio.

Goff Heb 4; Thes A71; S-TC103.

116. BAḤYA B. ASHER, commentary on the Pentateuch. Edited by Samuel b. Abraham Perez. Without indication of place [Spain], Shem Tov ibn Ḥalaẓ and his son Judah, Ḥeshvan 17, 5252 (= October 21, 1491). Folio.

Goff Heb 5; Thes B31; S-TC246.

117. (–.–) Edited by Solomon b. Pereẓ Bonfroi Ẓarefati. Corrected by Samuel b. Hezekiah ha-Levi. Naples, Azriel Gunzenhauser, Tammuz 8, 5252 (= July 3, 1492). Folio.

Goff Heb 6; Thes A74; S-TC104.

Published for Abraham and Jacob Pax (not Falcon).

118. BAḤYA B. JOSEPH IBN PAQUDA, *Ḥovot ha-Levavot*. Translated from the Arabic by Judah b. Saul ibn Tibbon. Corrected by Solomon b. Perez [Bonfroi Ẓarefati] [Naples], Joseph Gunzenhauser, Kislev 25, 5250 (= November 19, 1489). Quarto.

Goff Heb 7; Thes A63; S-TC76.

119. ELDAD HA-DANI, *Sefer Eldad*. Together with various *halakhot* and responsa. [Piove di Sacco, Meshullam Cusi and sons, 1480?]. Quarto.

Goff Heb 41; Thes A6; S-TC15.

120. FINZI, MORDECAI, *Luḥot* (astronomical tables). [Mantua, Abraham Conat, between 1476 and 1480]. Quarto.

Thes A9; S-TC18.

121. GABIROL, SOLOMON IBN, *Mivḥar ha-Peninim*. Translated from the Arabic by Judah b. Saul ibn Tibbon with commentary, edited by Solomon b. Perez Bonfroi Ẓarefati. [Soncino]. Joshua Soncino, Shevat 17, 5244 (= January 14, 1484). Quarto.

Goff Heb 98; Thes A27; S-TC29.

122. IBN EZRA, ABRAHAM, commentary on the Pentateuch, edited and corrected by Moses b. Shem Tov b. Ḥabib of Lisbon. Naples, Joseph Gunzenhauser and his son [Azriel], 36th day of Omer (= Iyyar 18, 5248 = April 29, 1488). Folio.

Goff Heb 1; Thes A60; S-TC73.

123. IMMANUEL B. SOLOMON B. JEKUTHIEL OF ROME, *Sefer ha-Maḥbarot*. Brescia, Solomon Soncino, Ḥeshvan 26, 5252 (= October 30, 1491). Quarto.

Goff Heb 43; Thes A77; S-TC83.

124. JACOB B. ASHER, *Arba'ah Turim*. Piove di Sacco,

Meshullam Cusi and sons, Tammuz 28, 5235 (= July 3, 1475). Folio.

Goff Heb 47; Thes A2; S-TC11.

125. (–.–) [Soncino], Solomon Soncino [1490]. Folio.

Goff Heb 48; Thes A56; S-TC99.

126. (–.–) Edited by Elijah b. Benjamin ha-Levi. Constantinople, David and Samuel ibn Naḥmias, Tevet 4, 5254 (= December 13, 1493). Folio.

Goff Heb 49; Thes C. 1; S-TC301.

127. (–.–) *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*. Mantua, Abraham Conat, Sivan 14, 5236 (= June 6, 1476). Folio.

Goff Heb 50; Thes A4; S-TC13.

128. (–.–) Hijar, Eliezer ibn Alantansi, Elul 5245 (= August 12–September 9, 1485). Folio.

Goff Heb 51; Thes B8; S-TC222.

129. (–.–) [Leiria, Abraham b. Samuel d'Ortas], Sivan 10, 5255 (= June 2, 1495). Folio.

Goff Heb 53; Thes B29; S-TC255.

130. (–.–) [Italy, Gershom Soncino, 1497]. Quarto.

Goff Heb 54; Thes A85; S-TC94.

131. (–.–) [Spain or Portugal, printer and date unknown]. Folio.

Goff Heb 52; Thes B33; S-TC277.

132. (–.–) *Yoreh De'ah*. [Mantua, Abraham Conat] and Abraham b. Ḥayyim at Ferrara, Av 15, 5237 (= June 25, 1477). Folio.

Goff Heb 55; Thes A5; S-TC14.

133. (–.–) [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, 1482(?)]. Folio.

Goff Heb 52; Thes B2. A; S-TC207.

134. (–.–) Hijar, Eliezer ibn Alantansi, 5347 (= 1487). Folio.

Goff Heb 56; Thes B9; S-TC226.

135. (–.–) *Even ha-Ezer*. [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, 1482(?)]. Folio.

Goff Heb 58; Thes B2; S-TC208.

136. (–.–) *Ḥoshen Mishpat*. Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, Shevat 20–28, 5241 (= December 24–30, 1480). Folio.

Goff Heb 59; Thes B3; S-TC205.

137. (–.–) [Hijar, Eliezer ibn Alantansi, between 1485 and 1490]. Folio.

Goff Heb 60; S-TC225.

138. JEDAIAH HA-PENINI, *Beḥinat ha-Olam* [Mantua], Estellina, the wife of Abraham Conat, assisted by Jacob Levi from Tarascon [Between 1476–1480]. Quarto.

Thes A11; S-TC20.

139. (–.–), with a short commentary. Soncino [Joshua Soncino], Kislev 24, 5245 (= December 12, 1484). Quarto.

Goff Heb 61; Thes A30; S-TC33.

140. (–), Bakkashat ha-Memin with: MOSES KIMHI, *Mahalakh Shevilei ha-Da'at*; JOSEPH B. ḤANAN EZOBI, *Ka'arat Kesef; Mishlei Ḥamishim Talmidim*. Soncino, [Gershom Soncino], Av 13, 5248 (= July 21, 1488). Octavo.

Thes A46; S-TC79.

141. JOSEPH B. GURYON, *Sefer bin Guryon*, the so-called *Josippon* [Mantua], Abraham Conat, the 49th day of Omer (= 5 Sivan), no year. Quarto.

Goff Heb 65; Thes A8; S-TC278.

142. JOSHUA B. JOSEPH HA-LEVI, *Seder Halikhot Olam*, with JONAH B. ABRAHAM GERONDI, *Sefer ha-Yirah ve-sod ha-Teshuvah* [Somewhere in Spain or Portugal, printer and date unknown]. Quarto.

Goff Heb 63; Thes B28; S-TC278.

143. JUDAH BAR JEHIEL (ROFEẒ), *Sefer Nofet Ẓufim*. [Mantua], Abraham Conat, [no date], Quarto.

Goff Heb 62; Thes A7; S-TC16.

144. KALONYMUS B. KALONYMUS, *Even Boḥan*. Edited by Yom Tov b. Perez Ẓarefati. Naples, Joseph Gunzenhauser, Elul 28, 5249 (= August 25, 1489). Quarto.

Goff Heb 66; Thes A62; S-TC75.

145. KIMḤI, DAVID B. JOSEPH (RADAK), *Sefer ha-Shorashim*. [Rome?, Obadiah (b. Moses?), Manasseh; and Benjamin of Rome, between 1469 and 1472]. Folio.

Goff Heb 38; Thes A24; S-TC5.

146. (–.–) Naples [Joshua Soncino], Shevat 30, 5251 (= February 10, 1491). Folio.

Goff Heb 40; Thes A69; S-TC62.

147. (–.–) Corrected by Samuel b. Meir Latif. Naples [Azriel Gunzenhauser], Elul 5250 (= August 18–September 15, 1490). Folio.

Goff Heb 39; Thes A66; S-TC101.

148. (–) Commentary on Latter Prophets. Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, 5242 (= 1482). Folio.

Goff Heb 37; Thes B1; S-TC15.

149. LANDAU, JACOB BARUCH B. JUDAH, *Sefer Agur* and *Sefer Ḥazon*. [Naples, Azriel Gunzenhauser, 1490 (?)], Quarto.

Goff Heb 68; Thes A67; S-TC102.

150. LEVI B. GERSHOM (RALBAG), commentary on Daniel. [Rome(?), Obadiah, Manasseh and Benjamin of Rome(?), between 1469 and 1472]. Quarto.

Goff Heb 71; Thes A22; S-TC4.

151. (–) Commentary on the Pentateuch. [Mantua], Abraham Conat with the help of Abraham Jedidiah ha-Ezraḥi of Cologne, [between 1476 and 1480]. Folio.

Goff Heb 69; Thes A10; S-TC19.

152. (–) Commentary on Job. Edited by Nathan of Salo. [Ferrara], Abraham b. Ḥayyim dei Tintori, Sivan 4, 5237 (= May 17, 1477). Quarto.

Goff Heb 70; Thes A12; S-TC21.

153. MOSES B. JACOB OF COUCY, *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* [Rome(?), Obadiah, Manasseh, and Benjamin of Rome, between 1473 and 1475]. Folio.

Goff Heb 84; Thes A19; S-TC7.

154. (–.–) [Soncino], Gershom Soncino, Tevet 15, 5249 (= December 19, 1488). Folio.

Goff Heb 85; Thes A48; S-TC80.

155. MOSES B. MAIMON (MAIMONIDES), *Moreh Nevukhim*. Translated from the Arabic by Samuel b. Judah ibn Tib-

bon. With a table of contents by Judah b. Solomon al-Ḥarizi. [Rome(?), between 1473 and 1475]. Quarto.

Goff Heb 80; Thes A18; S-TC8, where a name of a printer has been erroneously inserted.

156. (–) Mishneh Torah. [Rome(?)], Solomon b. Judah and Obadiah b. Moses [1475]. Folio.

Goff Heb 76; Thes A1; S-TC9.

157. (–.–) [Hijar, Eliezer ibn Alantansi, date unknown]. Octavo.

S-TC232

158. (–.–) Edited by Eliezer b. Samuel. Soncino, Gershom Soncino, Nisan 1, 5250 (= March 23, 1490). Folio.

Goff Heb 77; Thes A55; S-TC81.

159. (–.–) [Somewhere in Spain or Portugal], Moses ibn Shealtiel, [1491?]. Folio.

Goff Heb 78; Thes B32; S-TC248.

160. (–.–) [Spain or Portugal, printer and date unknown]. Folio.

Goff Heb 79, 1; Thes B36; S-TC279.

161. (–.–) [Spain or Portugal, printer and date unknown]. Folio.

Goff Heb 79, 2; Thes B41; S-TC280.

162. (–.–) *Hilkhot Sheḥitah*. [Lisbon, Eliezer Toledano, 1492?]. Duodecimo.

Goff Heb 75; Thes B22; S-TC243.

163. MOSES B. NAḤMAN (NAḤMANIDES). Commentary on the Pentateuch. [Rome(?)], Obadiah, Manasseh, and Benjamin of Rome [Between 1469 and 1472]. Folio.

Goff Heb 86; Thes A20; S-TC1.

164. (–.–) [Naples]. [Joseph Gunzenhauser], Tammuz 13, 5250 (= July 2, 1490). Folio.

Goff Heb 88; Thes A65; S-TC78.

165. (–) *Sha'ar ha-Gemul*. Naples, Joseph Gunzenhauser, Adar I 1, 5250 (= January 29, 1490). Quarto.

Goff Heb 89; Thes A64; S-TC77.

166. (–) *Ḥiddushei ha-Torah* and letter sent from Jerusalem to his son. Lisbon, Eliezer Toledano, Av 18, 5249 (= July 16, 1489). Folio.

Goff Heb 87; Thes B18; S-TC237.

167. NATHAN BEN JEHIEL, *Sefer ha-Arukh*. [Rome(?), Obadiah, Manasseh, and Benjamin of Rome, between 1469 and 1472]. Folio.

Goff Heb 90; Thes A23; S-TC2.

168. SAHULA, ISAAC B. SOLOMON IBN, *Mashal ha-Kadmoni*. [Brescia, Gershom Soncino, 1491]. Quarto.

Goff Heb 45; Thes A76; S-TC82.

169. (–.–) [Somewhere in Italy], Gershom Soncino [1497]. Quarto.

Goff Heb 46; Thes (A86); S-TC95.

170. Solomon b. Isaac (Rashi), commentary on the Pentateuch. [Rome(?). Obadiah, Manasseh, and Benjamin of Rome, between 1469 and 1472]. Quarto.

Goff Heb 92; Thes A21; S-TC3.

171. (–.–) Reggio di Calabria, Abraham b. Garton. Adar 10, 5235 (= February 18, 1475). Folio.

Goff Heb 93; Thes A1; S-TC10.

172. (–.–) [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ], Elul 16, 5236 (= September 1476). Folio.

Goff Heb 94; Thes B4; S-TC202.

173. (–.–) [Soncino, Joshua Soncino], Sivan 14, 5247 (= June 6, 1487). Folio.

Thes A42; S-TC45.

174. (–.–) Zamora, Samuel b. Musa and Immanuel, 5247, or [5]252 (= 1487 or 1492). Folio.

Thes B13; S-TC25.

175. TREVOT, PEREZ, *Makrei Dardekei*. [Naples, Joseph Gunzenhauser], Elul 1, 5248 (= August 8, 1488). Folio.

Goff Heb 81; Thes A61; S-TC74.

The following are more recent data on the Hebrew incunabula that are known today and the places where they were printed, as collected by Vinograd (1995):

1469: 9 in Rome
1473: 1 in Lisbon
1474: 5 in Mantua
1475: 1 in Mantua, 2 in Piove di Sacco, 1 in Reggio di Calabria
1476: 1 in Guadalajara, 1 in Mantua
1477: 1 in Bologna, 1 in Mantua, 1 in Ferrara, 1 without place
1479: 1 in Guadalajara
1480: 2 in Italy, 2 in Bologna, 8 in Guadalajara, 8 in Toledo, 1 in Naples, 1 in Spain
1482: 1 in Bologna, 13 in Guadalajara, 2 in Lisbon, 1 in Soncino
1483: 2 in Bologna
1484: 5 in Soncino
1485: 3 in Hijar, 2 in Spain, 2 in Soncino
1486: 1 in Hijar, 1 in Paris, 6 in Soncino
1487: 1 in Italy, 2 in Hijar, 3 in Naples, 2 in Faro, 2 in Soncino
1488: 2 in Napoli, 8 in Soncino
1489: 1 in Lisbon, 1 in Naples, 7 in Soncino
1490: 4 in Italy, 3 in Hijar, 1 in Brescia, 1 in Lisbon, 3 in Leiria, 7 in Naples, 5 in Spain, 1 in Portugal, 1 in Casalmaggiore, 2 in Soncino, 2 without place
1491: 1 in Brescia, 2 in Lisbon, 6 in Naples, 5 in Spain, 1 in Soncino
1492: 2 in Brescia, 4 in Lisbon, 2 in Leiria, 7 in Naples, 3 in Zamora, 6 in Spain, 3 in Faro, 2 in Portugal
1493: 1 in Soncino
1494: 3 in Brescia, 1 in Leiria, 1 in Constantinople
1495: 1 in Italy, 1 in Brescia, 1 in Leiria, 2 in Portugal
1496: 1 in Barco, 1 in Leiden
1497: 1 in Italy, 1 in Barco, 1 in Portugal
1498: 1 in Barco

At least 15 of these Hebrew incunabula can be seen in complete reproduction at the web-page of the Jewish National and University Library: http://www.jnul.huji.ac.il/dl/books/html/bk_all.htm

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G.B. de Rossi, *Annales hebraeo-typographici saeculi XV* (1795); G. Manzoni, *Annali tipografici dei Soncino*, 2 vols. (1883–86); A. Berliner, *Ueber den Einfluss des ersten hebraeischen Bu-*

chdrucks… (1896); A. Freimann, in: *Zeitschrift fuer Bibliothekswesen*, 19 (1902), 108ff.; A. Marx, *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore* (1944); A. Freimann and M. Marx, *Thesaurus typographiae hebraicae saeculi XV* (1929–31; 1969²–), with bibliography of 77 titles. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** I. Sonne, in: *Kiryat Sefer*, 14 (1937–38), 374–75; Ch. Berlin (ed.), *Hebrew Printing and Bibliography* (1976); P. Tishby, in: *Kiryat Sefer*, 58 (1983), 808–57, 860, (1985), 865–962; M. Beit-Arié, in: *Scripta Hierosolymitana,* 29 (1989), 1–26; idem, *The Makings of the Medieval Hebrew Book* (1993); Y. Vinograd, *Oẓar ha-Sefer ha-Ivri: Reshimat ha-Sefarim she-Nidpesu be-Ot Ivrit me-Reshit ha-Defus ha-Ivri bi-Shenat 229 (1469) ad Shenat 623 (1863)* (1993); S. Iakerson, *Catalogue of Hebrew Incunabula from the Collection of the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America* (2005).

[Herrmann M.Z. Meyer / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

INDEPENDENCE DAY, ISRAEL (Heb. יוֹם הָעַצְמָאוּת, *Yom ha-Aẓma'ut*), Israel's national day. It is celebrated each year on the 5th of Iyyar, the anniversary – according to the Hebrew calendar – of the day in 5708 (May 14, 1948) when the *Declaration of Independence was promulgated and the State of Israel established. It was declared a public holiday by law in 1949. When the anniversary falls on a Sabbath or a Friday it is celebrated on the preceding Thursday. It is marked by dancing in the streets, firework displays, picnic trips to the countryside, etc., as well as official ceremonies and organized open-air entertainments. The day is recognized in moderate religious circles as a Jewish festival and festive prayers are held in synagogues all over the country, with cabinet members attending in Jerusalem and other main centers. Independence Day proper is preceded by *Remembrance Day (*Yom ha-Zikkaron*) for all those who have fallen in defense of Israel's independence and security. This is marked by special prayer services, visits to cemeteries, memorial assemblies, and a two-minute silence throughout the country.

Official Ceremonies

The Independence Day festivities are inaugurated on the eve of the holiday by a ceremony on Mt. Herzl, Jerusalem, at the grave of the prophet of Jewish statehood. Here the speaker of the Knesset ushers in the festival by lighting a torch, then in turn, 12 torches are kindled, symbolizing the tribes of Israel. The torchbearers are chosen year by year to represent outstanding phases in the nation's modern history and its struggle for statehood and survival.

For 20 years, the main official event was a parade by the armed forces, alternating between the major cities. After the march in reunited Jerusalem on the 20th anniversary (5728/1968), the parade was discontinued. In the following year it was replaced in Jerusalem by a march of the *Gadna Youth Corps, while Haifa continued with its traditional dance parade. Most of the municipalities organize entertainment stages where big-name singers and bands perform. At a reception held by the president of the State, the heads of diplomatic missions extend official congratulations. Another reception honors soldiers of the Israel Defense Forces who have distinguished themselves in the performance of their duties and, from time to time, citizens who have earned public recognition or representatives from all parts of Israel and all walks of life.

Cultural Events, Sport, and Entertainments

Israel Prizes for distinction in various fields of literary, artistic, and scientific endeavor are presented by the minister of education and culture at a ceremony held at a hall in Jerusalem. The International Bible Contest for Jewish Youth (organized by the Jewish Agency, the Israel Society for Biblical Research, and Gadna) attracts wide interest and is broadcast. Contestants are the winners of national competitions held in Israel and in Jewish communities abroad. Sports events include football matches and long-distance races. Theatrical performances, dance pageants, and art exhibitions are held. Thousands take advantage of public transportation to go out to the country, especially to the nature reserves and national parks. The Hebrew Song Festival used to introduce new songs that competed for popular approval (Naomi Shemer's *Jerusalem the Golden* was first heard there in 1967, shortly before the Six-Day War), but it no longer exists.

Some of the events marking Independence Day have taken on the aura of tradition. In general, however, the pattern is fluid and the search for the most suitable forms is still going on, with a growing tendency to more widespread local and family celebrations.

[Yitzhak Levi]

Prayers for Independence Day

These were first formulated by the Israel Chief Rabbinate in 1949. The festive evening service is introduced by thanksgiving Psalms (107, 97, 98) and concludes with the sounding of the *shofar*, to the accompaniment of the petition: "May it be Thy will, that as we have been deemed worthy to witness the beginning of redemption, so also may we be deemed worthy to hear the *shofar* announcing the Messiah, speedily in our days." The morning service includes the Sabbath festival introductory Psalms, *Nishmat*, the *Hallel, and the *haftarah* (Isa. 10:32–11:12) that is read on the last day of Passover in the Diaspora, but without the accompanying benedictions. *Taḥanun* is also omitted as on all festive days.

From the moment of publication many religious elements in Israel felt that the Chief Rabbinate's order of service represented an inadequate and halfhearted expression of the historic nature of the occasion. Criticism was directed against the omission of the benedictions before the *Hallel* and *haftarah*, of the *She-Heḥeyanu*, and of the reading of a special portion of the Torah. These omissions have been demonstratively remedied in some orthodox congregations in Israel, chiefly those of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati and the Army rabbinate. The former has printed its own *maḥzor* under the imprimatur of the Army chief chaplain, Rabbi Shlomo Goren, and Rabbi Elimelech Bar-Shaul of Reḥovot, prescribing the recital of *She-Heḥeyanu* over *Kiddush* and *Al ha-Nissim* in the *Amidah*. Three persons are called to the Torah, the portion read being Deuteronomy 7:1–8:18. Some synagogues read Deuteronomy 30:1–10. These deviations from the official order of service in

respect of the *Hallel* and *She-Heḥeyanu* benedictions were also authorized by Rabbi Meshullam Rath of the Chief Rabbinate Council in a responsum in 1952 to an inquiry of Rabbi Judah Maimon, the minister of religious affairs. His ruling reflected the actual opinion of most members of the Chief Rabbinate Council including Chief Rabbi Isaac ha-Levi Herzog. The order of service finally adopted by the council represented an attempt to placate the objections of the more orthodox circles to any changes in the liturgy. The religious establishment continued to maintain this "no-change" attitude even after the Six-Day War when the demand grew to give appropriate expression to the restoration of Jerusalem and the Temple site in the daily prayers and even to the abolition of the Fast Days commemorating its original wresting from Jewish rule.

The Chief Rabbinate's order of service has been incorporated into two standard editions of Israel prayer books and in one issued in Hebrew and English in London, 1964, under the imprimatur of Chief Rabbi Israel Brodie. In the latter, however, the *Hallel* has been cut down to half as on *Rosh Ḥodesh*, following the precedent set by Rabbi Moshe Zvi Neriah of Kefar ha-Ro'eh, Israel. In 1962 he compiled a *Tikkun le-Yom ha-Aẓma'ut*, an anthology of readings, prayers, and customs for Independence Day, with the approval of the Israel chief rabbis.

The secular authorities in Israel, too, formulated readings and prayers for the celebration of Independence Day, stressing home festivities after the manner of the Passover **seder*. The Israel writer, Aharon *Megged, produced an Independence Night **Haggadah* for the Israel Defense Forces while the Ministry of Education and Culture published an anthology of readings and prayers, and prescribed the drinking of three cups of wine: for the state, the armed forces, and the Jewish people, respectively. Special Independence Day services in the synagogue are a feature of almost all Jewish communities today, though practices are far from uniform. Among the differing customs may be mentioned that of proclaiming the number of years since the establishment of the State, before the sounding of the *shofar* in the evening service. The wording is adapted from the proclamation of the years since the destruction of the Temple which is read out in Sephardi and Yemenite synagogues on *Tishah be-Av*. It reads: "Hear ye, our brethren … today … years have elapsed since the beginning of our redemption marked by the establishment of the State."

[Aryeh Newman]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Rath, *Kol Mevasser*, 1 (1955), 68, no. 21; J.T. Lewinski, *Sefer ha-Mo'adim*, 8 (1957), 223–509; A. Newman (ed.), *Acknowledge the Miracle, Independence Day Anthology with Selected Prayers* (1957); idem, *Selected Articles on the Teaching of Yom ha'Atzmaut* (1967), includes bibliography; Ha-Kibbuẓ ha-Dati, *Maḥzor le-Yom ha-Aẓma'ut* (1968); M. Friedlander (ed.), *Orders of Service and Customs for Israel Independence Day* (n.d.).

INDEPENDENT JEWISH WORKERS PARTY, Jewish workers' party existing in Russia between 1901 and 1903. Its headquarters were in *Minsk, with branches or connections in *Odessa, *Bobruisk, *Kraslava (Kreslavka), and *Vilna. The members of the party were known under various names: "Independents," "Legalists," "Economists," "Zubatovists," and the party slogan was "Bread and Knowledge." The program and manifesto issued in summer 1901 announced that its organizational structure would be democratic and that the party did not pursue any political objectives; its aim was to raise the economic and cultural level of the Jewish proletariat by the development of trade unions, funds, and clubs which would function in a legal manner. Membership would not be conditional upon any political outlook. In the same document the *Bund was accused of exploiting "economic activity" in order to "arouse revolutionary agitation among the working masses" without taking into consideration the specific psychology, sympathies, and aspirations of the "rank and file worker" on which it imposed its "political outlook and objectives," thus preventing wider organization of workers of other opinions.

The initiative for organizing such a party actually emanated from S. Zubatov, head of the secret police (*Okhrana*) in Moscow, who wanted to establish a loyal workers' organization in order to estrange the workers from the Social-Democratic revolutionary intelligentsia. The organization would function under the supervision and guidance of the *Okhrana*, and concern itself solely with trade union activities. After success in Moscow, he turned to Minsk, one of the centers of the Bund. In the wake of widespread arrests (1898, 1900), Zubatov succeeded in influencing many of the political prisoners, and convincing some of them of his idea for a legal and peaceful workers' movement. The "Independents" were led by a group of people who had formerly been connected with the Bund: Manya Wilbushewitz (later *Shoḥat), the moving spirit of the party, A. *Tschermerisky, G. Shakhnovich, and the litterateur Y. Volin. They were joined by *Po'alei Zion members of the Minsk trend, including Joseph Goldberg and Ḥayyah Kagan (later in the United States), and in 1902 also by the General Zionist Heinrich Shayevich of Odessa. Wilbushewitz and especially Shayevich were even influenced by the idea of monarchy and they were both co-opted to a restricted secret body which administered the all-Russian legalist party. Zubatov won the confidence of his Jewish supporters, connecting social and national elements. He argued that a constitutional government would not eliminate antisemitism and that only the bourgeoisie would benefit from political freedom. On the other hand, the czarist regime would moderate its anti-Jewish policy. He did indeed propose to his superiors some slight alleviations in the legislation on Jewish rights of residence, especially for the workers, and a more tolerant censorship of Yiddish publications. Zubatov also hoped to establish contacts with other Jewish personalities and public bodies through the intermediary of the "Independents." Upon intercession by Wilbushewitz, authorization was obtained for the Zionist convention to be held in Minsk (August 1902). Under the protection of the local police chief, the "Independents" succeeded in establishing unions in Minsk and engaging in several activities, including strikes for the improvement of working conditions. They also published an information bulletin entitled "The Labor

Market." Various workers' circles hoped that they would improve their situation without the cost of victims; some were also dissatisfied with the politicization of the Bund and its increasing centralism.

The Bund strongly opposed the "Independents," referring to them as provocateurs and calling for a boycott against them. The Po'alei Zion did not prevent their members from joining the "Independents." For their own ideological reasons, they were opposed to revolutionary activity and since the Zionists had been excluded from the trade unions by the Bund, they were inclined to cooperate with the "Independents" in this field. This policy encountered opposition within the ranks of the Po'alei Zion. The pogrom of *Kishinev and the intensified official anti-Jewish policy had an adverse effect on the public image of the "Independents." The minister of the interior, Vyacheslav von *Plehve, ordered that their activities should cease and they themselves were compelled to declare their "self-liquidation" (July 1903). Their failure was best illustrated by the fact that it was just during the years 1901 to 1903 that the number of Jewish political prisoners in Russia reached its peak. Unlike its development among the Russians, there was no successor to the pro-czarist legalist party among the Jewish workers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.M. Schwarz, *Russian Revolution of 1905* (1967), 267–300; E. Mendelsohn, *Class Struggle in the Pale* (1970), 139–52; N.A. Buchbinder, *Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Arbeter Bavegung in Rusland* (1931), 179–252; M. Mishkinsky, in: *Zion*, 25 (1960), 238–49; J.S. Hertz, in: *Unzer Tsayt*, 6 (1967), 15–20; no. 7–8 (1907), 30–36; 1–2 (1968), 33–38; S. Schwarz, *ibid.*, 1–2 (1968), 26–32.

[Moshe Mishkinsky]

INDEPENDENT LIBERAL PARTY, Israeli political party established in 1965 by members of the Israel Liberal Party who refused to join *Gaḥal, a parliamentary group formed by the *Ḥerut movement and the Israel Liberal Party. Most of the members of the Independent Liberal Party had previously been members of the Progressive Party, which in 1961 had united with the *General Zionists to form the Israel Liberal Party.

The Progressive Party was established in 1948, with the unification of Aliyah Ḥadashah ("New Immigration"), which represented mostly settlers from Germany and Central Europe, Hitaḥadut ha-Ẓiyyonim ha-Kelali'im, the progressive wing of the General Zionists, which supported Chaim *Weizmann's policy and cooperated with the labor movement, and Ha-Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni, the General Zionist faction in the *Histadrut. The Progressives had received between 4 and 6 seats in the First to Fifth Knessets, and except for the years 1952–53 were represented in all governments until 1961 as well as on the *Jewish Agency Executive. Within the Israel Liberal Party the former Progressives were generally viewed as more moderate in their political views and liberal in the social-human rights sense, while the General Zionists were more nationalist in their political views and liberal in the free market sense.

The Independent Liberal Party was elected to the Sixth to Ninth Knessets and ran as part of the Alignment in the Eleventh Knesset, with the number of its representatives progressively falling from 5 to 1. It was a member of all the Labor-led governments from the Sixth to Eighth Knessets. Its representatives in the government were Moshe *Kol, who served as minister of development (as long as that ministry existed) and tourism, and Gideon *Hausner, who served as minister without portfolio. The Independent Liberals called for the subordination of sectional and partisan to national interests, advocated the coexistence and cooperation of different economic sectors, urged the consolidation of the welfare state, and sought to strengthen the Zionist movement. It also favored the enactment of a constitution that would define the rights and duties of the citizen and was opposed to any form of religious coercion, calling for the separation of religion and state.

The Independent Liberals had their own faction in the Histadrut, where it advocated that wages be a function of the worker's education and qualifications, compulsory arbitration in cases of labor disputes in the public sector, and the institution of national health insurance. The Independent Liberal Party was affiliated with the Liberal International. In the elections to the Eleventh Knesset in 1984 the Independent Liberals ran within the Alignment list, and its representative, Yitzhak Arẓi was elected. Towards the end of the Eleventh Knesset Arẓi left the Alignment and joined the Shinui parliamentary group. Towards the end of the 1980s the Independent Liberals ceased to exist.

[Pinchas Rosen / Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

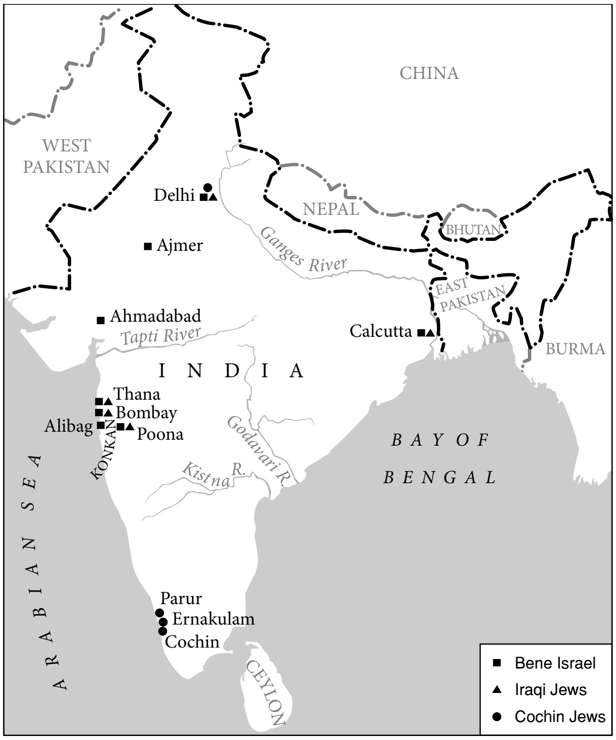
INDIA. India has played a significant role in Jewish culture and consciousness for 2000 years. Over the millennia, there have been commercial and cultural interactions and, in recent times, diplomatic, technological, and strategic links as well.

Ancient Times

Interactions between India and ancient Israel were overlaid upon older cultural patterns between India's Indus Valley Civilization (IVC, third to second millennium B.C.E.) and Sumer. Legendary accounts of the great wealth of India entered West Asian consciousness during antiquity and found their way into the Jewish imagination. Ancient tablets discovered at Ur, the city of Abraham, describe this flourishing trade.

Philologists have identified several Sanskrit and Tamil loan words in the Hebrew Bible, dating from as early at the Book of Exodus through the Books of Kings and Chronicles, indicating direct or indirect trade between India and ancient Israel. The Book of Esther contains the Hebrew Bible's sole direct reference to India, where King Ahashverush's domain is described as stretching from Ethiopia to India. Many scholars argue that the biblical port of Ophir was located in India.

From Indian literature, we find a description of ocean trade between India and West Asia that recalls the Noah narrative. In the Buddhist Kevaddhu Sutta (according to traditional dating, from the sixth century B.C.E.) one reads of merchants who sailed along the coast, carrying with them inshore-sighting birds that were released from time to time in order to guide



Major Jewish settlements in India in the 19th and 20th centuries.

the early navigators to land. Another parallel in Buddhist literature is in the Mahoshadha Jataka, where the Buddha's wisdom is indicated in his sagacious judgment about two mothers who claim the same baby. Like King Solomon, the Buddha suggests that the baby be cut in half and shared, and the woman who objects is declared to be the real mother.

India was held in the highest regard in Greek culture, and it is not surprising that this view is reflected in the writings of Hellenized Jews. It was during Greek rule that the monsoon winds were discovered, speeding the maritime journey between West and South Asia to one month, greatly enhancing the spice trade and the cultural interactions it fostered.

The great historian *Josephus Flavius wrote about India. Of particular interest is Josephus' description of the martyrdom at *Masada, especially his accounts of the speeches of *Eleazar ben Jair, the leader of the rebels. Dramatically, as the Romans were about to overrun the defiant Jews, he argued that mass martyrdom was preferable to capture. Ben Jair presented a variety of arguments, but the one that convinced his audience to take the fateful step is a comparison of Jewish and Hindu attitudes about death, Josephus holds the Hindus as an example of fearlessness based on a firm belief in the eternity of the soul, and concludes by asking rhetorically how the Jews, who know God from Sinai, could be less firm in their faith than the Hindus, who have at best an indirect knowledge of God.

Philo of Alexandria also idealized Indian philosophers or gymnosophists. According to Greek sources, emissaries of Alexander of Macedon met with two Brahmin ascetics in northwestern India. Alexander at first invited and later demanded that the two come to Greece to display their wisdom. One of the two refused and was considered intransigent, while the other accepted and was considered courteous. Philo adapts the Greek story for his own anti-assimilationist purposes. In his version, the intransigent Calamus is lauded as a paradigm of Indian rejection of Hellenism, which Philo holds should be emulated by Jews.

Similarities between Jews and Brahmins abound in Hellenistic literature. Aristotle believed that Jews were descended from the Brahmins, for example, and Megasthenes held that the philosophers are to Greece as the Brahmins are to India and the Jews to the Middle East.

Contemporary Indian literature mirrors Jewish descriptions of the sea trade. The second century C.E. Tamil narrative poem, the "Shilappadikaram," described in great detail the pepper trade, the ports and cities of South India of the day, and the prosperity, peace, and cultural achievements that resulted from this commerce. Unfortunately, Indian literature generally does not distinguish among foreigners, who are lumped together under the Sanskrit word *Yavana* ("Greek").

India in Early and Medieval Rabbinic Literature

The Talmud contains several references to India. One refers to the pepper trade (Mid. Kohelet 1:7), and another to an India proselyte (Kid. 22b; BB 74b). The high priest wore "Indian linen" (Yoma 34b), and there are numerous references to Indian products, including pepper (Ḥag. 10a, Er. 28b), iron (AZ 16a), and ginger (Ber. 36b).

Saadiah Gaon mentioned the great profit to be had in the India trade; Abraham Ibn Ezra wrote of India's advanced knowledge of astrology, mathematics, and the sciences, and some hold that he visited India and may have been imprisoned there; Judah Halevi expressed negative sentiments about Hinduism in the *Kuzari*; and there is a talmudic discussion as to whether Indians practice idolatry or merely follow ancestral traditions (Ḥul. 13b).

Early Christian Sources

Traditional accounts of the arrival of Christianity in India in the year 55 C.E. focus upon St. Thomas the Apostle's mission to bring the Gospel to the Jews already in India. The earliest historical document to make reference to Jews in India is Eusebius' third century Ecclesiastical History, where he mentions the mission of Pantaenus in 181 C.E. Eusebius reports that Pantaneus found a Hebrew version of the Gospel of Matthew, which had been left behind by the Apostle Bartholomew. During the fourth century St. Jerome wrote of Jewish communities in India, and Bishop Simeon Beth-Arshem of Yemen of a triangular Jewish trade among Yemen, Babylonia, and the Malabar Coast of India.

Arabic Sources

Arab travelers left us the most extensive accounts of Jews in India. A mid-ninth century writer, Abdul Kasim, described the commercial activities of the Radanites; the ninth century

geographer Abu Said al-Hassan mentioned Jewish communities in India and Ceylon; and during the same century ibn Wahab wrote about the Jewish community of Cranganore, near Kochi (Cochin).

It was al-Beruni, the greatest Muslim traveloguist, who during the 10th–11th centuries left the most extensive account. He held that the people of Kashmir were descendents of Jews, and that there was a large Jewish community there. Other great Muslim writers also discussed Indo-Jewish links, including al-Idrisi of the 12th century and especially ibn-Battuta of the 14th century.

Jewish Travelers

During the 12th century a number of Jewish travelers visited India and wrote about Jewish life there. The most influential was *Benjamin of Tudela, who left extensive descriptions of the Jews of southwest India. It was during the same century that *Maimonides wrote that his *Mishneh Torah* was studied in India.

The discovery of documents in the Cairo **Genizah* revealed numerous merchant documents and letters pertaining to the India trade, but no comprehensive study of these tantalizing documents has yet appeared.

A quatrain by the 14th-century Rabbi Nissim of Spain expresses his delight at finding a Jewish king at Shingly, or Cranganore.

Medieval Period

In addition to the **Genizah* documents and the travelogues, physical evidence about Indian Jewish communities appears from the medieval period.

The most interesting are copper plate charters granted to minority communities in Malabar, the earliest of which from 843 granted autonomy to a Syriac Christian community at Kollam, and was witnessed by four Jews. Of greater Jewish interest are the fabled copper plates given to the leader of the Jews, Joseph Rabban, by the Cheraman Perumal emperor in 1001. The plates charter an autonomous Jewish principality under the suzerainty of the Hindu maharajah, granting real and symbolic privileges to the Jews. In Kochi Jewish folklore, Joseph Rabban and Cheraman Perumal became paradigms of Jewish-Hindu relations over the centuries, one characterized by loyalty, benevolence, and affection.

Also from the medieval period is a 1269 tombstone of Sarah bat Israel, which is found outside the Chendamangalam Synagogue.

Folk Songs

Jewish women of the Malabar developed a repertoire of Malayalam-language folk songs that were chanted on many auspicious occasions: holidays, circumcisions, weddings, etc. These songs reveal the deep acculturation of Jews within Hindu society, reflecting local motifs and traditional Jewish themes.

Indian Jewish Communities

India had through the 21st century the largest number of Jews of any country east of Iran. Their population peaked in 1950 at around 30,000–35,000, after which immigration to Israel and other places reduced their number to around 4,000–6,000 in the early 2000s, more if the so-called B'nai Menashe and B'nai Ephraim are counted.

There have been three major distinct Jewish communities in India. The oldest group is found in and around Kochi in the southwestern state of Kerala, who today number fewer than 50. Perhaps 5,000 Cochinim, as they are called in Hebrew, live in Israel. The largest group is known as *Bene Israel and is found chiefly in and around Mumbai (previously Bombay), with active communities in Pune, also in Maharashtra state, in Ahmedabad in Gujerat state, and in New Delhi. All told, there are 4,000–5,000 Bene Israel in India and 40,000–50,000 in Israel, where they make up a significant ethnic group (*edah* in Hebrew) known as Hodi'im ("Indians"). The most recently arrived group are known in India as Baghdadis, Middle Eastern Jews, Arabic speakers mostly, who migrated to India during the late 18th century, about the same time as the British arrived, and who settled in India's port cities, especially Mumbai and Kolakata. Numbering about 5,000 at their peak, they declined to around 100, most of whom are elderly. The Baghdadis played a significant role in the development of British India's ports. Beginning as jewelers and in the opium trade, Baghdadi entrepreneurs soon moved into textiles and shipping in Mumbai, and real estate, jute, manufacturing, and tobacco in Kolakata. Replicating Jewish experience in America, humble boxwallahs (door-to-door salesmen) settled down and became department store magnates. Of the three groups, only the Bene Israel remains viable as a community.

While most Bene Israel live in Mumbai, the nearby Konkan coast is their spiritual home. Bene Israel trace themselves back to seven couples from Israel who survived a shipwreck off Navgaon, in the unknown, distant past. Somehow they clung to vestigial Judaic observances despite centuries of isolation. Their tenacity in maintaining the Sabbath, ritual circumcision, Jewish dietary codes, and the Hebrew *Shema* – the affirmation "Hear O Israel! The Lord is our God, the Lord is One" – set the stage for their unlikely transformation from an anonymous oil-pressing caste in the remote Konkan into modern, urban members of the world Jewish community. This evolution occurred over 200 years ago, beginning in the middle of the 18th century.

A Kochi merchant heard rumors of a Konkani caste that rested on Saturday and circumcised their sons on the eighth day, so David Rahabi visited them. After spending some time with the community, examining their dietary habits as well as eccentric (by Hindu standards) religious observances, he concluded that they were lost Jews. He took three of them back to Kochi where he educated them in Hebrew and the rudiments of Judaism and sent them back with the title of *kazi*, religious leader. This began a longstanding relationship between Bene Israel and Kochi Jews; as Bene Israel prospered, they hired Kochi Jews to be their cantors, teachers, ritual slaughterers, and scribes. Bene Israel recall these events as their "first awakening."

Subsequent encounters with British and American missionaries and with the nascent Baghdadi community of Mumbai built upon their sense of Jewishness. This period is known as their "second awakening." They learned Bible stories from the missionaries, and they shared their synagogues (they built their first one in Mumbai in 1796) and cemeteries with the Baghdadis. Both the British and the Baghdadis offered opportunities in Mumbai, whether in the military, railway, or civil service, or in the mills and docks of the illustrious *Sassoons, and Bene Israel migrated to the new, glamorous city in search of their fortunes. It did not take long until there were more Bene Israel in Mumbai than in the Konkan.

Gradually the Baghdadis, in an effort to become accepted by the British as "European" rather than "Indian" – a label with tangible economic benefits as well as involving social snobbery – came to adopt British condescension toward all things Indian, including the Bene Israel Jews, who were unmistakably Indian in both appearance and culture. This condescension became all the more ugly when the Baghdadis came to cast aspersions upon the very Jewishness of the Bene Israel. The heart and soul of their newly found and hard-earned identity was under attack.

In Mumbai they encountered both the Zionist and Swaraj movements for independence from Britain in Palestine and India, respectively, and they were rent by the competing nationalisms. On the one hand, as Jews they had internalized the longing to return to Jerusalem and rebuild Zion. On the other hand, their unhappy experiences with the Baghdadis led them to mistrust foreign Jews, and as Indians they yearned for independence from the British. In yet a third direction, they were also fond of the British, their employers and often patrons, and wanted to support them as well. Mahatma *Gandhi appreciated their ambivalence. Leaders of the Ahmedabad Jewish community (where Gandhi had headquarters at his Sabarmati Ashram) asked the Mahatma what should be the stance of India's Jews vis-à-vis the independence movement. He is said to have replied that the Jews should "stand aside" because as a microscopically small community they would be crushed between the competing and overwhelming forces of the British Empire, Indian nationalism, and Muslim separatism. As a community, they did stand apart, although many Bene Israel became involved as individuals. The bottom line, however, is that the great majority of Bene Israel immigrated to Israel.

The Bene Israel community has stabilized. Those who intended to emigrate have done so, and most of those who remain intend to stay. Most are in Mumbai, where they work in the professions, education, industry, the military, and commerce. Most are educated and in the middle class. Twenty-five years or so ago, the Organization for Rehabilitation and Training (ORT) established two schools in Mumbai, one for boys and one for girls, to provide vocational training. The ORT schools became very popular among Jews and Gentiles alike. Soon services expanded to include classes in religion, Hebrew, and Israel studies. Later, the Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) became active in Mumbai, sending rabbis from America to help meet the community's religious and educational needs. The Israeli Consulate, too, serves as a community focus. Several of the synagogues in Mumbai have a full range of programs, from prayer services to singles groups to computer classes. Summer camps at a rural retreat center have provided an intense infusion of Jewish spirit to many of Mumbai's younger Jews. Kosher meat and wine, ritual objects, books, Indian Jewish calendars, and the accouterments of Judaic religious life are available, and India's generally tolerant approach to religions and religious pluralism bode well for the future of the Jewish community in Mumbai.

Smaller organized communities in Ahmedabad and Pune face more difficult challenges, but their synagogues are lively, and social and educational programs are well subscribed. In New Delhi there are only a handful of Bene Israel families, but they are augmented by Israeli and American diplomats and businesspeople. Regular prayers are held at the synagogue, and the Israeli Embassy helps out with the community's Passover *Seder*.

In Israel, despite initial difficulties in adapting to a new culture, climate, and economy, the sizeable Bene Israel community has maintained its own identity, largely through a singular ritual activity. Long devoted to the Prophet Elijah as a sort of patron saint, his veneration has become central to their new Israeli identity as Hodi'im. The propitiatory rite known as *malida*, after the parched rice mixture served with fresh fruits and flowers, is often the culmination of a pilgrimage to an Elijah cave near Haifa.

About 50 years ago, several shamans and leaders of tribal people in extreme eastern India (the states of Mizoram, Manipur, and Tripura) and western Myanmar (formerly Burma) began having dreams and visions which told them of their lost, true identity: that they were Jews of the Tribe of Menashe (Manasseh) who had meandered from ancient Israel along the Silk Route to Kaifeng, China, then through Southeast Asia, finally settling in their current remote mountain homes. Their religious enthusiasm spread to such an extent that by the early 21st century there were thousands of Kuki tribals on both sides of the border living as Jews. Some went to Israel, where they learned Hebrew, studied, and converted to Judaism, and some returned home as religious leaders. A number of synagogues have sprouted up, and now there are regular visits from Israeli and American coreligionists. Several hundred now live in Israel, especially in West Bank settlements, but most wait for their redemption back home. About a decade ago, a similar group emerged in Andhra Pradesh, a state on the Bay of Bengal on India's southeast coast, who call themselves B'nai Ephraim.

Most demographies of Indian Jewry do not include these tribal people, and there are no reliable estimates of their number, but it is incontestable that some of them have undergone conversion and are therefore Jewish. It is also the case that the vast majority are sincere in their beliefs and aspirations. Israeli immigration officials generally take an unsympathetic, skeptical view, believing them to be opportunists who seek only a

higher standard of living. Their passionate yearning for Israel has provoked controversy. Some accuse immigration authorities of racism, pointing out that many Russians who are not Jewish but who are white have been welcomed, but that these tribals who have at least some claim to Jewishness but who are not white, receive only scorn. From the other side of the controversy, their Israeli and American supporters are criticized for settling them in disputed territories as a way of bolstering their claims to Judea and Samaria.

India and Israel

Jews occupied an ambivalent position within Indian nationalist discourse of the 19th to 20th centuries. On the one hand, Jews are seen as an Asian people, non-missionizing and oppressed, and therefore like Hindus. Moreover, Jesus was a Jew as well as an avatara. On the other hand, Judaism is the source of western civilization and the mother of Christianity and Islam, and therefore opposed to Hinduism, which is construed as "spiritual" in contrast to the "materialistic" western world. Also, Hindu nationalism objects to Jewish monotheistic exclusivism.

During India's pre-state period, the Swaraj (independence) movement led by Mahatma Gandhi adopted as its central issue Hindu-Muslim unity in the face of British attempts to foster a Muslim counterweight (the Muslim League) to the Indian National Congress. Thus, Gandhi's extra sensitivity to Muslim issues. He was successful in coopting the Khilafat Movement, deflecting its aims from the reestablishment of the Ottoman Caliphate to a general opposition to colonialism. When during the 1930s the Muslim League began demanding a Muslim state in Pakistan, Gandhi saw analogies between the Muslim League and Zionism in that both, to his mind, sought to carve out a religiously oriented state in what had been a unified British colony.

Moshe *Sharett of Keren Hayesod, later Israel's foreign minister, wanted Asian acceptance of Jews as an Asian people, and of Zionism as a national liberation movement. He sent Sanskritist Immanuel *Olsvanger as his emissary. Olsvanger convinced poet Rabindranath Tagore of the justice of Israel's cause, but not Gandhi. Olsvanger became embittered toward Gandhi, a sentiment which infected the Zionist movement's view of Gandhi generally. The Zionist movement was marginally more successful when it sent Hermann Kallenbach, whom Gandhi called my "closest friend, soul mate," leading to at least some ambivalence toward Israel on Gandhi's part.

During the Holocaust era, India's leadership showed little sympathy or understanding of the plight of the Jews in Europe. Jawaharlal Nehru proposed that India become an asylum for Jews in 1938 and again in 1939 on both humanitarian and pragmatic grounds, but his proposal was blocked by Nazi sympathizer Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress president from 1937 to 1939, and again by Maulana Abdul Kalam Azar, Congress leader from 1940 to 1946.

Despite sympathy for Jews in Europe, Indian leaders had little sympathy for Zionism. This was because of (1) their ideological view of Zionism as a form of European colonialism; (2) Indian domestic politics – at the time, India had the largest Muslim population in the world, and very few Jews; (3) the active courting by the Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husseini, contrasted with the relative standoffishness on the part of Zionist leaders.

After independence for India in 1947 and for Israel in 1948, India extended official recognition to Israel in September 1950. A consulate was opened in Mumbai in 1953.

India saw its foreign policy interests in terms of the emerging Non-Aligned Movement, and as co-host of the 1955 Bandung Conference in Indonesia, Prime Minister Nehru suggested inviting Israel to participate, but was overruled by his friend, Egyptian Prime Minister Gamal Abdel *Nasser.

About the same time as the perceived Cold War shift in American support from India to Pakistan, the fledgling Indo-Israeli relations reached their nadir in the wake of the 1956 Suez Campaign, a trend that continued through the era of Indira Gandhi in the 1970s. Under her rule, the Palestine Liberation Organization opened an "embassy" in New Delhi, and in 1975 India co-sponsored the infamous United Nations resolution equating Zionism with racism.

At the same time, undercurrents of disenchantment with the Arab world could be detected within Indian political discourse. India bemoaned the lack of support on the Kashmir issue. During the 1962 war with China, Israel provided India with military aid, while its Arab allies did not. Similarly, India received no Arab support during the 1971 war with Pakistan, a war whose leading Indian military hero was Lt. Gen. Frederick *Jacob, a Jew from Kolakata.

Later during the 1970s, Moshe *Dayan made a clandestine visit to India and met with Morarji Desai, leader of the Bharatiya Janatha Party and soon-to-be-elected prime minister. India supported the Camp David agreements between Israel and Egypt, and despite a temporary cooling of relations during Indira Gandhi's term as second prime minister in the early 1980s, her son Rajiv's prime ministership began opening the doors to greater commercial and technological cooperation. Rajiv met with American Jewish leaders who put forward Israel's case, with Shimon *Peres at the United Nations, with Congressman Stephen Solarz in 1988, and in 1989 a delegation from the Anti-Defamation League met with Foreign Minister Narasinghe Rao.

After Rajiv's assassination in 1991, Rao first led the way in repealing the "'Zionism-equals-racism" calumny, and then took steps leading to the normalization of full diplomatic relations in 1992. This rapprochement in Indo-Israeli relations was made possible by several factors, including: (1) the end of the Cold War; (2) the end of the East/West divide and subsequent erosion of and need for the Non-Aligned Movement; (3) India's economic liberalization begun by Rajiv Gandhi; (4) the Madrid peace process; and (5) India's disappointment with the lack of Arab support on the issue of Kashmir.

Since that time, bilateral relations have flourished, especially in such areas a tourism, culture, technology (agriculture,

desalinization, telecommunications), software development, business investment, trade, and security.

[Nathan Katz (2nd ed.)]

Musical Traditions

The musical traditions of the various Jewish communities of the Indian subcontinent – Bene Israel, Paradesi (Malabar) and Cochin – have not been collected and studied systematically. A certain number of recordings were gathered both in India and in the Indian settlements in Israel. The traditions were not included in A.Z. *Idelsohn's "Thesaurus," nor was the historical evidence extracted and surveyed. It seems, however, that the musical foundation of the Indian Jews' liturgical tradition (including biblical cantillation) is affiliated with that of the "Eastern" communities – those of Iraq, Kurdistan, Persia, Afghanistan, and Bukhara. The Cochin tradition also shows a distinct affiliation with that of the Yemenite Jews, not only in its melodic idiom but also in the style of performance, which includes the practice of many-voiced singing in parallel intervals (*organum*). This is typical among Yemenite Jews but is not a recognized element of the Indian musical tradition. All these outside-India links still await their historical explanation.

The earliest report of Jewish musicians in India is the story of the "Hebrew flute girl" whose playing inspired the apostle Thomas, as described in the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas* of the first century C.E. (ch. 1, par. 5, 6, 16). Much later, there is the evidence of travelers. Vincent le Blanc (1554–1640) writes of the Jewish women of Centacola who "sing certain songs like King David's Psalms, gracefully pronouncing their words, and mingling instrumental music with their vocal." The Dutch captain Jan Huyghen Van Linschoten reports from a voyage in 1583–85 that the Paradesi Jews in Cochin sing their 'devotional song' in Spanish, from texts written in Hebrew characters. Among immigrants listed as members of the Paradesi community of Cochin sent to Amsterdam by Moses Pereira de Paiva in 1686, is the *ḥazzan* and *sofer* Ḥayyim Balilia from Aleppo (N. Bar Giora, *Sefunot*, 1 (1956), p. 247).

Although, like all Indian Jews, the Cochin and Malabar Jews adhere to the Sephardi rite, they have a rich local tradition of *piyyutim*, composed by R. Judah of Cranganore, which serves as proof of the *ḥazzan's* knowledge of the tradition. The musical accompaniment to wedding celebrations – which begin on the Sabbath before the ceremony and often continue for eight days – is especially rich. *Piyyutim* are sung during all parts of the festivities. At the main celebration on Tuesday evening and Wednesday, the singing is the most prominent element. Two groups of women sit near the bride and groom in two rows and sing poems, including special historical songs.

The Bene Israel frequently take their cantors from Cochin, and their own liturgical tradition has only been preserved in some sparse relics. However, they have a rich paraliturgic repertoire in the Marathi tongue. Its most important part is the *kirtan*, poetic paraphrases of stories about biblical personages. The singer, called *kirtankar*, who usually draws a large audience, is accompanied by a choir and sometimes by instruments. He interpolates brief spoken homilies bearing on the text. The *kirtan* tradition, in both form and musical content, is drawn from the surrounding culture. Christian missionaries also adapted the *kirtan* to their own purpose. One of the best-known Jewish *kirtankars* was Benjamin Samson Ashtamkar. There are also women's songs on Jewish religious subjects, accompanied by drum and cymbals, corresponding with the local forms called *kathe* or *Hindi laoni*.

[Avigdor Herzog]

As has happened in many Jewish musical traditions during the last decades, deep changes took place also in the Cochin tradition. Many tunes, or even whole repertories went through far-reaching changes, radical transformations, and, among other things, total disappearance. Some parts of the older musical repertory was recorded and is kept in the National Sound Archives in Jerusalem.

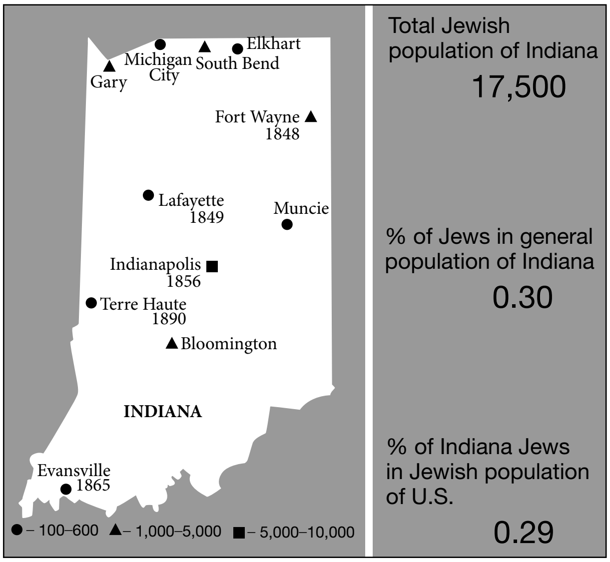
[Avigdor Herzog (2nd edition)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Katz and E.S. Goldberg, *The Last Jews of Cochin: Jewish Identity in Hindu India* (1993); N. Katz, "From Legend to History: India and Israel in the Ancient World," in: *SHOFAR*, 17:1 (1999), 7–22; idem, *Who Are the Jews of India?* (2000); W.J. Fischel, *Ha-Yehudim be-Hodu* (1960); S.B. Isenberg, *India's Bene Israel: A Comprehensive Inquiry and Sourcebook* (1988); B.C. Johnson, *Oh, Lovely Parrot! Jewish Women's Songs from Kerala* (2004); J.G. Roland, *Jews in British India: Identity in a Colonial Era* (1989); S. Weil, *Mi-Kotsin le-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1984). MUSICAL TRADITIONS: **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Spector, "Indian, Yemenite, and Babylonian Elements in the Musical Heritage of the Jews of Cochin," in: *Musica Judaica*, 7:1 (1983–1984), 1–22; I.J. Ross, *Musica Judaica*, 2:1 (1977–1978), 51–72; M. Chemana, "Les femmes chantent les hommes écoutent, communautés juives du Kerala en Inde et in Israel: des Kochini (kal-pattu) chants et Malayalam," in: *Bulletin du Centre de Recherche Français de Jerusalem*, 11 (2002), 28–44 (French), 83–89 (English); B. Johnson, "*Hen Nose'to et Mahbaroteihen Itan, Shirei Nashim bi-Sefat ha-Makom*," in: *Pe'amim*, 82 (1990), 64–80; E. Sarusi, "*Zimrat ha-Piyyut ha-Sefardi bi-Kochin (Hodu)*," in: *Masoret ha-Piyyut*, 2 (1990), 258–321; Y. Ratzaby, "*Yehudei Kochin ve-Yehudei Teman ba-Me'ah ha-18*," in: *Sinai*, 79:1–2 (1991), 69–86.

INDIANA, state in central U.S. The population of Indiana is over 6,090,000; the Jewish population, 17,500, represents a decline in absolute numbers and in percentage of the population over the last 30 years of the 20th century. The largest and clearly the most influential Jewish community is in the capital, *Indianapolis.

Early Settlers

Jewish associations with Indiana life began with a prerevolutionary land-development company in the northwest territory sponsored by several Jewish partners in the east. John Jacob Hays, who lived in Cahokia (now in Illinois), was U.S. collector of internal revenue for the Indian territory (1814–22) and Indian agent of Fort Wayne (1822). Samuel *Judah, a descendant of the prominent Canadian family, settled in Vincennes in 1818. An attorney and friend of Henry Clay, he served five terms in the state legislature (1827–40), was speaker of the 25th



Jewish communities in Indiana, with dates of establishment of first synagogue. Population figures for 2001.

general assembly, and was U.S. district attorney from 1830 to 1833. The first Jewish settlements were established in southern Indiana in the first half of the 19th century. The Gumberts family arrived in Evansville in 1837, followed by Isaac Heiman (1838) and his brothers a decade later. Adam Gimbel, who settled with his family in Vincennes, opened the first Gimbel Bros. store in that town in 1842; he was a member of the Vincennes city council (1842–66). By 1850 the Kuhn brothers had settled in Lafayette; in 1865 Abraham Kuhn joined in founding the investment firm of Kuhn, Loeb and Co. Achdut V'Shalom in Fort Wayne was the first congregation established in Indiana (1848). It was still serving the community in 1970; Frederick A. Doppelt (d. 1982) ministered to the congregation from 1940 to 1969. The second oldest synagogue in Indiana was organized in Lafayette in 1849. In 1853 a congregation was organized in Evansville; the first synagogue building was erected in 1865. By 1900, congregations were also established in Indianapolis (1856), Ligonier (1864), Peru (1870), Goshen (1878), Terre Haute (1890), and Logansport (1900).

Contemporary Period

In addition to Indianapolis (estimated Jewish pop. 10,000), the three largest Jewish communities in Indiana are Northwest Indiana (Gary, Hammond, Munster, and Merrillville (pop. approx. 2,000)), South Bend (approx. 1,850) and Ft. Wayne (approx. 900). Evansville's Jewish population is approximately 400.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the Jewish population of Gary and Hammond moved to nearby Munster, Merrillville, and even as far as the state of Illinois. Federations of Gary and Hammond combined to form the Northwest Indiana Federation which serves all the Jewish communities in that area. In addition to Indianapolis, Ft. Wayne and South Bend have Federations.

In 1972 the Indiana Jewish Historical Society was organized to collect, preserve, and disseminate the story of the nearly 250 years of the Jewish presence in Indiana. The society has collected records of individuals, synagogues, and organizations that comprise the history of Jews throughout the state. The archive collection is housed at the Indiana History Center in Indianapolis (http://www.indianahistory.org/) which also has the historical records of the Jewish Federation of Greater Indianapolis. Jews have contributed significantly to local philanthropic and civic causes, and many Jews have held public office, including Stanley Miller, U.S. attorney for southern Indiana; George Rubin and Sidney Kramer, state senators; Dr. Milton Bankoff, consultant, Department of Health, Education and Welfare; and Saul Rabb, criminal court judge. Past officeholders include two Ligonier mayors, Sol Henoch (1917) and Simon Straus; and a mayor of Gary, A. Martin Katz (1964–67). Among the Indiana Jews who have held important offices in national service organizations are Rabbi Albert M. Schulman of South Bend, past national chaplain, American Legion; Julian Freeman of Indianapolis, president's conference of national Jewish organizations; and Mrs. Jack A. Goodman of Indianapolis, past president of the Women's Division, National Jewish Welfare Federations. The national and Indiana editions of the *National Jewish Post and Opinion*, an Anglo-Jewish weekly, are published in Indianapolis by Gabriel Cohen.

The Indiana Jewish Community Relations Council serves all communities in the state in the areas of public policy and intergroup relations.

The Robert A. and Sandra S. Borns Jewish Studies Program at Indiana University was established in 1973 and is one of the largest Jewish studies programs in the country. Professor Alvin H. Rosenfeld, who directed the Indiana University program for 30 years headed the Institute of Jewish Culture and the Arts established in 2004. A graduate curriculum in Jewish and Hebraic studies is also offered. The Borns Jewish Studies Program is considered a national model.

Jewish studies are also taught in Indiana at Earlham College (Quaker), Marian College (Catholic), Christian Theological Seminary (Protestant), DePauw University, Purdue University, and the University of Notre Dame (Catholic). Consequently, each of these cities is graced with fine Jewish scholars as well as Jewish programming. There are active Hillel chapters at Purdue, Indiana, and Butler Universities.

The Indiana University Press has been publishing books and journals of Jewish and Holocaust studies for over 30 years. The press publishes 4 to 6 new titles in Jewish studies each year and in the early 21st century over 100 such titles were in print. The IU Press also publishes six journals in Jewish studies. The richness of Jewish academia in what seems to be an improbable place continues to attract highly accomplished and recognized scholars to this Midwestern state.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W.H. Gordon, *A Community in Stress* (1964); idem, in: AJA, 18 (1966), 41–70.

[Sidney Steiman]

INDIANAPOLIS, U.S. city in central Indiana. In the late 1960s the population of Indianapolis was over 600,000 and the Jewish community numbered about 10,000 (1968). The Jewish community, concentrated in the north-central area, was served by five synagogues. The Jewish population has remained surprisingly stable compared with the growth of the city, which now numbers 1,200,000.

The first-known Jewish settlers in Indianapolis were Moses Woolf, Alexander and Daniel Franco, who emigrated from London about 1850. The first congregation, which became the Indianapolis Hebrew Congregation, was founded in 1856, under Rabbi M. Berman. Funds from the Christian community helped equip the first synagogue, completed in 1868. Frederich Kneffler rose to the rank of major general, and is believed to have been the highest-ranking Jewish officer in the Civil War.

Indianapolis Hebrew Congregation (Reform), now one of the largest synagogues in the state, was the earliest congregation in Indianapolis, founded in 1856. Other synagogues of early Indianapolis history were formed by nationality groups: Shaare Tefila (about 1882), the "Polish Shul"; Knesses Israel (about 1883), the "Russian Shul"; and Ohev Zedeck (1884), the "Hungarian Shul." The United Hebrew Congregation was organized in 1904; Ezras Achim, the "Peddlers Shul," in 1910; the Central Hebrew Congregation in 1920; and Beth-El in 1921. In 1927, Beth-El, the Conservative congregation, merged with Ohev Zedeck to form Beth-El Zedeck (Reconstructionist / Conservative), one of the two largest synagogues in the state (*Milton Steinberg was its first rabbi). There are two Orthodox Congregations; Etz Chaim (Sephardic) and B'nai Torah, and Shaarey Tefilla (Conservative). Among the early leaders of the Indianapolis Jewish community were Rabbi Isaac Eli Neustadt, who founded the Jewish Educational Association (now the Bureau of Jewish Education) in 1910; Rabbi Morris Feuerlicht, who served the Indianapolis Hebrew Congregation from 1904 to 1946; and G.A. Efroymson, the first president of the Jewish Federation of Greater Indianapolis (formed 1905 under the name Jewish Federation of Indianapolis), one of the first such organizations in an intermediate-sized U.S. city. Gustave Efroymson not only served during the Federation's formative years (1905–1913), he guided the Indianapolis Jewish Community through the difficult years of the rise of the Ku Klux Klan and the Great Depression, serving as Federation president, once again, from 1919 to 1934.

The Indianapolis Jewish community is served through 5 constituent agencies of the Jewish Federation: the Jewish Community Center; the Jewish Community Relations Council; the Bureau of Jewish Education; Hooverwood, a nursing home facility and Park Regency, an apartment complex for independent elderly. The Jacobs Home provides group living for developmentally challenged adults, and the Albert & Sara Reuben ElderSource program provides a wide range of services for older adults.

Jewish education is maintained by the Bureau of Jewish Education, the Hasten Hebrew Academy (a day school providing elementary and middle school education) and congregational religious schools. Hebrew language is taught in 2 suburban public high schools.

Most Federation agencies and Federation offices are housed on the Max and Mae Simon Jewish Community Campus, developed in 1997. The 38-acre campus is considered one of the outstanding Jewish campuses in the United States.

Indianapolis Jews exert a great deal of influence in civic, humanitarian, and cultural affairs in the city. The Indianapolis Symphony was founded by prominent Jews, and Jews continue to have leadership roles with the orchestra which had its origins at Kirshbaum Center, the Jewish Community Center of its time. Jews have been in the forefront of leadership of the Indianapolis Museum of Art, the Children's Museum of Indianapolis, the Indianapolis Art Center, the Eiteljorg Museum of Western Art, the Indianapolis Opera and Ballet International.

In the past, Jews made their living primarily in retail, wholesale and service businesses, but today, more are in communications, property development, and the medical and legal professions.

Rabbis Dennis and Sandy Sasso of Congregation Beth-El Zedeck are the first married rabbinic couple in history. Rabbi Sandy Sasso was the first woman to be ordained by the Recontructionist movement. The Sassos have served as senior rabbis at Beth-El Zedeck since 1977.

The Jewish Federation receives excellent support from the community, enabling its agencies to provide a wide range of human services for every age. The Federation is proud of the fact that per capita giving to its annual campaign exceeds that of any Jewish community of any city in the country with a population of 10,000 or more. The Gene B. and Marilyn Glick and Jewish Federation Joint Endowment Fund for the Far Future will allow the Federation to meet changing needs when the fund reaches its fruition, when it is projected to reach $100,000,000. In addition, during 2005, the Federation's Centennial year, under the leadership of Charles A. Cohen, chair of the Endowment Initiative, the Federation achieved the goal of increasing its endowment fund by $50,000,000.

[Sidney Steiman / Carolyn Leeds (2nd ed.)]

INDONESIA, republic of Malay archipelago, S.E. Asia; former Netherlands East Indies (excluding former Netherlands New Guinea, now West Irian). Dutch Jews contributed to the development of the "Spice Islands." An early Jewish settlement existed in the Sunda Islands but its date and extent are not known. In the 1850s the Jerusalem emissary Jacob *Saphir, who visited Batavia (Jakarta), Java, met an Amsterdam Jewish merchant who named 20 Jewish families of Dutch or German origin there, including members of the Dutch colonial forces, and some Jews living in Semarang and Surabaya. They had few links with Judaism. At Saphir's request, the Amsterdam community sent a rabbi who tried to organize congregations in Batavia and Semarang. A number of Jews from Baghdad, or of Baghdadi origin, and from Aden also settled on the islands,

and in 1921 the Zionist emissary Israel Cohen estimated that nearly 2,000 Jews were living in Java. The resident of Surabaya was a Dutch Jew; several held government posts; and many engaged in commerce. The Jews of Baghdadi origin formed the most Orthodox element. There were also Jews from Central Europe and Soviet Russia, whose numbers increased in the 1930s. In 1939 there were 2,000 Dutch Jewish inhabitants and a number of stateless Jews who underwent the trials of the Japanese occupation. Indonesian independence marked the decline of the Dutch Jewish element, and the Jewish population subsequently dwindled for political and economic reasons. There were 450 Jews in Indonesia in 1957, mainly Ashkenazim in Jakarta and Sephardim in Surabaya, the latter community maintaining a synagogue. The community had dwindled to 50 in 1963. There were about 20 Jews living in Jakarta and 25 in Surabaya in 1969. The community was represented by the Board of Jewish Communities of Indonesia with its office in Jakarta. By the turn of the century there were only around 20 Jews living in Indonesia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Cohen, *Journal of a Jewish Traveller* (1925), 209ff.; M. Wischnitzer, *Die Juden in der Welt* (1935), 308–10; A. Tartakower, *Shivtei Yisrael*, 3 (1969), 290–1.

INDUSTRIAL REMOVAL, American movement to disperse Jewish immigrants throughout the United States, 1900–17. Founded and financially supported by the *Baron de Hirsch Fund with the collaboration of *B'nai B'rith, the Industrial Removal Office sought to persuade and assist Jewish workers to leave the congested immigrant districts of Boston, Philadelphia, and above all New York, for smaller cities where Jewish communities existed and a variety of jobs were available. Approximately 75,000 Jews were thus assisted to resettle in such cities as Grand Rapids, Michigan; Kansas City, Missouri; Cleveland; Los Angeles; Milwaukee; St. Louis; Cincinnati; and others. Many of these migrants, besides bringing their families, drew other friends and relatives. Their experience of Jews in these smaller cities differed markedly from that of Jews who remained part of the very large concentrations of immigrants. The former were far lonelier and forced to acculturate more rapidly, especially linguistically. The peak of the movement was reached about 1910–13. The World War I period brought about its discontinuation (see *Galveston Plan).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Joseph, *History of the Baron de Hirsch Fund* (1935), 184–205; L.J. Swichkow and L.P. Gartner, *History of the Jews of Milwaukee* (1963), 157–9; M. Vorspan and L.P. Gartner, *History of the Jews of Los Angeles* (1970), 111–2.

[Lloyd P. Gartner]

INDYK, MARTIN (1951–), U.S. ambassador to Israel. Indyk was born in London and raised and educated in Australia where he received his bachelor's degree in Economics from the University of Sydney and his Ph.D. from Australian National University. He became an advisor of the Australian prime minister on the Middle East. Under the influence of Steven Rosen, the influential American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) foreign policy expert, Indyk moved to Washington, D.C. to join the AIPAC staff. In 1985 he helped found the Washington Institute on Near East Policy, a non-profit, tax-exempt think tank which had been supported by many significant AIPAC lay leaders, and was its first executive director. Under his leadership it became an influential institute not only on matters relating to Israel but the entire Middle East and it was a place where diverse views could be discussed. It maintained a formal and deliberate separation from AIPAC, whose task is political, not intellectual, and which according to American law is not tax-exempt.

During the 1988 and 1992 presidential campaigns Indyk was a foreign policy advisor to the democratic presidential candidates and was appointed special assistant to the president and senior director for the Near East and South Asian Affairs at the National Security Council when President Bill Clinton came to office. Two years later he was named ambassador to Israel, the first Jew to be named to that sensitive position. On the eve of his being named ambassador he became an American citizen. His service in Israel coincided with the Oslo Peace Process and Indyk was influential in the conduct of the negotiations that followed, often to the chagrin of right-wing Israeli politicians who were put off by his support of the peace process. He faced the type of slurs from right-wing Israeli officials that would have been regarded as antisemitic had they been uttered by anyone other than a Jew. In fact, under Special Middle East Coordinator Dennis Ross, several of the key figures representing the Clinton Administration were deeply committed Jews, committed to the peace process as well.

In 1998 Indyk was named assistant secretary of state for Near East Affairs, and in 2000 he returned to Israel as ambassador for the remainder of the Clinton Administration where he was deeply engaged with the failed negotiations among Prime Minister Barak, Chairman Arafat, and President Clinton at Camp David and later at Taba. President Clinton broke the barrier that had prevented a Jew from representing the United States in Israel with the nomination of Martin Indyk, whose successor was Daniel Kurtzer, an Orthodox rabbi who had previously served as ambassador to Egypt. Having left government service, Indyk has directed the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L.S. Maisel and I. Forman, *Jews in American Politics* (2001).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

INFELD, LEOPOLD (1898–1968), Polish physicist. Infeld was born in Cracow and taught at Lvov. He worked for two years at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, U.S.A. and later became professor of applied mathematics at Toronto University. Infeld, having met *Einstein while at Princeton, continued to collaborate with him for over ten years on the theory of relativity, equations of motion unitary field theory, and quantum mechanics. They jointly wrote *The Evolution of Physics* (1938) and a number of scientific papers. Infeld revisited his native country in 1950 and decided to remain there.

In 1964 he was one of a group of leading Polish intellectuals who protested against the government censorship. Infeld was the author of *The World in Modern Science; Matter and Quanta* (1934), *Albert Einstein: His Work and its Influence on Our World* (1950), and an autobiography *Quest, the Evolution of a Scientist* (1941).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Nature*, 217 (1968), 611; *The Times* (Jan. 17, 1968).

[J. Edwin Holmstrom]

INFORMERS (Heb. *malshinim*, "slanderers"; *moserim*, "informers"; *delatorim*, "delators"), informers or slanderers who denounce individual Jews or the Jewish people in general to a foreign ruler.

In Talmudic Tradition

The attitude of the Talmud toward such persons is extremely hostile. It is said of them: "The *minim* and the informers and the scoffers… these will go down to Gehinnom to be punished there for all generations" (RH 17a; see below, in Jewish law). Tradition attributed to the informers the sufferings which overtook the Jewish people during the period of persecutions following the destruction of the Second Temple. According to one tradition, the number of informers then increased to such an extent that the *bet din* of Rabban *Gamaliel was compelled to add a special benediction in the **Amidah*; its text was composed by Samuel ha-Katan, and it is called *Birkat ha-Minim; in practice, it is an anathema uttered against informers (Ber. 28b; Meg. 17b). The sources place special emphasis on the role of these informers during the persecutions of *Hadrian, when outstanding Jewish scholars endangered their lives for the sake of study of the Torah and observance of the precepts. The informers denounced to the authorities any opposition or manifestation of rebellion against Rome within the Jewish community; thus, for example, *Judah b. Gerim denounced *Simeon b. Yoḥai after he had declared that all the improvements brought about by the Romans were intended for their own benefit: "they built marketplaces, to set harlots in them," etc. The government decreed that R. Simeon be put to death and he therefore fled and hid in a cave for 12 years (Shab. 33b).

During the Middle Ages

The gravity of the problem of informers was accentuated during the Middle Ages as a result of the political and social conditions to which the Jews were subjected during this period. The revelation of secrets and the handing over of information to the non-Jewish authorities regarding the lives of the Jews and their property, and occasionally their beliefs and opinions, could destroy Jewish autonomy, prejudice their economic positions, and endanger their status among the gentiles. Jewish leaders and scholars, therefore, took the liberty of trying offenders of this category and imposing sentences, even if this was in contradiction to talmudic tradition. As will be seen, there were even communities in which death sentences were issued against informers, even though after the abolition of the Sanhedrin, the Jews had refrained from judging cases of criminal law.

Various Categories of Acts of Slander

When defining the phenomenon of slander, the Jewish leadership did not restrict this to informing or the handing over of information; what was likely to prejudice the autonomy of the Jewish community was included in this definition. When *Rashi came to define the notion of "informers" (RH 17a), he explained: "those who hand over the property of Jews to the non-Jews." This was indeed a most frequent occurrence during the Middle Ages. An example of this is found in the actions of a certain Jew accompanying the officials of King Henry III of England who were sent out to investigate the economic situation of the Jewish communities of the kingdom in 1250. He endeavored to prove that the Jews were able to pay twice the amount they had hitherto paid and he promised to reveal all their secrets to the king.

At times, the objective of a slander was communal-religious, such as when a group of people turned to the non-Jewish authorities in order to obtain enforcement to impose their outlook on the Jewish community. Against these, it was said in the regulations of Jacob b. Meir *Tam of the second half of the 12th century: "they have dominated others in order to impose the prophecy of their mouths while in their hearts they seek to destroy."

The slanders of *apostates who revealed anti-Christian passages in the Jewish sources were responsible for many misfortunes, as in the case of the apostate Nicholas *Donin, who was one of the initiators of the Disputation of *Paris and the subsequent burning of the *Talmud. *Joseph ha-Kohen in his *Emek ha-Bakha* (ed. by M. Letteris (1852), 111) relates that in 1553 "wicked persons came out of our midst and fabricated untrue reports… and they slandered the Talmud before Pope Julius III" as a result of which the Talmud was burned throughout Italy in 1553–55. Sometimes, Jews were compelled to flee to new places as a result of acts of slander. This occurred with Isaac *Alfasi, who fled from North Africa to Spain in 1088, and Moses ha-Parnas, of the family of *nesi'im* of Narbonne, who fled to Estella in Navarre during the 1120s.

Regulations against slanderers and informers also included paragraphs against those who addressed themselves to non-Jewish courts of law. This was due to the assumption that there was no difference between such an act and informing since one Jew who brought another Jew before a non-Jewish tribunal caused him financial loss and endangered his life.

Informing in Spain

The overwhelming majority of the Jewish communities, whether they were situated in the Islamic or Christian territories, were prevented by the authorities from judging criminal law and imposing death sentences on offenders. In most places, a culprit was ordered to pay a fine and to indemnify his victim; he was called upon to repent or an excommunication (*ḥerem*) or ban was issued against him. The words of *Asher b. Jehiel in connection with this subject are of special

interest. Upon his arrival in the community of Toledo in Spain from Germany at the beginning of the 14th century, he wrote: "I was most astonished when I arrived hither to find that they judged criminal law without a Sanhedrin" (Asher b. Jehiel, Responsa, *kelal* 17, no. 8).

There is reason to assume that the acuteness of this problem in Spain stemmed essentially from the presence of the influential Court Jews, a situation which had already been particular to this country during the period of Islamic rule. These courtiers were naturally tempted into acts of informing, out of egoistic considerations and with the objective of promoting their ascendancy in the country's affairs. This probably also prompted the Jewish community there to impose such severe sentences on informers. Thus, the Muslim rulers had already granted the *dayyanim* the right to judge criminal law, even though this contradicted Islamic legislation. This right was transferred from Andalusia to the northern Christian kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. The plague was so widespread in Spanish Jewry that the word *malshin* became a part of the Spanish language (*malsin*; *malsinería*; *malsindad*). This trend subsisted in Christian Spain during the 13th and 14th centuries. The communities applied to the court and obtained the right to condemn informers to death. This even concerned cases where the acts of the informers were to the advantage of the king and served his immediate economic interests.

Procedure in the trials of informers in the Jewish communities of Spain was largely influenced by the Roman and canon laws which then prevailed in the towns of Christian Europe, especially in connection with interrogation of the accused. Procedure also varied among the Spanish communities. This was due to the privileges, some of which were very detailed, which they had received in this sphere during various periods. James I (1213–76) had done much in this direction during the last years of his reign, when there was a growing feeling of insecurity among the Jewish communities of Aragon. The guiding line in the granting of these privileges was the obligation to apply the Roman-Christian law which was dispensed in the tribunals of Aragon. According to this the proceedings took place in writing, the presence of an advocate was required to defend the accused, the plaintiff and the informer committed themselves to the *lex talionis*, the testimonies were published in writing, and the right was accorded to appeal before the royal tribunal. When the accused was condemned to death, the execution of the sentence was entrusted to the local royal officials in exchange for a given sum, as may be deduced from the privilege which was granted to the community of Barbastro in 1273: the informer was to be handed over to the bailiff and a payment of 500 solidos was charged for the execution.

The privileges granted to the Jews of Barcelona in 1342 and to the community of Majorca in 1347 were of the same nature. The regulations of the community leaders of the Kingdom of Aragon of 1354 mention the plague of informing, and the leaders agreed "to exterminate every informer or slanderer who would be found in one of the towns… this would, however, only apply to slander of a public nature which would result, God forbid, in damage to our people in general but not to private slander which does not prejudice the public." Although Pedro IV (1336–87) restricted the rights of the Jews of Barcelona with regard to the trials of informers and criminal law in general, an order of 1383 reconfirmed the full rights of the community leaders and their *dayyanim* to interrogate such offenders, and to sentence them to banishment, the cutting off of limbs, or death at their discretion. In 1390 Queen Violante appointed Ḥasdai *Crescas as the exclusive judge authorized to try informers in Aragon and to sentence offenders. Even though this appointment was intended to restrict the rights of the community leaders, it did not result in the complete abolition of the privileges of the local communities.

In Castile, the Cortes which met in Soria in 1380 abolished the existing authority of the Jews to judge criminal law. This appears to have followed upon the secret execution of Joseph Picho, a favorite of the king, who was accused of informing. This authority was restored to them during the 15th century, as appears from the regulations of Valladolid of 1432 which were drawn up by the Jewish leaders of Castile under the guidance of Abraham *Benveniste. The third part of these regulations deals with informers, and among the measures to be adopted in order to eradicate informing there are specified the branding of the word "*malshin*" with a white-hot iron on the forehead of the accused, flogging, *banishment, and for one who has informed on three occasions: "finding the means of putting him to death." The problem took on a special nuance with the establishment of the Spanish *Inquisition during the 1480s, when the latter found it necessary to compel Jews to testify against Conversos who observed the precepts of Judaism.

Regulations of Communities and Scholars

As already seen, regulations were formulated at the conference of scholars convened in France under the leadership of Rabbenu Tam against "those who informed, in secret or publicly, to gentiles, noblemen or common folk." Many articles of these regulations dealt with the prevention of informing in affairs pertaining to the individual. In this case, the Jewish leadership did not possess the powers which had been granted to Spanish Jewry, and the defensive measures were of another category: "If one heard that he had been slandered and there is proof for this, then if the victim spoke with the governor and sought to refute the slander and even accused the informer of a worse crime than that mentioned by the latter, the second one is to be regarded as innocent; this is because he must endeavor to protect himself, and his action is not to be regarded as saving himself with the property of another; moreover, the first one is to be considered as an informer liable to justice and punishment." At the conference of the Rhine communities of 1220, it was agreed that "the informers were to be cursed on every Sabbath," and this became a standing order in the regulations of the communities of Speyer, Worms, and Mainz. According to the regulations of that year, the above communities formed

a central *bet din* for the trying of informers from all the communities which had participated in the conference.

Numerous and detailed regulations against informers are to be found in the regulations of the community of Regensburg of 1497: "If one threatens his fellow, be it his person, his property, or through informing, and there are witnesses to this deed, the *ḥazzan* shall then proclaim a ban against him in the synagogue at the next public prayer and sound the *shofar*. The culprit will be under this ban until he seeks pardon and atonement before the community… One who denounces his fellow to the gentiles is to be judged as if he had struck him. The community is authorized to deal with the informer according to the gravity of his misdeed and also to intervene with the authorities in order to have him removed from the town." It is evident that in the Ashkenazi communities the methods which could be adopted against informers were limited, and the deterrent power of outstanding scholars was occasionally required.

The Spanish refugees who arrived in North Africa after the persecutions in Spain of 1391 were also compelled to institute regulations against informers, and the native Jews followed their example (Isaac b. Sheshet, Responsa, no. 79). In 1558, the Spanish refugees in Salonika under the leadership of Moses *Almosnino instituted a *haskamah* (regulation) against informers which was read in the synagogue on the last Sabbath of every month and which hinted that offenders would have the maximum punishment inflicted upon them. The rabbis of Constantinople ratified that *haskamah* and demanded that offenders be brought to the capital in order to receive their chastisement. The Turkish authorities appear to have confirmed this regulation.

In Eastern and Central Europe

An insight into the dangers with which the plague of slander threatened the life of the Jewish community may be deduced from the text of the *Yehi Raẓon* ("May it be Thy will") prayer which has been preserved in the synagogue register of the community of Kremsier (Kromeriz) and which appears to have been composed by *Judah Loew b. Bezalel (the Maharal) of Prague: "May it be Thy will, Father in Heaven, to uproot and extirpate every stock sprouting poison and wormwood in Israel so that there be no transgressor in our streets namely – those who denounce and harm Israel with their slander and distort the Jewish laws before the nations and the uncircumcised, both men and women, those who seek to endanger the condition of the community and oppress Israel their brethren by false accusations in order to destroy them. May the Holy One, blessed be He, deliver Israel from their hands and may God wipe from the earth the memory of these sinners and evildoers, them and their evil offspring."

The measures available to the autonomous institutions of the Jews of Eastern and Central Europe were more limited than those of the Jews in Spain. Here too, the informers were, however, occasionally punished by the severing of their ears and tongues and at times by the cutting off of their hands and feet, although the actual measures generally only took on the form of a warning. In the regulations of the Council of Konice of the province of Moravia of 1674, it was stated: "It is the duty of every Jew to shatter the slanderers and those who burden the princes with their lies and to cut off their hands and their feet. The expenses incurred in such an unfortunate affair are to be borne by all the communities of the province, in proportion to their numbers." According to a tradition in the community of Poznan a death sentence was passed against an informer during the 18th century, but there is no evidence for this occurrence from any other source.

The most effective and accepted punishment in the communities of Eastern Europe was the **ḥerem*. A *ḥerem* issued against informers and slanderers who revealed the "Jewish secrets" to the gentiles is mentioned in a proclamation of the community of Poznan in Adar 5453 (1693). The same community issued a *ḥerem* in Iyyar 5485 (1725) "against the informers and slanderers who reveal Jewish secrets… to the customs authorities and who denounce individuals." In the Council of Lithuania of 1684 it was decided that those men "whose tongues are accustomed to deceit" and those who reveal "Jewish secrets" or cause financial losses to individuals by informing against them were to be subjected to the *ḥerem*. Occasionally, the informer was only sentenced to imprisonment, as occurred with David b. Naphtali Segal, who "induced a tyrannical squire to seize and detain the men of Prague in Gniezno (Gnesen)" in 1634. Among the most notorious acts of informing in this period were those of Hirschel Meyer, who brought many misfortunes upon the Jews of Vienna until their expulsion in 1670. The actions of Jacob *Frank and his followers at the time of the disputations of Kamenets-Podolski and Lvov rank among the most extreme examples of slander.

[Jacob Klatzkin]

In Russia

Informing was one of the severest moral plagues to afflict Russian Jewry, which has continued up to the present. It was the natural consequence of the autocratic regime ruling the state, which encouraged it. It also stemmed from the anti-Jewish decrees and discriminatory laws which were the cause of constant antagonism between the Jews and the government. The internal controversies and struggles in Jewish society also played a part. The dimensions of this informing varied. There was the one-time informer who wrote a denunciatory letter (Yid. *Msire*) about his neighbor, the shopkeeper, who had hidden away smuggled goods in his shop; there was the professional informer (Yid. *Moser*) who blackmailed his victims. These denunciations concerned essentially "missing persons" or those who evaded military service, smugglers, and those who distilled alcoholic liquor or sold it without government authorization, and Jews living in places where their residence was prohibited. Other informers of a much more dangerous category were those who prejudiced whole communities, such as those who spread word that the community was hiding Christians who converted to Judaism in its midst, that the Jews

were encouraging the progress of Judaizing sects such as the Subbotniki ("Sabbath Observers") and attracted proselytes, or that they were collecting money which was sent to Ereẓ Israel. At an even higher level, there was the national informer, such as Jacob *Brafman, who attempted to prove to the government, after his apostasy, that the Jews maintained "a state within a state" and endangered the welfare of Russia. His *Kniga Kagala* ("Book of the Community") and other works aggravated the situation of the Jews at the close of the 19th century.

A considerable number of informers lowered themselves to act in this way because of their campaign against corruption perpetrated by community leaders. This was the case with Benjamin Goldberg (Binyominke Moser) of Kletsk who quarreled with the *gabbaim* of the community of Kletsk and was finally exiled to Siberia upon the decision of the community. Informing was also a weapon employed in internal struggles. The denunciations by the Ḥasidim of the community leaders of Vilna in 1799 and by Avigdor b. Joseph Ḥayyim of Pinsk, which resulted in the imprisonment of *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, the leader of Ḥabad Ḥasidim, in 1800, are well-known cases. During the 19th century, there were repeated denunciations by *mitnaggedim* and *maskilim* against the Ḥasidim and their *ẓaddikim*. The Ḥasidim, however, also wielded the weapon of informing (leading to the imprisonment of the poet Judah Leib *Gordon in 1879). The *maskilim* were accustomed to sending slanderous memoranda to the authorities, such as the memorandum sent by Markl and Bernstein of 1833 on the noxious books published in Hebrew, in the wake of which a strict control was put into force on all Hebrew books in Russia, and all the printing presses, with the exception of two, were closed down. Neither were cases of personal denunciation lacking among the *maskilim* themselves (such as the slander by Abraham Uri *Kovner against Alexander *Zederbaum, the editor of *Ha-Meliẓ*).

The Jews adopted various protective measures against the informers. The accepted method was a social ban against publicly known informers. Many of them were compelled to convert to Christianity once their actions had been discovered. In severe cases, the *moser* disappeared, and he was occasionally found drowned in a river or killed in a forest. In 1836 two informers were done to death in the town of Novaya Ushitsa (Podolia). After prolonged interrogation, about 80 Jews were tried by a military tribunal and extremely severe sentences were meted out against them. Information on informers who were executed is to be found in literature and the chronicles. Peretz *Smolenskin described the fate of such an informer in his work *Kevurat Ḥamor* ("Contemptible Burial"), a story which was based on several incidents which occurred in the town of Shklov.

Once the Jews had begun to collaborate with the Russian revolutionary movement, and with the establishment of the Jewish workers' movement at the close of the 19th century, there emerged a new type of informer – the *provocateur* – who was rewarded by the authorities for delivery of the secrets of the movement, its presses, and its members to the secret police. This is a chapter on its own. *Provocateurs* were also planted within the Zionist movement.

In the Soviet Union, informing had become an honorable public duty and an organic part of the regime. It extended to both the non-Jewish and Jewish public, and had become a formidable instrument which had paralyzed free public life and contributed to the disintegration of Jewish life in the country.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

In Jewish Law

A distinction is made between the denunciation (*mesirah*, "delivery") of money and the denunciation of persons, but the prohibition of informing applies to both classes in the same manner. It is no defense to a charge of informing that the person denounced is a sinner and wicked, or has caused the informer grief or harm – no informer will ever have a share in the world to come (Maim. Yad, Ḥovel u-Mazzik 8:9). The only exception seems to be that a Jew may inform on another Jew who had informed against him – for as the informer is liable to be killed, he must a fortiori be liable to be informed against (*Rema* ḤM 388:9). Similarly, a man may save himself from violence by denouncing his attacker if he has no other means of escape (*Darkhei Moshe* ḤM 388; *Yam shel Shelomo BK* 8:42).

Talmudic Law

Instances of informing reported in the Talmud are scarce. A judge who had been denounced to the authorities for having unlawfully exercised jurisdiction sentenced the informer to death (Ber. 58a). A death sentence was likewise passed on a litigant who repeatedly threatened to denounce his adversary, the court apparently being satisfied that he would indeed do so and that irreparable damage might ensue (BK 117a). The underlying rationale has been held to be that when a man is going to kill you, you may kill him first (Ber. 58a), and an impending denunciation was held to be tantamount to an immediate threat of killing. The threat is no less immediate and substantial for the reason that only so long as nobody was actually killed there must always remain a doubt as to whether anybody would indeed be killed – the probability that that would be the result of the denunciation suffices to warrant drastic counteraction (Rashba, Resp., vol. 1, no. 181). In order to save property from the reach of informers, false vows and oaths are permissible to prove its alienation (Ned. 3:4).

Like apostates, informers ought not to be saved from danger, even of their lives (Av. Zar. 26b); it has been said that "it is a good deed to let them perish and bring them down into the pit of destruction" (Maim., Akkum ve-Ḥukkoteihem 10:1).

Medieval Law

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. Denunciations have rightly been described as the canker of Jewish medieval society (I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1932[2]); Kaufmann, in JQR, 8 (1896), 27). Obadiah of *Bertinoro relates a report

of the Jewish community of Palermo which may be valid for many other communities of the time: "Among the Jews there are many informers who have no sense of right or wrong and who continually betray one another shamelessly. If one Jew hates another, he conjures up some false accusation against him that is absolutely without foundation" (Transl. in: J.R. Marcus, *The Jew in the Medieval World* (1960), 394f.). Jewish courts saw themselves called upon to combat this mischief as best they could.

Denunciations always fell on all-too-willing ears, both ecclesiastical and secular authorities being anyway hopelessly prejudiced against Jews. The informers not only wrought easy vengeance on whoever had wronged them, but they not unreasonably hoped to render themselves useful and important in the eyes of the authorities by volunteering such information. The testimony of these informers, presumably well-informed Jews themselves, was generally quite sufficient to warrant massacres or expulsions and plunder.

PENAL LAW. The law was laid down by Maimonides as follows: "It is lawful to kill the informer anywhere, even at this time when capital jurisdiction has ceased. It is lawful to kill him before he has informed: when he says, I am going to deliver [i.e, denounce] the person or the money – regardless of the amount involved – of X into their hands, he has rendered himself liable to death; if, on being warned not to commit the crime, he dares to insist on informing, the court is bound to have him killed. But when he [is indicted after having] already denounced the other person, it seems to me that he may not any longer be killed, unless it is reasonably apprehended that he might continue and inform on others. And it is a frequent occurrence in the cities of the West either to kill informers who must be feared to make denunciations, or to deliver them into the hands of the non-Jews [i.e., non-Jewish courts] to have them killed, flogged, or imprisoned as their guilt requires. So may a man who causes grief or damage to the community be delivered into the hands of non-Jews to have him flogged, imprisoned, or fined – but not a man who causes grief or damage to an individual. Nor may the property of an informer be confiscated, for although his person is liable to perish, his property ought to go to his heirs" (Maim., Ḥovel u-Mazzik 8:10–11).

Sentencing informers to death was regarded as a duty (a *mitzvah*) of the court (Maim., Ḥovel u-Mazzik 8:10–11; Ribash, Resp. no. 79), as it had to be assumed that, unless the informer was eliminated in time, the disaster likely to be caused by him could not be prevented. Thus it has been said that a court refraining from having the informer killed will be responsible and be punished for anything that may happen as if the court itself had been the informer (*Zikhron Yehudah*, no. 75). There it is reported that Joseph ibn Migash had an informer executed on the Day of Atonement which fell on a Sabbath at the hour of *ne'ilah* – which shows how sacred a duty the elimination of informers was conceived by great judges. The differentiation between an informer who had to be eliminated before doing his misdeed and was therefore liable to death, and an informer who had already done his misdeed and was therefore no longer liable to death (unless he was likely to repeat it), would indicate that the death penalty for the informer was in the nature of a preventative rather than of a punitive measure, a supposition corroborated by the special procedural provisions set out below.

Notwithstanding the duty of having informers killed, the death penalty was not generally regarded as a compulsory and obligatory but rather as the maximum penalty. In many instances there were bodily mutilations, such as cutting out the tongue or gouging out the eyes (Rosh, Resp. no. 17:8; Maharam of Rothenburg, Resp., ed. Prague, no. 485; *Rema* ḤM 388:10) or cutting off hands and feet (*Takkanot Mehrin*, ed. by I. Halpern, 124 no. 374), so as to render the informer incapable of carrying out his evil designs. On the other hand, such mutilations were decried as ineffective and unsuited to replace the death penalty (*Yam shel Shelomo Yev.* 10:20; Maharam of Lublin, Resp. no. 138). In cases in which monetary damage only was caused or apprehended, the usual sanction was the **ḥerem* (BK 117a; *Tashbeẓ* 3:158), often accompanied by excommunication and exile. There were many communities in which annual general bans were pronounced against people who knew of informers or their plans and failed to bring them to the notice of the court (*Takkanot Va'ad Arba Araẓot*, quoted by Assaf, *Ha-Onshin*…, 130), and against anybody who would have resort to non-Jewish authorities and thereby cause damage to any Jew (*Takkanot Rabbenu Tam*, quoted in Maharam of Rothenburg, Resp., ed. Cremona, no. 71, 368; *Takkanot* of the Portuguese community in Hamburg, quoted by Assaf, *Ha-Onshin*…, 92).

A good example of a scale of penalties according to the gravity of the offense is provided by *takkanot* made in Castile in 1432: an informer who has denounced another without causing actual damage is fined 100 ducats and imprisoned for ten days; if actual damage was caused, he must also make good the damage. If the denunciation was to non-Jewish authorities and no damage was caused, he is fined 200 ducats and imprisoned for 20 days; if monetary damage was caused, he must also make good the damage and is ostracized for ten days; if physical injury (including arrest) was caused, the punishment is at the free discretion of the court. Denunciations other than of individual persons are punished, on a first conviction, with 100 lashes and expulsion from the town; on a second conviction, the penalty is increased; on a third conviction, the penalty will be death (Assaf, *Ha-Onshin*…, 89–90; Baer, Spain, 2 (1961), 264f.). Where the evidence was not sufficient for a conviction – e.g., where there was one single witness only – but the court considered the suspect a security risk for the community, the Castilian *takkanot* provided that a mark should be set on his forehead by burning it with a hot iron (*ibid.*). All informers and suspected informers were disqualified as witnesses and would not be allowed to take an oath (Maim., Ḥovel u-Mazzik 8:8; ḤM 388:8; Radbaz, Resp. no. 348; Maharashdam, Resp. ḤM no. 355).

PROCEDURE AND EVIDENCE. Isaac b. Sheshet – who was himself, together with two other great scholars of his time, Nissim Gerondi and Ḥasdai Crescas, the victim of a denunciation in about 1375, in pursuance of which he was arrested and later released on bail (Ribash, Resp. nos. 373, 376) – laid down five special rules of evidence and procedure applying to trials of informers only:

(1) they may be interrogated, and if they confess, may be convicted on their own confessions;

(2) attorneys may be appointed to defend them only after their interrogation has been completed;

(3) they must be detained pending trial and may not be released on bail;

(4) the testimony of the witnesses for the prosecution may be taken in their absence (to the same effect: Rosh, Resp. 17:1);

(5) the fact that the complainant who laid the charge against the informer may be incompetent as a *witness does not affect the validity of the charge (Ribash, Resp. nos. 234–9). Further procedural and evidentiary facilities had already been allowed much earlier by Solomon b. Abraham Adret; namely, that in trials of informers it would not matter that the court might not be properly constituted, and that informers need no previous warning that what they were going to do was punishable by law (see *Penal Law, *Evidence); in general, all the procedural and evidentiary safeguards prescribed in capital cases did not apply to informers, so long as you "go after the ascertainment of the truth and the prevention of damage…" (*Iggeret ha-Rashba*, published by D. Kaufmann, in: JQR, 8 (1896), 228ff.).

JURISDICTION AND COSTS. Instead of trying informers themselves, many Jewish courts preferred to hand them over to the royal courts for trial if a charge could only be made out against them under the law of the land (Ribash, Resp. nos. 79 and 239; Rashbash, Resp. no. 177). However, as the informers were, as a rule, welcome instruments in the hands of the authorities, if only as a means of extorting money from the Jewish community, their courts could rarely be counted on to mete out justice to them. In many countries Jewish courts tried, and sometimes succeeded, to obtain the royal assent to their own exercise of capital jurisdiction. It appears that the non-Jewish (royal or lower) authorities often had to be bribed into allowing or suffering such jurisdiction, or for helping the court to execute judgments of expulsion. Kings are reported to have demanded monetary compensation for the loss of taxpayers before allowing judgments of expulsion to be executed. That the costs involved in prosecuting and punishing informers must therefore have been very substantial is also shown by rulings to the effect that the whole community must bear these costs, and each individual member is taxed with his share thereof (Rosh, Resp. no. 6:22; Ribash, Resp. no. 79).

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

Period of the Aḥaronim

Similar to the situation during the Middle Ages as described above, the period of the *aḥaronim* also saw cases of denunciation and informing, in a variety of forms and for various purposes. During this period as well, similar to the law applied during the Middle Ages, in order for a person to be regarded as an informer (*moser*) there needed to be proof that his act was committed with the *mens rea* of malicious intent. Hence R. Shlomo Luria (Resp. Maharshal no. 19) ruled that, when the (non-Jewish) government accused a given Jew of theft, and he was forced to claim that he had purchased the stolen item from another Jew, thereby implicating the latter as a thief, "he is not subject to the law of an informer… as he did not intend to cause his fellow Jew monetary loss for the sake of infuriating him, or to curry favor with the authorities, but rather to save his own [money]."

This period is distinguished from the medieval period by the fact that, in addition to acts of denunciations by individuals, there were also acts of collective denunciations among groups and sects. The Frankist sect denounced the Jews to the Christian authorities, falsely accusing them of using Christian blood for their rituals. As of the 18th century there were even cases of reciprocal denunciations of Ḥasidim and *Mitnaggedim* in the context of their spiritual and social struggle, a phenomenon that repeated itself during the 19th century, in the battles between the Ḥasidim and the Maskilim. Reciprocal denunciations also took the form of divulging trade secrets and financial sources of individuals and communities, and a number of communities passed explicit enactments in order to combat this phenomenon (see Bibliography, Ben-Zimra).

Regarding the denunciation of Jewish criminals to the non-Jewish authorities by the *Bet Din* or by the public, see *Extradition.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Kaufmann, in: JQR, 8 (1896), 217–38; M. Frank, *Kehillot Ashkenaz u-Vattei Dineihen* (1937), index, s.v. *Dinei Mesirah*; Baer, Urkunden, 1 (1929), index s.v. *Malsin*, 2 (1936), index s.v. *Denunzianten*; Baer, Spain, index; Baron, Community, index; Dinur, Golah, 2 (1966), 402–9; H.H. Ben-Sasson (ed.), *Toledot Am Yisrael*, 3 (1969), index s.v. *Malshinut*. IN EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE. I. Halpern (ed.), *Takkanot Medinat Mehrin* (1951), index s.v. *Massur*; idem, *Pinkas Va'ad Arba Arazot* (1945), index s.v. *Malshinut*; B.D. Weinryb, *Texts and Studies in the Communal History of Polish Jewry* (1950), 53ff.; S. Dubnow, *Pinkas ha-Medinah O Va'ad ha-Kehillot ha-Rashiyyot bi-Medinat Lita* (1925), index s.v. *Moser*. IN RUSSIA: Dubnow, Hist Russ, 1 (1916), 337–78; 2 (1918), 84–85; J. Levitats, *Jewish Community in Russia 1772–1844* (1943), index; S. Ginsberg, *Historishe Verk*, 1 (1937), 238–65; 3 (1937), 178–87; Heb. trans. in his: *Ketavim Historiyyim* (1944), 152–78. IN JEWISH LAW: M. Kayserling, in: *Jahrbuch fuer die Geschichte der Juden und des Judentums*, 4 (1869), 263–334; I. Loeb, in: REJ, 13 (1886), 187–216; D. Kaufmann, in: JQR, 8 (1896), 217–38; S. Assaf, *Ha-Onshin, Aḥarei Ḥatimat ha-Talmud* (1922); Finkelstein, Middle Ages; I. Epstein, *The Responsa of Rabbi Solomon ben Adreth of Barcelona*… (1925), 49–52; idem, *The Responsa of Rabbi Simon ben Zemah Duran*… (1930), 46, 65–69; A.M. Hershman, *Rabbi Isaac ben Sheshet Perfet and his Times* (1943), 88–90; G. Horowitz, *The Spirit of Jewish Law* (1953), 228–30, 621–3; I. Szczepanski, in: *Sefer Yovel Federbusch* (1960), 343–51. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (1988), 1:9, 11, 435, 576, 594, 635f, 645,647–49; 2:1256; idem, *Jewish Law* (1994), 1:8,10; 2:531, 710, 734, 787f, 798, 801–3; 3:1502; M. Elon and B. Lifshitz, *Mafte'aḥ*

ha-She'elot ve-ha-Teshuvot shel Ḥakhmei Sefarad u-Ẓefon Afrikah (legal digest) (1986), 1:228–29; B. Lifshitz and E. Shochetman, *Mafte'aḥ ha-She'elot ve-ha-Teshuvot shel Ḥakhmei Ashkenaz, Ẓarefat ve-Italyah* (legal digest) (1997), 166–67; E. Ben Zimra, *"Al ha-Malshinut u-Mesirah be-Ḥayyei ha-Kehillah ha-Yehudit bi-Tekufat ha-Aḥaronim,"* in: *Sefer Aviad,* (1986), 112–42.

INGATHERING OF THE EXILES (Heb. קִבּוּץ גָּלֻיּוֹת *kibbutz galuyyot*). In biblical Hebrew *galut* serves as the abstract "exile," as in the phrase "in the 37th year of Jehoiachin's exile" (*le-galut Yehoyakhin*; Jer. 52:31), or the concrete "exiles," as in the clause "he will release my exiles" (*galuti*; Isa. 45:13). The verb *kibbeẓ* ("gathers") is frequently used of God's ingathering of Israel's dispersion (e.g., Jer. 29:14; Ezek. 11:17; Isa. 56:8; Ps. 106:47); yet the phrase *kibbutz galuyyot* is first found only in rabbinic literature (e.g., Pes. 88a). The belief, however, in the ingathering of the exiled communities is nevertheless repeated time and again, especially in the prophecies of Isaiah (11:12; 27:13; 56:8; 66:20), Jeremiah (16:15; 23:3, 8; 29:14; 31:8; 33:7), and Ezekiel (20:34, 41; 37:21). It is first mentioned in Deuteronomy 30:3–5. After the details of the destruction and exile are described (Deut. 28:63–64; 30:1), the promise is given that "the Lord thy God will turn thy captivity and have compassion upon thee, and will return and gather thee from all the peoples, whither the Lord thy God hath scattered thee. If any of thine that are dispersed be in the uttermost parts of the heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee, and… bring thee into the land which thy fathers possessed."

That, substantially, is the whole doctrine of the Ingathering of the Exiles, although its form varied according to the circumstances. The first part of Isaiah is primarily concerned with the exile of the Northern Kingdom, but in his time there apparently was already a considerable dispersion in Egypt, and he therefore prophesies: "a great *shofar* shall be blown and they shall come that are lost in the land of Assyria and they that are dispersed in the Land of Egypt" (27:13). After Jeremiah prophesies the exile of Judah, he prophesies the return of "the children of Israel from the land of the north and from all the countries whither He had driven them" (16:15, c.f. 23:8), and after the partial exile of Jehoiachin takes place in 597 B.C.E., he repeats "I will turn your captivity and gather you from all the nations and from all the places whither I have driven you… and I will bring you back" (29:14). Ezekiel (20:34 and 41) similarly foretells: "I will bring you out from the peoples and will gather you out of the countries wherein you are scattered," but the 37th chapter already belongs to the period following the complete exile of Judah, and he specifically refers to the Ingathering of the Exiles of the two kingdoms (19–22, 25). Finally the last chapter of Isaiah, reflecting the wide dispersion of the Jews, makes the Ingathering apply to "Tarshish, Pul, Lud, Tubal, and Javan" (66:19).

Talmud

The ingathering of the exiled communities, consisting as it does of the complete return of all the exiles, is regarded as belonging to the messianic age, and the Talmud does not therefore regard the return following the proclamation of Cyrus as the Ingathering of the Exiles. Naḥman b. Ḥisda interprets Isaiah 45:1 as meaning, "God said to His anointed concerning Cyrus," and explains, "the Holy One, blessed be He, said to the Messiah, 'I have a complaint on thy behalf against Cyrus. I said "He shall build my city and gather my exiles" (Isa. 45:13), and he merely said (II Chron. 36:23, Ezra 1:3) "whoever there is among you of all his people, let him go up" (Meg. 12a) and the Talmud states that "the day of the Ingathering of the Exiles is as great as the day on which heaven and earth were created" (Pes. 88a, cf. Rashi to Deut. 30:3, "Great is the day of the Ingathering of the Exiles and it will come about with difficulty as though God Himself will be obliged to grasp each one actually in his hand, each one from his place").

Liturgy

In the above two passages the actual phrase *kibbutz galuyyot* occurs, and it is the official name given to the tenth blessing of the daily *Amidah*. "Why is *kibbutz galuyyot* mentioned after the blessing of the years" – and the messianic aspect is reflected in the passage which follows, "When the Ingathering of the Exiles takes place judgment will be visited on the wicked." Basing itself on Isaiah 27:13 (see above) the formula is: "Sound the great *shofar* for our freedom, and raise the ensign to gather our exiles and gather us from the four corners of the earth" (the Sephardi rite adds "to our land"), and concludes, "Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest the dispersed of Thy people Israel." It is already mentioned in Ben Sira 36:11, "Gather all the tribes of Jacob together," and the theme is repeated both in the prayer for the New Moon and in the *Musaf Amidah* for the festivals.

Apocalyptic Writings

The theme of the Ingathering of the Exiles naturally figures largely in the medieval Jewish apocalyptic literature. The *Pirkei de-R. Eliezer* explains Isaiah 27:3 to the effect that "the right horn is greater than that on the left, and with it the Holy One, blessed be He, is destined to sound in the future for the Ingathering of the Exiles" (chap. 3-end). The *Sefer Eliyahu* gives the details that on the 22nd of Tishri will take place the first Ingathering of the Exiles, from Babylon, on the 25th the second, from beyond the River *Sambatyon, and on the 25th of the eighth month the third Ingathering, from the other lands (cf. Ibn-Shmuel, *Midreshei Ge'ullah* (1954²), 43; *Perek Eliyahu, ibid.*, 52). In his *Hope of Israel*, *Manasseh Ben Israel interpreted Deuteronomy 30:4, "If any of thine that are dispersed be in the uttermost parts of heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee," to mean that the literal dispersion of the Jews in every part of the world was the essential preliminary to the Ingathering of the Exiles, and he took advantage of the messianic speculations then rife in England to urge that the readmission of the Jews to England would bring about this preliminary (reproduced in L. Wolf, *Menasseh Ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell* (1901), especially sect. 25, p. 32f.).

Modern

In modern times, since the establishment of the State of Israel, the conception of the Ingathering of the Exiles has been divested of its messianic character and has been applied to the phenomenon of the immigration of over one million Jews from over 100 countries to the State of Israel. *Kibbutz galuyyot* is regarded as the first stage, to be followed by *mizzug galuyyot*, the Merging of the Exiles.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

INGOLSTADT, city in Bavaria, Germany. Jews probably went to Ingolstadt when they were expelled from *Munich (1285) and Eichstaett (1298), but they were first mentioned there in 1312, when they were given permission to collect their debts. In 1322 the community, comprising 30 persons, maintained a synagogue and came under the jurisdiction of *Regensburg, making use of the cemetery there. It suffered during the *Black Death persecutions (1349) and was impoverished by the abolition of debts to Jews. Four families were accorded the right of domicile in 1358. In 1373 the Jews were allowed to attend Ingolstadt's fairs but they were forced to flee to *Nuremberg after the anti-Jewish riots of 1384; the synagogue was converted into a church. In 1450, after complaints about usury, those who had returned earlier were arrested and ordered to leave, along with the rest of Bavarian Jewry. Four hundred years later, Jews still required entrance permits, valid for one day only. After emancipation (1851, 1867), the number of Jews increased from 60 in 1880 to 90 in 1900. A synagogue was built in 1872, and a cemetery consecrated in 1891, but the population drifted to larger towns and by January 1939 no Jews remained. The synagogue was renovated in 1947; in 1968 there were 17 Jews living in Ingolstadt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Friedmann, *Geschichte der Juden in Ingolstadt, 1300–1900* (1900); Germ Jud, 2 (1968), 375–76; FJW, 263; S. Solfeld (ed.), *Martyrologium des Nuernberger Memorbuches* (1898), 251, 274; Yad Vashem, PK (Bavaria).

INGWILLER, town in the Bas-Rhin department, E. France. Jewish settlement began in 1604, but by the end of the 17th century there were still only six families in the town. At the end of the 18th century, however, about 50 Jewish families lived in Ingwiller, and from 1776 they owned a synagogue. Nearly half of them were engaged in the livestock trade. During the middle of the 19th century the community reached its peak, with about 550 members, and began to erect a new synagogue. A primary school was opened in 1836 and a cemetery acquired soon after. From then on the community declined as a result of migration to larger towns and overseas. Under the German occupation of World War II, 12 Jews were deported from Ingwiller. In 1969 the community consisted of fewer than 100 persons.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Guggenbuehl, *Ingwiller* (Ger., 1951), 121–5, 210; Z. Szajkowski, *Analytical Franco-Jewish Gazetteer* (1966), 249.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

INKELES, ALEX (1920–), U.S. sociologist. A native of New York, Inkeles received his B.A. in 1941 and an M.A. in 1946 from Cornell University. He received his Ph.D. in 1949 from Columbia University. He was appointed professor of sociology at Harvard University in 1957. He served as director of Studies in Social Relations at the Russian Research Center at Harvard from 1956 to 1961, when he became director of Studies on Social Aspects of Economic Development at the Center of International Affairs at Harvard. Previously, he served as Russian research analyst in the Office of Strategic Services and the International Broadcasting Division of the U.S. Department of State. Inkeles' chief interest was the comparative study of social structures and, especially, the sociology of the Soviet Union.

Among his many postings and international lectureships, Inkeles was a Fulbright scholar in Greece (1977) and Chile (1985) and held a Guggenheim fellowship for study in Israel and the United Kingdom (1977–78). An expert on political behavior, modernization, social psychology, and national character, Inkeles was a consultant on issues related to national development in such countries as China, Bulgaria, and Poland. He was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1962), the American Philosophical Society (1972), and the National Academy of Sciences (1981).

Inkeles later became professor emeritus of sociology at Stanford University and a senior fellow at the university's Hoover Institute. Later research focused on the social structure of an emerging worldwide society and cross-national comparative studies.

Inkeles co-authored (with D.J. Levinson) "National Character" (in: *Handbook of Social Psychology* ed. by G. Lindzey, vol. 2 (1959), 977–1020) and *How the Soviet System Works* (1956). His first book, *Public Opinion in Soviet Russia: A Study in Mass Persuasion* (1950), received the Kappa Tau Alpha Award for the best book on mass communication and journalism. Among his other works are *The Soviet Citizen* (1959); *Prospects for Change in the Soviet Union* (1959); *Russia and the U.S.A.: Problem in Comparative Sociology* (1963); *What Is Sociology* (1964); *Becoming Modern* (1974); *Exploring Individual Modernity* (1983); *National Character* (1997); and *One World Emerging?* (1998).

[Werner J. Cahnman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

INLANDER, HENRY (**Heinz**; 1925–1983), painter. Inlander was born in Vienna, but lived in Trieste from 1935 to 1938, coming to England that year. He was naturalized in 1947. In the early 1950s he was art adviser to the British School in Rome, living partly in Italy and in England. Inlander was basically a painter of landscape, in which he combined a rich sensuous color with Expressionist elements, revealing his origins. He occasionally painted figure studies, notably his contribution *Moses and the Burning Bush* to the exhibition "The Religious Theme" held at the Tate Gallery in 1958. Critical opinion of his work declined after the 1960s, but he gained renewed recognition after his death.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

°**INNOCENT**, name of 13 popes.

INNOCENT II (Gregorio Papareschi), pope 1130–43. His was an uncanonical election because the majority of the cardinals voted for *Anacletus II (Pietro Pierleoni). The Jews of Rome supported Anacletus, whose opponents objected to his Jewish origin. However, Innocent and his party were in no way responsible for promoting an anti-Jewish movement. Although Innocent did not renew the *bull *Sicut Judaeis*, neither did he encroach on the rights of the Jews in any respect.

INNOCENT III (Lothar of Segni; b. 1160 or 1161), pope 1198–1216. The goal of Innocent III was to make the Church, or rather the papacy, the sole power in the world. He was successful to a large degree in matters concerning the Jews – the changes he inaugurated on their account regulated the conditions of their lives in Christian countries throughout many succeeding centuries. His accession brought about a change in the papal attitude toward the Jews, and it must have been slender consolation to them that his attitude toward Christian heretics, especially the *Albigenses in Southern France, was as cruel, if not more so. It was to encourage men to join the Crusade against these heretics that he canceled the interest on the crusaders' debts to the Jews in 1198, 1199, 1200, 1209, and 1213. Although he renewed the bull *Sicut Judaeis*, he introduced his renewal by saying that because the Jews served to prove (through the Bible) the truth of the Catholic faith they were not to be "too severely" oppressed by the Christian faithful (1199). However, it was not until the end of his reign (1215 or 1216) that the pope deemed an oppression "severe" enough to intervene – this was a persecution initiated by the crusaders and Innocent ordered the archbishops and bishops of France to step in to protect the Jews.

On at least two occasions he ordered that material help be given to various Jewish converts (1199). Of particularly serious import was his letter to the archbishop of Arles (1201) on the topic of forced baptism; only a decided and resolute denial rendered this invalid. Although Innocent did not explicitly mention the Jews on this occasion, his decision obviously referred to them, as shown by his reference to the similar decision of the Fourth Council of Toledo in respect of the forced baptisms of Jews perpetrated by Sisebut (and see *Church Councils). From 1205 Innocent intervened in various countries – France, Castile, Aragon – to denounce what he termed "Jewish abuses." He complained to Philip *Augustus that the Jews were charging an excessive rate of interest; that they had built a synagogue in Sens which was taller than the neighboring church; that they appeared in public on Good Friday and jeered at Christians; and that they were receivers of stolen goods and murderers of Christians. In addition Innocent protested that Christian servants lived in the homes of their Jewish masters. The pope complained to Alfonso VIII of Castile that the Jews fixed the price of redemption of their slaves when they converted instead of contenting themselves with the price fixed by canon law, and that not only did they avoid paying church tithes on their landed property but were always acquiring new property. Through the intermediary of the archbishop of Sens and the bishop of Paris he interposed with the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, and the countess of Champagne against the employment of Christian wet nurses and servants by the Jews. When in 1207 he listed the sins committed by Raymond VI, count of Toulouse, he also accused him of having entrusted official duties to the Jews.

All this culminated in a series of four anti-Jewish canons promulgated at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), instigated by Innocent or at the very least due to his decisive cooperation. They are familiar, in that they repeat all the objections voiced in Innocent's letters: against an excessive interest-rate; compulsory payment of church tithes; prohibition against appearing in public in Holy Week; banishment from public office; and pursuit of lapsed converts. Finally they added a regulation expressing, in the clearest fashion possible, the social degradation, indeed exclusion, of the Jews – the distinctive Jewish article of clothing or *badge.

INNOCENT IV (Sinibaldo Fieschi), pope 1243–54. Soon after his accession, in 1244, Innocent IV wrote to the king of France to warn him of a number of Jewish "abuses" – they were continuing to study the Talmud and employing Christian wet nurses – and to decree the burning of the Talmud and other forbidden Jewish books. In this he was simply completing the policy of his predecessor, *Gregory IX. In fact in 1247 he was swayed by the pleas of the Jews that they could neither study nor teach the Bible without the help of the Talmud. However, through his violent opposition to any kind of compromise *Odo de Châteauroux secured Innocent's confirmed condemnation of the Talmud in 1248. The pope was also eager to facilitate the conversion of the Jews and in 1245 congratulated the king of Aragon for having ordained that converts might keep their fortunes and would be protected against their former coreligionists – who considered them as "renegades" – and for having compelled the Jews to attend missionary sermons. To this end he intervened several times on behalf of converted Jews (1250), on one occasion to guarantee their exemption from taxes and on another to grant them aid. Reminding them of the necessity of enforcing the Fourth Lateran Council canon on the Jewish badge or distinctive clothing, he addressed himself to the archbishop of Besañçon in 1245, the bishop of Maguelonne in 1248, the bishop of Cordoba in 1250, and the bishop of Constance in 1254. Although Innocent was rather tardy in confirming the bull of protection *Sicut Judaeis* in 1246 – for the popes usually promulgated it soon after their accession – he renewed it on many successive occasions, notably in 1249 when he added a condemnation of the *blood libel. In 1246 he congratulated the king of Navarre for having protected the Jews against their persecutors, and a year later recriminated against the archbishop of *Vienne for the bloody persecutions, plundering, expulsions, and forced baptism of children of the Jews in his province after a blood libel in *Valr*é*as. In that same year Innocent warned the archbishops and bishops of France and Germany against perpetrations of the blood libel. However, in 1253, soon after confirming the measures for protecting the Jews adopted at

Wuerzburg, he allowed the archbishop of Vienne to expel the Jews. On the other hand Innocent himself came to the aid of the Jews in recovering the debts owed to them in Champagne in 1247, although at the same time maintaining the exemption from paying interest and the moratorium on debts granted to the crusaders (1248, 1252, 1253).

INNOCENT VIII (Giovanni Battista Cibo; b. 1432), pope 1484–92. Innocent introduced a minor change in the arrangements of the ceremonies for the papal reception in Rome; the Jews were no longer to wait on the pope at Montegiordano, where they were exposed to the insults of the crowd, but to greet him within the first enclosure of the castle of Sant' Angelo. However, Innocent's papacy acquired an unhappy significance in Jewish history when in July 1487 he appointed two cardinals to head the *Inquisition against the Jews in Spain. In Rome he also harassed the Marranos, imprisoning eight of them on July 18, 1487. Among the physicians who attended Innocent on his deathbed was a Jew who tried, unsuccessfully, to give a blood transfusion to the dying man.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: INNOCENT II: Vogelstein-Rieger, 1 (1895), 221ff.; E. Amann, in: *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, 7 pt. 2 (1930), 1950ff. INNOCENT III: Vogelstein-Rieger, 1 (1895), 228ff.; H. Tillmann, *Papst Innocenz III* (1954), 163f.; S. Grayzel, *Church and Jews…* (1966[2]), 248ff. and passim. INNOCENT VII: Vogelstein-Rieger, 1 (1895), 237ff.; E. Amann, in: *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, 7 pt. 2 (1930), 1981ff.; S. Grayzel, *Church and the Jews…* (1966[2]), 248ff. and passim. INNOCENT VIII: Vogelstein-Rieger, 1 (1895), 20ff.; E. Rodocanachi, *Histoire de Rome…* (1925), 86, 125; L. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 5 (1950[5]), 227–372; J.R. Marcus, *Jew in the Medieval World* (1960[2]), 137–41.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

INNSBRUCK, capital of the Tyrol, W. Austria. In the 13th century a Jew is mentioned as mintmaster to the duke of Tyrol. Subsequently, Jewish traders and moneylenders came to Innsbruck from Italy and Carinthia. In the first half of the 14th century the Jews left the city but returned soon after to replace bankrupt Florentine bankers. In 1342 the Jew Salmen of Innsbruck was granted protection by the duke. During the *Black Death persecutions (1348) the Jews of Innsbruck suffered but the community was not destroyed. In the 16th century Jews are often mentioned in Innsbruck as bankers and as agents of foreign trading houses. Despite the imperial edict expelling all Jews from the Tyrol in 1520, Jews remained in Innsbruck during this period. More settled in the city during the tolerant reign of Duke Ferdinand II of the Tyrol (1618–23), serving in the government and even gaining positions at court, in spite of recurrent protests by the municipality and guilds. A Jew was employed at court as flute player and dancing master. Religious services were held in a private house. After the death of Ferdinand II, a ban was imposed on any Jewish newcomers settling in the city, and in 1674 the burghers achieved the long-sought expulsion of the Jews; only two families were permitted to remain. Nevertheless, some families expelled from *Hohenems were allowed to settle in Innsbruck in 1676. More Jews arrived at the turn of the 18th century. In 1714 the city council asked the provincial governor's permission to expel Jews hitherto protected by the court because they endangered "the Christian character of the city." The expulsion order exempted two brothers who had donated a substantial sum to the city hospital.

When *Maria Theresa confirmed Innsbruck as a "Jew-free city" (1748), only two "tolerated" families remained there and only eight in the whole of the Tyrol. By 1785 four or five Jewish families lived in the city. In the wake of the Tyrolean revolt against Bavarian-French rule led by Andreas *Hofer (1809), looting and other anti-Jewish acts occurred. After the Congress of Vienna (1815) the few additional rights which had been granted to the Jews by the Bavarians were restricted once more. No more Jews were allowed to settle permanently in the city and they could stay overnight only with police permission. Nevertheless, Jews from Hohenems managed to establish factories in Innsbruck during the 1840s. After the constitution of 1867 (see *Austria) granted the Jews equal rights, Jewish families from all Hapsburg countries settled in Innsbruck. However, the total number of Jews always remained small – 27 Jews (0.4% of the total population) in 1869. The city authorities put obstacles before Jewish newcomers and the established Jewish settlers themselves did not favor an influx of "Eastern Jews," fearing antisemitic reaction. In addition, since synagogue services were Reform and other facilities needed to meet Orthodox requirements were absent, Orthodox Jews preferred not to come to Innsbruck.

From 1890 the Jews in Innsbruck officially belonged to the community and rabbinate of Hohenems, a branch of which was authorized in Innsbruck for the whole of the Tyrol in 1898. A separate community was instituted in 1914, becoming the seat of the rabbinate for the Tyrol and Vorarlberg. The last rabbi of Hohenems, Dr. Link, became the first rabbi of Innsbruck. After World War I, Innsbruck developed into a center of pan-German nationalistic movements and National-Socialism gained a strong hold there at an early date, side by side with latent religious antisemitism. In the 1920s the community numbered about 200 members; in 1934, when there were 317 Jews (0.5%) in the city, ritual slaughter of animals was forbidden. The younger generation was attracted to Zionism, a movement strongly opposed by the assimilationist majority. In the 1930s Zionist representatives were elected to the community board. Dr. Elimelech Rimalt (d. 1988; who was to be a Gaḥal politician in Israel and minister of posts there, 1969–70) was rabbi of Innsbruck until 1938.

After the Nazi rise to power in Germany had increased antisemitism in the city, a silent boycott of Jewish firms began. The first steps of the Nazis in Innsbruck after the annexation of Austria (1938) were "Aryanization" of all Jewish firms, confiscation of the community archives, and seizure of the passports of all Jews. The institutions of the community were able to continue their activities for a time but in the fall of 1938 the community was ordered to disband and the rabbinate was dissolved. The Jews prepared for emigration. On *Kristallnacht (Nov. 10, 1938) the houses of all Jews still living in Innsbruck

were raided and demolished, and the synagogue and the cemetery desecrated; 18 Jews were attacked and arrested and three community leaders brutally murdered. Subsequently nearly all Jews left Innsbruck, some of them settling in Ereẓ Israel.

After World War II a new community – the smallest in Austria, with 100 members – was established, and a synagogue dedicated in 1961. The community was headed by Oscar von Lubomirski, a converted Polish nobleman. In 1969, the community numbered around 50 members, in 2005 around 70. A new synagogue was consecrated in 1993 on the site of the old one.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Rimalt, in: J. Fraenkel (ed.), *The Jews of Austria* (1967), 375–84; J.E. Scherer, *Die Rechtsverhaeltnisse der Juden in den deutsch-oesterreichischen Laendern*, 1 (1901), 618–40; A. Taenzer, *Geschichte der Juden in Tirol und Vorarlberg* (1905), 31, 46, 177; Strakosch-Grassmann, in: *Juedisches Archiv*, 2 (1924), nos. 5–7, 45–49; PK Germanyah.

[Elimelech Rimalt]

INOWROCLAW (Ger. **Hohensalza**), city in Bydgoszcz province, central Poland. The first documents concerning Jews there date from 1447. By the end of the 16th century there was an organized community headed by a rabbi. Nearly all the Jewish inhabitants were killed when the town was besieged by the army of Stephan *Czarniecki in 1656. In 1681 King *John Sobieski renewed the charter of privileges granted to the community in 1600 which had been lost during the siege; although refused recognition by the municipality, these rights were enforced by the royal authorities. The Inowroclaw community was administered by three elders elected every three years by ballot, cast in the presence of the rabbi and the mayor, each elder holding office for one year. There were 980 Jews living in Inowroclaw and the vicinity in 1765. The right to be tried in Jewish law courts was abrogated after the accession of the territory by Prussia in 1774. In the following year the 145 houses belonging to Jews were destroyed by a fire, and the deteriorating economic situation compelled many Jews to leave. The position improved at the beginning of the 19th century. The Jewish population of Inowroclaw numbered 604 in 1799, 1,265 in 1815, and 1,158 in 1905. With the incorporation of the area in Poland after World War I conditions deteriorated again and by 1939 the community was reduced to 172.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust Period

During World War II Inowroclaw served under the name Hohensalza as the capital of one of the three *Regierungsbezirke* (districts) in Warthegau. (Before the outbreak of the war, Inowroclaw had 172 Jews. Many of them fled before and just after the Nazi forces entered.) Wilhelm Koppe, the *Hoehere SS- und Polizeifuehrer* of Warthegau, on Nov. 12, 1939, ordered that the town be made *judenrein* by the end of February 1940. On Nov. 14, 1939, a transport of Jews, probably including all the remaining Jewish population of Inowroclaw, was taken to *Gniezno and Kruszwica. By the end of 1939 the Jewish community in Inowroclaw had ceased to exist. The community was not reconstituted after World War II.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Dabrowska, in: BZIH, no. 13–14 (1955), 122–84, passim.

INQUISITION, special permanent tribunal of the medieval Catholic Church, established to investigate and combat heresy.

The Early Institution

Although the Inquisition was established by Pope *Gregory IX, it owed its name to the procedure instituted by Pope *Innocent III (1198–1216) for searching out persons accused of heresy. Gregory himself created permanent judges delegate (*inquisitores dati ab ecclesia*) in 1233, entrusting the mission of judging heretics to the *Dominicans, who divided their duties with the *Franciscans on a geographical basis. Life imprisonment was prescribed for the repentant and capital punishment for the obdurate, after they were handed over to the secular authorities. The practice of burning heretics at the stake (see *Auto-da-fé) was introduced in the last years of the 12th century. By 1255 the Inquisition was fully active in Central and Western Europe, but was never established in England and Scandinavia. Portugal was not included in the system until 1532. The use of torture for the detection of heresy was authorized in 1252 by Innocent IV (1243–54), and confirmed by Urban IV (1261–64). Property of those sentenced to life imprisonment or to death was handed over to the secular arm, but often the Church sought to derive some profit from the confiscated valuables.

Initially, the Inquisition dealt with Christian heretics, like the *Albigenses, against whom a full-scale Crusade was organized in 1209. According to Canon Law, the Inquisition was not authorized to interfere in the internal affairs of the Jews, but this rule was abolished on the ground that the presence of Jews caused heresy to develop in the Christian milieu. The dispute which raged around Maimonides' books (1232) provided the Inquisition with a convenient opportunity to interfere in Jewish affairs (see *Maimonidean controversy). In June 1242, following the Paris Disputation of 1240, an inquisitorial committee condemned the Talmud in Paris, principally for blasphemy against Jesus and Christianity and for immoral and anthropomorphic passages contained in it, and thousands of volumes of it were subsequently burned in public (see Burning of *Talmud). The first mass burning of Jews on the stake took place in France in 1288, following a *blood libel at *Troyes. Nevertheless, persecution of the Jews by the Inquisition in France and Provence remained confined to a few cases, never reaching the proportions it later assumed in the Iberian Peninsula, with the National Inquisition.

The papal Inquisition turned its attention to the Jews after the elimination of the Cathars or Albigensis. It prosecuted and persecuted converts from Judaism who were suspected of Judaizing. It operated intensively in Provence and

pursued many of the Provençal Jews who had been baptized and decided to move to Catalonia, to be away from its close supervision.

The Spanish Inquisition until 1492

The Inquisition in the Crowns of Castile and Aragon was established to combat heresy among the New Christians, a group comprising Jews who converted under duress during the 1391 Massacres and others who did so during the Tortosa Disputation in 1412–13 and during the subsequent eras of mounting pressure on the Jews in both Crowns. The initiative for the establishment of the Inquisition in both Castile and Aragon was that of their two monarchs, Isabella and Ferdinand, who ruled both Crowns jointly. It was in September 1480 that orders were issued for the creation of special tribunals. Soon afterwards, these tribunals began to function. The National Inquisition by far surpassed the papal Inquisition of the Middle Ages both in the scale and intensity of its activities. Its impact on Jewish history was incomparably greater, for its principal objective was the persecution of those inclined toward Judaism. Of the many scholars who have studied the nature of the Spanish Inquisition, some have emphasized its ecclesiastical character, while others have been inclined to regard it as a distinctly political institution. This Inquisition was in fact established as a Church institution deriving its authority from the pope, but it was destined to solve a specifically Spanish religious-social problem and thus evolved into a political institution, although retaining its purely religious aspect. The persecutions of 1391 and of 1412–14 created a new religious and social problem in the Crowns of Castile and Aragon, that of the **anusim* or Conversos. Having abandoned the Jewish faith under duress, these *New Christians continued to maintain close relations with their former brethren and occasionally seized the opportunity to emigrate in order to return to Judaism. All attempts made by the authorities to separate the Conversos from Judaism – by legislation, by the separation of their dwellings from the Jewish quarters, or through education – were fruitless. From the second half of the 15th century, a public discussion took place on the question of the Conversos and various methods and projects were advanced for the solution of the problem. There were in fact some distinguished personalities who defended the Conversos and their right to become integrated within Spanish society as Christians with equal rights: the most outstanding of these was Alfonso de Cartagena (1384–1456), son of the apostate *Pablo de Santa María, in his work *Defensorium unitatis Christianae* (ed. by M. Alonso, 1943). Prominent among those who adopted a firm attitude against the Conversos was the Franciscan monk *Alfonso de Espina (second half of the 15th century). In his work *Fortalitium Fidei* (Nuremberg, 1485–98), he proposed a detailed plan for heresy-hunting among the Conversos, a scheme which might well be regarded as the harbinger of the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition. This debate was accompanied by violent outbursts against Conversos, the most important being the attempt by Pedro *Sarmiento in Toledo in 1449 to institute Inquisition court-proceedings against Conversos who had risen to important functions within Christian society.

The ascent of *Ferdinand and Isabella to the throne of Castile in 1474 provided a favorable opportunity for those Church extremists who advocated a radical solution. The Catholic monarchs required some faithful supporters for the consolidation of their rule, and these emerged from among the churchmen and the townspeople. In exchange for their support, Ferdinand and Isabella introduced a series of restrictive measures against both Conversos and Jews. However, there is no reason to doubt that the appeal of Ferdinand and Isabella to Pope Sixtus IV in 1477, requesting him to authorize them to establish the Inquisition, was motivated by the religious fervor which was characteristic of their policy from the start. They were equally interested in solving a serious social problem and ensure the full integration of the Conversos within Christian society. In his reply given on Nov. 1, 1478, the pope authorized them to appoint inquisitors in every part of Castile.

Two Dominican monks, Miguel de Morillo and Juan de San Martín, were appointed to head the Inquisition on Sept. 27, 1480, and on Jan. 1, 1481, they began their activities, choosing to start in *Seville because the region of Andalusia was considered an important center of Judaizers. The inquisitors demanded that the noblemen deliver into their hands all Judaizers who had fled and been taken under their protection. A large number of Conversos were arrested, including many wealthy and notable personalities of Seville. The records of the tribunal have not been preserved in this case, but from the evidence of the chronicler Andrés Bernáldez it appears that during the years 1481–88 over 700 Conversos were burned at the stake and more than 5,000 were brought back to the Church by means of various penalties. In Aragon, the papal Inquisition which had been founded in 1237/8 under the influence of *Raymond de Peñaforte operated against the Conversos of Valencia during the 1460s. The results of its activities appeared unsatisfactory to the king, however, and as early as 1484 he appointed new investigators to take up their duties there.

Moved by the complaints of many Conversos against the methods of the Seville Inquisition, Pope Sixtus IV at first (January 1482) opposed the extension of the tribunal to the Crown of Aragon, but was unable to hold out against Ferdinand's displeasure and, in October 1483, agreed to extend the rights of the Inquisition in Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia. During that year, the Jews were expelled from Andalusia and Tomás de *Torquemada, head of the Dominican monastery of Santa Cruz in Segovia, was appointed inquisitor-general of the Spanish kingdom. The measures he introduced determined the character of the institution from the start and left their imprint on its activities during the whole of its existence. It was he who decided on the composition of every Inquisition tribunal and abolished all the orders which had previously been issued by the pope in favor of the Conversos.

In 1483, an Inquisition tribunal, which continued until 1485, was set up in *Ciudad Real. Torquemada intended this tribunal as an experiment in anticipation of the establishment

of a tribunal in *Toledo, to prepare the public and test their reactions. During this period at least 100 Conversos were condemned, 52 to the stake, about 15 in effigy, and the remains of others were exhumed and burned. An Inquisition tribunal was also established in *Guadalupe in 1485, and during one year 52 Conversos were burned at the stake and the bodies of 48 condemned after death were exhumed and burned, as were the effigies of 25 Conversos who had fled.

In 1485, the tribunal of Ciudad Real was transferred to Toledo, where, according to tradition, the Conversos had intended to assassinate the Inquisition officers during the Corpus Christi procession, but the plot was discovered and its initiators hanged. The "period of grace" of 40 days, during which the Conversos were called upon to confess their sins, was extended by a further 90 days. The authorities compelled the communal leaders of the Jews to proclaim in the synagogues that any Jew knowing of Conversos who adhered to Judaism, who did not bring this to the cognizance of the Inquisition, would be laid under the **ḥerem*. The tribunal of Toledo, which had jurisdiction over 88 towns and villages, brought many Conversos to trial during its early years, but by 1492 the number of trials gradually decreased, the Inquisition then being busy with preparations for the expulsion. In 1486, 20 autos-de-fé were held in Toledo and 3,327 persons sentenced; in 1488, there were three autos-de-fé in which 40 Conversos were burned at the stake and over 100 bodies exhumed and burned; in 1490, there were two autos-de-fé in which 422 Conversos were burned at the stake and 11 sentenced to life imprisonment; and in 1492, five Conversos were burned at the stake and a few others sentenced to imprisonment.

Torquemada's appointment of two inquisitors in *Saragossa in 1484 aroused the anger of the notables of Aragon, who regarded this as an attack on the freedom of their kingdom whose laws prohibited the appointment of officials of foreign origin. After the Inquisition had begun to function there at full strength, a special delegation representing the various estates of Aragon appealed to the king to repeal the decree, but to no avail. In spite of this, the opposition did not subside. When Juan de Çolivera, the newly appointed inquisitor of Aragon, attempted to establish his tribunal in *Teruel, its leaders closed the gates of the town to him and he was compelled to settle in the village of Cella. During his stay there, he conducted the interrogations of the tribunal with unprecedented cruelty, and between 1484 and 1486 over 30 people were condemned to death, while only seven Conversos were accepted as penitents – all without a "period of grace" being proclaimed before the interrogations.

In Saragossa, the Conversos endeavored to obstruct the progress of the Inquisition; their diplomatic efforts failing, they organized a plot which resulted in the assassination of the inquisitor Pedro de *Arbués in 1485. The resultant investigation revealed that among the leading instigators of the plot were several of the most prominent New Christians who were also favorites at court, including members of the *Sánchez, *Santangel, and *Cavallería families. In Saragossa, the number of Conversos who were accepted as penitents was also small in comparison with those who were burned at the stake. Until 1492, about 600 Conversos were sentenced there.

The establishment of the Inquisition tribunal in *Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia, also met with the opposition of the city's leaders. Becoming aware of Torquemada's projected tribunal, large numbers of Conversos fled, severely affecting the economy of the town in consequence. Once more the complaints were of no avail and in February 1486, Pope Innocent VIII appointed Torquemada as inquisitor of Barcelona and canceled the appointments of the medieval inquisitors who had functioned until then. In 1487, Torquemada appointed Juan Franco and Miguel Cassells as inquisitors in Barcelona and they began their activities in the town in July of the same year. Additional tribunals were also established prior to the expulsion in *Lérida and *Huesca. In the latter town, many Conversos, including *Juan de Ciudad, who had taken refuge there during the middle of the 15th century, undergone circumcision, and returned to Judaism, were brought to trial. A number of Jews were also executed; these included Isaac *Bivach (Bibago), who was accused of having circumcised Conversos. Among the prominent trials held by the Inquisition prior to the expulsion was that of the Holy Child of La *Guardia in 1490, in which Jews were also involved.

The trials of the Conversos during the first 12 years of the Spanish Inquisition demonstrated that the extremist churchmen had been true judges of the nature of the New Christians, as trial after trial revealed the loyalty of the Conversos to Judaism and their close ties with the Jewish communities of Spain. There is no doubt that the results of the investigations of the Inquisition, which brought to light some 13,000 Conversos who had remained faithful to Judaism, were factors prompting the Catholic monarchs, who sought to create a national unity in Spain based on religious and ethnic foundations, to order the expulsion of the Jews from the kingdom in 1492. By expelling the Jews, they hoped to eliminate that element which was responsible for the Judaizing inclinations of the Conversos and thus weaken their attachment to Judaism and bring them back to the Christian faith.

Scholars' Approaches to the Inquisition

Scholars differ on several issues related to the Inquisition. Some scholars maintain that the Inquisition was the product of decades of efforts and campaigns that were supported by a large part of the Old Christian population in the Crowns of Castile and Aragon and designed to destroy the position enjoyed by the New Christians. These scholars, headed by Benzion Netanyahu, claim that it was not the religious behavior of the New Christians that caused the creation of the Inquisition but the intention of the political and religious elite of the Old Christians to eliminate the Conversos from any position of political, economic, and social power. The Inquisition camouflaged its real intention behind religious motives. The Conversos, according to these scholars, were mostly Christians who were determined to integrate within Christian society.

The Inquisition prevented them from doing so. The Inquisition was also responsible for the reevaluation of many New Christians' attitude to Christianity and Judaism. The flight of some of the New Christians mainly to Muslim lands to return to Judaism and join existing communities or establish communities of their own was the result of the anti-Converso policy pursued by the Inquisition. Those who returned to Judaism, were accepted as proselytes. According to these scholars, the Inquisition leveled false accusations against the New Christians, accusing them of Jewish practices.

Other scholars, led by Beinart, claim that the bulk of the Conversos were forcible converts who wanted to retain their Jewish identity. They had no choice but to practice Judaism in secret and transmit whatever they could of their own Jewish practices and beliefs to their descendants. They were crypto-Jews. The Inquisition was established to eradicate any trace of Judaism in the Converso-society and was generally right in its suspicions and accusations. The numerous files of the Inquisition are trustworthy, and despite its cruel torture and terrorizing methods, the Inquisition was fundamentally right in its policy of prosecution against many of the Conversos. It was prosecuting Christians accused of heretical behavior.

Whatever the true reasons for the establishment of the Inquisition were, it cannot be denied that social, economic, racial, and political reasons nourished the trials of the Inquisition and the anti-Converso attitude that existed in Christian society. According to many Old and New Christian sources the hatred of the Conversos was due to the envy their economic and social achievements aroused in society in general. Many of them were able to translate their economic and social strength into political power which added to the antagonism they aroused among many Old Christians.

The racial antagonism that existed in Old Christian circles and among Inquisitors puzzled some scholars. A sentence by Menéndez Pelayo in one of his letters that the Old Christians might have adopted their racial hatred from the Jews found fertile grounds among certain Spanish historians and thinkers. Américo Castro, who noted the very strong racial prejudice among Spanish people which appeared following the mass conversions of Jews suggested that the Jews were the real source of this hatred. The Jews were responsible, according to Castro, for the appearance of the theory of the *Limpieza de sangre* (Purity of Blood). Castro and Sánches Albornoz have claimed that the Inquisition tribunal and its terrible and horrible methods were of Jewish origin. The latter claimed that "The Inquisition was without any doubt a Hispano-Jewish satanical invention." Baer has shown how mistaken their understanding of the Jewish judicial system was (Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain* (1966) vol. 2, 444–56).

From 1492

PORTUGAL. The history of the Inquisition in the Iberian Peninsula entered into a new phase with the events which took place in Portugal in 1497. When King Manuel I was required to expel the Jews from his kingdom before he could marry the Catholic monarchs' daughter, he issued an edict of Expulsion in 1496. The so-called expulsion of the Jews from that country is in most respects a misnomer. King Manuel I, desiring to secure the extirpation of Judaism without the loss of the industry and resources of his Jewish subjects, had them all seized and baptized by force, without allowing them the alternative of leaving the realm. Almost immediately afterward, however, in order to give them time to adjust themselves to their new faith, it was ordered (May 30, 1497) that for 20 years they should be exempt from all persecution on account of religious delinquencies, this period being subsequently extended to 1534. Thus crypto-Judaism in Portugal had the opportunity of accommodating itself to the new conditions and acquiring a far greater tenacity than was the case in Spain.

At the same time, Manuel had given an undertaking that all proceedings against the recent converts should be within the exclusive cognizance of the ordinary secular tribunals. This promise, however, was speedily neglected. As early as 1512, an application was made to Pope Leo X to extend the Inquisition to Portugal. For the moment, the matter was allowed to lapse without any further steps being taken. Manuel's successor, John III, however, was weak and amenable to ecclesiastical influence. Accordingly, in 1531, Dr. Bras Neto, ambassador at Rome, was instructed to take secret steps to procure from Clement VII the necessary authorization for introducing into his country the Inquisition on the Spanish model. After many delays, the Franciscan Diogo da Silva was asked to accept the appointment of first inquisitor general (Jan. 13, 1532). All these negotiations had been carried on in the strictest confidence, but the news leaked out; before the new inquisitor could assume office, the Portuguese New Christians took energetic steps, backed by all of their vast influence and wealth. They dispatched to Rome as their emissary a certain Converso, Duarte da Paz, who was authorized not to stint in his expenditure. They won over to their side Marco della Rovere, bishop of Sinigaglia, who had been dispatched to Lisbon as papal nuncio, and the conduct of the new inquisitor himself gave rise to suspicions that he too had been bought over by them. Meanwhile, at Rome, Da Paz had succeeded in procuring from Pope Clement, whose good feeling toward the Jews was well-known, a brief suspending the action of the previous December and prohibiting all inquisitional action against the New Christians. On April 5, 1533, he followed this up by a bull which became famous as the *Bulla de perdão*, being virtually a pardon for all past offenses. To this was added an authorization whereby all persons accused of heresy might justify themselves before the inquisitor general, who reaped a handsome harvest. This mitigatory measure was finally re-enforced by the pope on his deathbed, on July 26, 1534. The struggle was renewed under Paul III who referred the matter to a commission. When Emperor Charles V arrived in Rome, fresh from his triumph at Tunis, he threw his weight on the prosecutory side. The result was seen in the papal bull of May 23, 1536, which formally constituted in Portugal an Inquisition on the Spanish model, though for three years the forms of secular

law were to be observed, and confiscations were to be forbidden for ten. Diogo da Silva was confirmed in his position as first inquisitor general.

This drastic measure caused the New Christians to redouble their efforts. The new nuncio to Portugal, Girolamo Recanati Capodiferro, was given the authority (which he used with highly remunerative results) to hear appeals, and was even authorized to suspend the action of the Inquisition itself. On the other hand, the king endeavored to strengthen the authority of the new tribunal by appointing his brother, Dom Henrique, as inquisitor general in Da Silva's place. Intrigues were in process at Rome, however, and the pope was persuaded to issue a bull *Pastoris aeterni* on Oct. 12, 1539, which limited the power of the Inquisition still further, guaranteeing the right of appeal to Rome, where (for a consideration) justice, or absolution, could always be obtained. Owing to a quarrel between Capodiferro and the New Christians, who refused to satisfy his exorbitant demands, this was never published. Passions in Portugal were still further enraged by a foolish anti-Catholic placard which had been found affixed to the door of one of the principal churches in Lisbon, presumably by one of the recent converts. When, therefore, the three years' delay came to an end, there was nothing to prevent the bull of 1536 establishing the Inquisition from coming into operation. On Sept. 20, 1540, accordingly, the first auto-da-fé was held at *Lisbon.

Even then, the contest was not at an end. The New Christians forced to acquiesce in the establishment of the tribunal worked untiringly for the appointment at Lisbon of a papal nuncio with full appellate powers, and Luigi Lippomano, bishop of Bergamo, was appointed to this post in 1542, in consequence of their intrigues. However, a violent quarrel had sprung up in the meantime between the king of Portugal and the papal Curia, and Lippomano was excluded from the country. The pope replied to this slight in a brief dated Sept. 22, 1544, suspending the activities of the Inquisition until an enquiry had been made into its action. During the next few years negotiations continued without interruption and at enormous expense on both sides. Ultimately, however, the king gained the day, offering the pope the administration of the revenues of the enormously wealthy see of Viseu in return for compliance to his wishes. The pope at last surrendered to this magnificent bribe and, on July 16, 1547, by the bull *Meditatio cordis*, the Inquisition was at last fully established in Portugal. The New Christians tried hard, but in vain, to obtain the slight concession that the names of witnesses against them should be made known, while the appointment of the grand inquisitor, Dom Henrique, as papal legate cut off all possibility of appeal to Rome. The prohibition of confiscations remained for some time a subject of negotiation, but in 1579 they were at last definitely established.

Tribunals were originally set up in Portugal at Lisbon, *Coimbra, *Évora, Lamego, Tomar, and *Oporto. The three last were subsequently discontinued as superfluous, partly in consequence of the grave abuses and irregularities which were discovered in their administration. The remaining three, however, continued their work with the utmost ferocity; considering the great difference in the size of the two countries, it may be said that their zeal exceeded even that of the tribunals of Spain. However, the greater influence and cohesion of the New Christians in the smaller country brought about temporary remissions, always in return for huge bribes. Thus, in 1605, a donation of 1,700,000 cruzados secured a general pardon for all past offenses, though of course it provided no safeguard against the future. In 1662, the wealthy Duarte da Silva offered an enormous subvention in money and ships in return for certain concessions, but there is little chance that they would have been granted even if the matter had not reached the ears of the pope, who immediately made stern representations at Lisbon. In fact, the period of the greatest inquisitional activity in Portugal followed. The number of autos-da-fé and of penitents increased year by year. The abuses of the system became so great that the eloquence of the learned Jesuit, Antonio da Vieira, procured from Pope Clement X a bull suspending the operation of the Portuguese inquisitors (Oct. 3, 1674). Since the inquisitors refused to comply this was followed four years later by an interdict pronounced upon them by Innocent XI (Dec. 24, 1678). Ecclesiastical prejudices were too strong, however, to acquiesce in this state of affairs. By a bull of Aug. 22, 1681 the Portuguese Inquisition was reinstated in all of its former authority with no more than one or two minor reforms and the event was celebrated in a fresh burst of activity. On Jan. 18, 1682, the first auto-da-fé since the interdict was held at Coimbra, but it was surpassed by the one which took place at Lisbon on May 10 of the same year – one of the most notorious in the whole of Portuguese history. The revived power of the Inquisition was further manifested in a new regulation that the children of condemned heretics might be taken away from their parents to be brought up in all the traditions of the Catholic faith (1683). For half a century to come the Inquisition in Portugal continued its bloody career without any great intermission.

SPAIN. Meanwhile the activities of the Inquisition in Spain had continued unabated under Diego Deza (1499–1507), the successor of Torquemada as grand inquisitor, himself of Jewish blood. During his period of office, the excesses committed under his auspices – in particular by Diego Rodríguez Lucero, the inquisitor of *Córdoba – were notorious: accusations were made wholesale on the flimsiest grounds; incredible cruelties were perpetrated; and no accused person had any chance to escape. The culmination was reached when no less than 107 persons were burned alive on an accusation of having listened to the preaching of one Membreque, a bachelor of divinity. Complaints against these atrocities became so widespread that on Sept. 30, 1505 Philip and Juana suspended the action of the Inquisition in Castile until they returned from Flanders. However, the death of Philip put an end to this plan, and Lucero was emboldened to issue another wholesale batch of accusations, including one against the saintly Hernando de

Talavera – archbishop of Granada and formerly confessor to Isabella the Catholic herself – who died in consequence of the humiliation imposed upon him. The popular outcry now led Ferdinand to dismiss Deza and to appoint Cardinal *Ximénes de Cisneros in his place as grand inquisitor (1507). Proceedings were instituted against Lucero, but were allowed to drop.

On the accession of Charles v, the Spanish New Christians sent him promises of enormous sums if he would restrict the power of the Inquisition in his dominions and abolish secret accusations. Similar steps were taken at Rome, where Pope Leo x prepared a bull in the sense desired. Charles, however, after temporary vacillation, displayed the narrow obscurantism which was to characterize him through life, and effectively prevented the publication of the bull. Thereafter, there was no serious challenge to the authority of the Inquisition in Spain and it could count throughout upon royal support. Charles' son, Philip ii, carried on and enhanced his father's obscurantist tradition, maintaining the tribunal in all of its terrible power in spite of the protests of the Cortes. Under Philip iii, the conde-duque de Olivares endeavored to restrict its might; but on his fall it continued with its influence if anything increased. It was under this king and his successor, Philip iv, that the tribunal attained its greatest power and pomp.

The number of the Spanish tribunals ultimately totaled 15: Barcelona, Córdoba, Cuenca, Granada, Logroño, Llerena, Madrid (called also Corte), Murcia, Santiago, Seville, Toledo, Valencia, Valladolid, and Saragossa, and Palma (Majorca). All acted under the authority of the central tribunal (the "supreme"). Activity, as far as Judaizers were concerned, was greatest in Old Castile and least in Catalonia. As time advanced, however, the exclusive preoccupation of the Inquisition with the New Christians came to be qualified. From 1525, Moors faithful to the religion of their fathers also fell within its scope, and as the century advanced, there was an increasing number of Protestants and Alumbrados, or visionaries. By the middle of the 16th century, indeed, the native tradition of crypto-Judaism had to a large extent become extirpated, owing to the incredible severity of the Inquisition in the first years of its existence. However, the place of the Spanish Judaizers was taken, especially during the period of the union of the two countries, by immigrants from Portugal, or else their immediate descendants.

At the beginning of the 18th century, with the less obscurantist era which dawned with the house of Bourbon, there was some slight mitigation, particularly as far as the Judaizers were concerned, but in 1720 the discovery of a secret synagogue in Madrid led to a considerable recrudescence of activity throughout the country. During the reign of Philip v (1700–46), 1,564 heretics were burned and 11,730 reconciled to the Church, a good proportion for Judaizing. After this outburst, the activity of the Inquisition gradually diminished, though more through lack of material than through any diminution of zeal.

IN THE BALEARIC ISLANDS. The activity of the Inquisition in the Balearic Islands reached its climax at the close of the 17th century. The Jewish community had officially ceased to exist in 1435, but the Inquisition had nevertheless been active for the first half century after its introduction (see *Majorca). But the discovery of a secret synagogue in 1678 led to a renewal of activity. In four autos-de-fé in 1679, no less than 219 reconciliations took place, accompanied by wholesale confiscations, though there were no capital sentences. However, the insincerity of the enforced repentance soon became manifest, and in 1688–91 the result was seen in a fresh persecution, accompanied by 45 burnings. By this awful lesson, crypto-Judaism in the island was finally blotted out, though the prejudice against those of Jewish blood remained into the mid-20th century.

End of the Inquisition in the Peninsula

In the second half of the 18th century, the activity of the Inquisition rapidly diminished, partly through the spread of more enlightened ideas, partly through the lack of human material. Judaism especially had been almost entirely extirpated in the larger country and in the more civilized parts of the smaller, largely through the severity of the Inquisition, but in no small part through the wholesale emigration to places of greater liberty abroad. In Portugal, the last public auto-da-fé, and the last in which a Judaizer appeared, took place on Oct. 27, 1765. The Marquês de Pombal was determined to sweep away this with other similar abuses and steadily undermined its authority. The Inquisition revived to some extent after his fall; but early in the next century, after a prolonged period of comparatively harmless inactivity, it was formally abolished (March 31, 1821). In Spain the institution was more persistent. Though with diminished activity, it survived with unimpaired authority until the period of the French Revolution. It was abolished by Joseph Bonaparte during his brief reign in 1808, and this action was confirmed after his fall by the liberal Cortes of 1813. The reactionary Ferdinand vii, however, reinstituted it on July 21, 1814 with all of its previous power and authority. Its activity during the succeeding period was not great and it was abolished again by a royal decree during the constitutional revolution on March 9, 1820. With the counter-revolutionary movement of 1823, however, its powers revived to some extent. As late as July 26, 1826, a Deist schoolmaster (not a Jew, as is commonly stated) was hanged and burned in effigy by an episcopal Inquisition, the last victim of the Holy Tribunal in the Peninsula; for, on July 15, 1834, the queen mother, Maria Christina, finally and definitely abolished the Inquisition and all of its powers, after a career of blood which had lasted for three and a half centuries.

Statistics

FOR SPAIN. It is estimated that in Spain, from the establishment of the Inquisition down to 1808, the number of heretics burned in person was 31,912; those burned in effigy, 17,659; and those reconciled *de vehementi* (see Procedure, below), 291,450 – a total of 341,021 in all. Even these immense figures are apparently exceeded by the usually careful Amador de los Rios, who estimates that up to 1525, when the Moriscos first

began to suffer, the number of those burned in person came to 28,540; those burned in effigy to 16,520; and those penanced to 303,847 – making a total of 348,907 condemnations for Judaism in less than half a century. On the other hand, Rodrigo, the apologist of the Inquisition, puts forward the impossible assertion that less than 400 persons were burned in the whole course of the existence of the Inquisition in Spain. H.C. *Lea, the modern historian of the Spanish Inquisition, hesitates to give any definite opinion. It was in the earlier and most ferocious period of inquisitional activity that the secret Jews suffered above all, and they furnished therefore a disproportionate number of the victims. In the later period, the number greatly diminished. Thus, from 1780 to 1820, out of 5,000 cases, only 16 were of Judaizing; but the majority of the charges at this period were light, and the sentences imposed in most cases comparatively negligible.

FOR PORTUGAL. As far as Portugal and its dependencies are concerned, the figures can be given with a much greater approach to precision. There are extant the records of approximately 40,000 cases tried before the Inquisition in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries in Portugal, the archives in this respect being virtually complete. The sentences were carried out at autos-da-fé numbering something like 750 in all. In these, as far as can be ascertained, upward of 30,000 persons were condemned, 1,808 of them being burned at the stake (633 in effigy and 1,175 in person) and 29,590 being penanced. In the two decades from 1701 to 1720, 37 persons were burned in person and 26 in effigy, while 2,126 were penanced. From 1732 to 1742, 66 persons were burned. From 1721 to 1771, 139 persons were burned in person, and 20 in effigy, while 3,488 were penanced.

Elkan *Adler has compiled lists of a little less than 2,000 autos-da-fé which took place in the peninsula and its dependencies from 1480 to 1826. This number should, however, be further increased.

RECORDS. The records of the Inquisition in Spain and its colonies generally fell victim to the popular fury at the time of the abolition of the Inquisition. Scattered documents were rescued, however, and are to be found in all the great public libraries of Europe and America, having been largely drawn upon by H.C. Lea in his *History of the Inquisition of Spain* (4 vols. 1906). The only sets of archives which have remained substantially complete are those of the tribunals of Valencia, Ciudad Real, Toledo, and Cuenca, which (together with scattered documents of other tribunals) are mainly to be found in the national archives at Madrid. The latter have been catalogued by M. Gómez del Campillo: they comprise something like 1,500 cases of Judaizers or approximately one-quarter of the whole. Of the records of the tribunals of Córdoba, Granada, Seville, etc., the only part which is left in a state of virtual completeness is the genealogical section, regarding the *limpieza de sangre, or purity of blood, of persons who applied for office. The records of the three Portuguese tribunals – Lisbon, Coimbra, and Évora – have been brought together in the national archives of the Torre de Tombo, at Lisbon. They comprise about 40,000 cases, sometimes filling whole volumes of more than 1,000 pages each. The majority of these relate to Judaizers. An approximate catalog, listed by the first names, is extant in manuscript.

The Inquisition in the Portuguese Possessions

GOA. It had not been long before Conversos, attracted by the greater security as well as the economic opportunities offered by the Spanish and Portuguese possessions overseas, in the discovery and development of which they had taken a notable part, began to flock there in some numbers. The Inquisition followed close at their heels. Thus there was a branch of the Portuguese Inquisition at Goa, in India, where as early as 1543, a certain Dr. Jeronimo Dias had been burned for maintaining heretical opinions, although the Inquisition proper was not formally introduced until some years later. In 1546, the formal establishment of the Inquisition was petitioned by St. Francis Xavier, but his wishes were complied with only in 1560. The first auto-da-fé took place on Sept. 27, 1563, two Judaizers figuring among the four victims. The subsequent activities became greater and greater. Autos-da-fé of particular violence took place under the zealous inquisitor Bartholomew da Fonseca in 1575 and 1578. In each of these 17 Judaizers lost their lives, a couple of Lutherans also suffering in the first. With the return of Fonseca to Portugal, the fury abated, so that from 1590 to 1597 no death sentences were pronounced. Simultaneously, the number of Judaizers, terrified by the former outburst of activity, diminished, only two figuring among the 20 victims from 1597 to 1623. In 1618, however, the brothers Isaac and Abraham *Almosnino, members of a famous Jewish family of Fez, were tried on a charge of having uttered blasphemies against the Christian faith in the house of the Persian ambassador at Cochin. Isaac, a physician, was released only in 1621. Up to the end of the first quarter of the 17th century, no less than 3,800 cases had been tried by the Goa tribunal and 37 autos-da-fé held, a number which by 1773 had risen to 82. As in Portugal, the tribunal was abolished on Feb. 10, 1774, witnessed an innocuous revival after the fall of Pombal in 1777, and was finally suppressed in 1812.

BRAZIL. A more common haven of refuge for the Portuguese Conversos was Brazil, where the bishop of Salvador was given inquisitorial powers in 1579, although all prisoners had to be sent to Europe for trial. Great visitations were held between 1591 and 1618. Between July 1591 and February 1592 scores of people came to confess or to testify before the board of inquisitors against foreigners, friends, and relatives. The testimonies and confessions indicate the presence of a considerable community of Conversos in Bahia (Salvador). In 1593/5 the inquisitors visited Pernambuco, where grave accusations had been preferred against a number of people. Thus, Diego Fernandes and his wife Branca Dias had been accused of establishing a synagogue in the house of Bento Dias Santiago, a central figure among the Judaizers at Pernambuco. The Conversos in Brazil played an important part in exporting sugar from Bra-

zil, thanks to their connections with Conversos in Portugal and those who escaped to Amsterdam and there returned to Judaism. Many of them escaped from Brazil to Buenos Aires and from there to Peru, Paraguay, and Chile, following an investigation opened against 90 Conversos in Bahia.

Inquisitorial activity in Brazil was especially great in the middle of the 17th century after the Portuguese reconquered the country from the Dutch, under whose rule many New Christians had seized the opportunity to return to open Judaism. Many of them figured in the great auto-da-fé at Lisbon of Dec. 15, 1647, when six – including Isaac de Castro Tartas – were "relaxed" (see Procedure, below). In 1713, 38 New Christians sent from *Rio de Janeiro appeared in the Lisbon auto-da-fé, others (including Father Manoel Lopes de Carvalho, who was burned alive as impenitent) suffering in the following year. One of them, Abrabao alias Diogo Rois Rodriguez, called Dioquintio Hebreo, was condemned to be flogged and to five years in the galleys. The last Judaizer condemned by the Inquisition in Brazil was Manuel Abreu de Campo; he died before the sentence was carried out, and was burned in effigy in Lisbon in 1731. Toward the end of the 18th century persecution of Judaizers tended to decrease in Brazil, and was generally aimed at new targets: Freemasons and followers of the Enlightenment. With the independence of Brazil (1822) the persecutions ended altogether, and Jews gradually began to immigrate to that country. Conditions in the Portuguese colonies in Africa were much the same, an inquisitorial visitation taking place in Angola in 1626.

The Inquisition in the Spanish Colonies

MEXICO. Greater still was the importance of the Conversos in the Spanish possessions in America. From 1502 to 1802 the Spanish crown and the pope issued numerous briefs aimed at prohibiting the entry of Jews and Moors to the New World. Anybody who arrived in the colonies had to prove that he was a Christian, with four generations of Christians behind him. Nevertheless numerous Conversos succeeded in settling in the New World. Thus in 1519, apostolic inquisitors were appointed for the American colonies by the "Suprema" in Spain, and in 1528 an auto-de-fé took place in Mexico City in which three Judaizers – among them a Converso "conquistador" or companion of Cortes, Hernando Alonso by name – lost their lives. Thereafter, activity was slight and only sporadic, though a New Christian named Francisco Millan was reconciled in 1539 and a couple of non-Judaizing heretics in the subsequent years. In 1571, however, the zeal of Philip II secured the establishment in *Mexico of an independent tribunal for the purpose of "freeing the land, which has become contaminated by Jews and heretics, especially of the Portuguese nation." On Feb. 28, 1574, an auto-de-fé was conducted with great pomp. At this, only one New Christian appeared, but thereafter the number grew rapidly.

Activities, at first lukewarm, greatly increased with the appointment of Alonso de Peralta as inquisitor. On Dec. 8, 1596, there was a great auto-de-fé at which 66 penitents appeared. Of these, 41 were accused of Judaizing, 22 being reconciled, 10 burned in effigy, and nine in person. Of the latter, one was the illustrious Luis de *Carvajal, governor of the province of Nuevo León, who was burned alive as a relapsed heretic, together with his mother and five sisters. On March 26, 1601, another great auto-de-fé took place, at which 124 penitents appeared and four were burned. In the preceding 25 years no less than 879 trials had taken place in all. After this date, however, there was a period of comparative quiescence for nearly half a century. Up to 1642, only about 20 more Judaizers were reconciled, one being relaxed in person as against six relaxed in effigy. When in 1605 the general pardon for Judaizers of Portuguese extraction reached Mexico, there was only one to be liberated. However, the subsequent attempt to exterminate the Portuguese crypto-Judaizers in Spain led to the discovery of widespread connections in the New World.

From 1642 there was a period of relentless activity. A mere child, Gabriel de *Granada, arrested in that year was made to give evidence against over 80 persons, including the whole of his own family (the record of his trial, published in AJHSP, 7 (1899), is among the most complete inquisitional records available in print in any language). In 1646, partly in consequence of these disclosures, 38 Judaizers were reconciled, bringing a very considerable profit to the coffers of the Inquisition, and 21 in the next year. In 1648, there were two autos-de-fé, in one of which eight Judaizers were penanced, eight reconciled, 21 burned in effigy and one in person: in the other 21 Judaizers figured, though no burnings took place. The climax of the Mexican Inquisition was reached, however, in the great *auto general* of April 11, 1649 – the greatest known outside the Peninsula – when out of 109 convicts all but one were Judaizers. Of these 57 were burned in effigy and 13 in person, including Tomás *Trevino of Sobremonte. This terrible lesson went a long way toward checking Marranism in the country, Judaizing occupying a less and less prominent position in the following period. Thus in the auto-de-fé of 1659, only four Judaizers figured among the 32 victims, and in later years the proportion was even lower. In 1712, however, a Judaizer was reconciled; and as late as 1788, the trial of Rafael Gil Rodriguez, a cleric, took place. The Inquisition continued to protract its inglorious existence for a few more years, being finally abolished in 1820, after having held upward of 60 autos-de-fé in all. In the Mexican state archive 1,553 files of the Inquisition, belonging to the period 1521–1823, together with many others found in different places, show that the Conversos were present everywhere in the country and were represented in every section of society.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. The conquest of the *Philippine Islands by Spain in the late 1560s was soon followed by the establishment of an episcopal Inquisition, an auto-de-fé in which a few heretics appeared being held in 1572. Subsequently, however, the authority of the Mexican tribunal was recognized over the islands. The work, never considerable, was at the beginning confined to Judaizers, who were dispatched to Mex-

ico for trial. Thus, in the auto-de-fé held there on March 28, 1593, two Conversos from Manila (Jorge and Domingo Rodriguez) were reconciled, while proceedings had been begun at the same time against one Diego Hernandez, who, however, died in prison. Manuel Gil de la Guardia, an attorney from Manila, was reconciled at Mexico on March 25, 1601, and three Judaizers from the Philippines were burned in effigy at the great auto-de-fé in the same city on April 11, 1649. From this period down to the abolition of the Inquisition at the beginning of the 19th century, the Inquisition was inactive in the Philippines, and there is no further mention of Judaizers in connection with it.

GUATEMALA. Judaizers accused in *Guatemala were tried in Mexico. Of particular interest is the trial of Rafael Gil Rodriguez, a monk from Guatemala accused of Judaizing after he had brought two of his friends over to Judaism. He was sentenced to death for this crime: he professed repentance, however, at the last moment, and so was reconciled.

PERU. In *Peru, a tribunal was opened in 1570, though an active episcopal Inquisition had been in existence since 1539. From that date down to 1805, 34 autos-de-fé were held at Lima, Judaizers always forming a considerable proportion of the victims. The earliest denunciations included the whole of the family of Juan Alvarez, a Converso physician, though they escaped punishment. In the second auto-de-fé series, however (April 1, 1578), two Judaizers figured, one in the third (Oct. 29, 1581), and two in the fifth (April 5, 1592). Thereafter, the number steadily increased, their ranks being greatly reinforced by immigrants from Portugal. At the great auto-de-fé of Dec. 17, 1595, ten figured, four of them being relaxed to the secular arm, and one, Francisco Rodriguez, being burned alive. On Dec. 10, 1600, 14 Portuguese Judaizers figure, two being relaxed in persons and one in effigy. The auto-de-fé of March 13, 1605 exhibited 16 Judaizers reconciled, six burned in effigy, and three in person. Thereafter, there was a considerable falling off, due in all probability to the general pardon issued to the Portuguese New Christians in 1604. There was a slight recrudescence in 1608, when one Judaizer was burned, and in 1612 when, at the auto-de-fé of June 17, there were five reconciliations for Judaizing.

The outburst of inquisitorial activity in Brazil in 1618 led to a general flight to Spanish territory, despite the opposition of the government, and to an increase in the local vigilance. The results were seen in the great auto-de-fé of Dec. 21, 1625 at which ten Judaizers were reconciled, two relaxed in person, and two in effigy. It was ten years later, however, in 1635, that there took place in Peru the greatest outburst of inquisitorial activity known outside the Peninsula. Owing to a chance arrest, a widespread crypto-Jewish connection was discovered among the Portuguese merchants at Lima – the "Complicidad Grande" as it was called. Within a few months, 81 suspected persons had been arrested, many others being left at large owing to lack of accommodation. Simultaneously, property was sequestered in such vast amounts as to precipitate a commercial crisis. The fruits were reaped at the triumphant auto-de-fé of Jan. 23, 1639, in which a very large number of Judaizers figured. Seven abjured *de vehementi*, 44 were reconciled, while one was relaxed in effigy and 11 in person. Of these, seven were burned alive, true martyrs to their faith. Among them was one Manuel Batista Perez, known as the *capitan grande*, the wealthiest merchant in the country; and Francisco *Maldonado de Silva (Eli Nazareno), the most notable martyr of the Inquisition in South America. On the following day, several more condemned persons were scourged publicly through the streets. In the autos-de-fé of the following years, last remnants of the Complicidad Grande were dealt with, Manuel Henriquez, one of those implicated, being burned as late as 1664. As in Mexico, this display of severity in the second quarter of the 17th century seems to have broken down Judaizing in the province for many years to come, the next case – a light one – occurring only in 1720. However, the last victim burned at the stake by the Peruvian Inquisition was a reported Judaizer, the notorious Ana de Castro, who suffered in Dec. 23, 1736. In the following year, at an *auto particular*, Juan Antonio Pereira was punished for the same crime. Though the Inquisition in Peru continued to be sporadically active until 1806, and even had many false accusations of Judaizing brought before it on trivial grounds, no further prosecutions of this nature figure in its records.

NEW GRANADA. The enormous province of New Granada at first fell under the sway of the Lima tribunal, which appointed various commissioners to represent it. These however, were incompetent and inactive. In 1610, therefore, a new tribunal of the Inquisition was set up, with its seat at Cartagena and with authority extending not only over the continental portions of New Granada but also over the adjacent Caribbean Islands. The first auto-de-fé took place on Feb. 2, 1614, the last on Feb. 5, 1782, and the Inquisition was abolished by Simón Bolivar in 1819. During the two centuries of its existence, at least 54 autos-de-fé took place, 767 persons being punished; only five, however, were burned. Judaizers figured, as always, in fairly considerable proportion, one appearing at the first auto-de-fé and something like 50 in all. Thus, at the auto-de-fé of June 17, 1626, seven Judaizers suffered among the 22 penitents, one of them, Juan Vicente, being relaxed. The Complicidad Grande at Lima brought about repercussions in Cartagena, where eight persons were reconciled and nine absolved. There were no relaxations, but the confiscations put the tribunal in possession of ample funds. On June 11, 1715, there figured the renegade friar, Jose Diaz Pimienta, who was subsequently burned. Thereafter, except for one or two minor cases, the tribunal was inactive: so much so that a certain David de la Motta, a professed Judaizer summoned to appear in 1783, was left unmolested, and a born Jew named Jose Abudiente was suffered to go about undisturbed in San Domingo, with other coreligionists, in 1783/84.

THE CANARY ISLANDS. In the Spanish possessions nearer Europe the presence of the Conversos was no less marked.

In the Canary Islands, an episcopal Inquisition was set up to deal with them as early as 1499. As a result of its enquiries, there were discovered to be on the islands a number of secret Jews, and even a secret synagogue. A branch of the Inquisition of Andalusia was accordingly set up at Las Palmas in 1504. Autos-de-fé, at which a few individuals were penanced or reconciled, were held in 1507 and 1510. In 1526, however, the tribunal was very active, eight individuals being relaxed in person, two reconciled, and two penanced. Of these over one half, including six of the eight *relajados*, were accused of Judaizing. Further autos-de-fé, at which however no persons were relaxed, were held in 1530 and 1534. This outburst of activity seems to have temporarily eradicated crypto-Judaism in the islands, only four New Christians figuring in the sporadic prosecutions which continued till 1581 and none at all thereafter until 1597, when all activity temporarily came to an end. The immigration of Conversos from the Peninsula, however, at the opening of the 17th century, stirred it to some fresh activity. In 1625 an edict of faith against Judaism was issued, and the information received in consequence revealed the presence of a whole colony of secret Jews. A considerable proportion of them, however, had already fled, and, owing partly to this and partly to political considerations, no prosecutions ensued. Numerous denunciations of the Converso refugees in London and Amsterdam continued to be made down to the middle of the century, but no further proceedings were taken against them. The tribunal, which for a prolonged period had not occupied itself with Judaizers, was abolished with that of Spain in 1813, but reinstated in spite of popular hostility from 1814 to 1820, when it was finally suppressed.

Elsewhere in Europe

SICILY. The medieval Dominican Inquisition had existed in *Sicily as elsewhere, and was revived in 1451, partly at the expense of the Jews, on the strength of an apocryphal decree of the emperor Frederick II. It was, however, inadequate to cope with the problem of the Conversos from the Peninsula, particularly Aragon, whose subject the island then was. Accordingly, in 1487, after some negotiation, Torquemada appointed Fra Antonio de la Peña as the local inquisitor.

The expulsion of the Jews from the island in 1492 added to the number of insincere converts to be found there; but the affairs of the local tribunal fell into a hopeless state of confusion, heightened by the dispute between the contending claims of the Spanish and the papal Inquisitions. At last, in 1500, a reorganization was begun under Montoro, bishop of Ceflú. Regular activities began in 1511, when, in an auto-de-fé of June 6, eight persons were burned. In 1513, there were three autos-de-fé, 39 persons (mostly relapsed penitents) being burned in all. This activity brought great unpopularity on the head of the Inquisition. On March 7, 1516, on the death of Ferdinand, the mob sacked its headquarters at Palermo, destroyed the records, and drove the inquisitor Cervera to take a ship back to Spain. Three years later, he was sent back with full powers, and, though popular antagonism was not allayed, the tribunal was restored. It was in vain that the parliament petitioned for an amelioration in its procedure. Its activities continued unremittingly: on May 30, 1541 there took place a great auto-de-fé at which 21 persons appeared, 19 of them New Christians. From this period, however, charges of Judaizing gradually diminished, an increasing proportion of Protestants and other heretics figuring in the list. During the long period of Spanish domination, however, the island still continued to receive occasional Converso refugees from the Peninsula. One of the heads of the Sicilian Inquisition, Giovanni *di Giovanni (1699–1753), was the author of the standard account of the Jews in the island, *L'Ebraismo della Sicilia* (1748). By 1744, it was alleged that the Inquisition of Sicily had handed over for burning 201 living heretics and 279 effigies of the dead or of fugitives. The tribunal was abolished by Ferdinand IV on March 16, 1782, amid great popular rejoicing.

MALTA. Up to the surrender of the island of Malta to the Knights of St. John in 1530, the Sicilian Inquisition maintained a commissioner there; however, few details are known of his activities. At a later period the Jewish slaves in Malta looked to the inquisitor there for a certain measure of protection in the observance of their religion.

SARDINIA. From the 14th century, Sardinia had formed part of the dominions of the crown of Aragon and it therefore, like Sicily, formed a natural haven of refuge for the Conversos of the Peninsula. A branch of the Inquisition was introduced in the year of the expulsion of the Jews (1492), when Micer Sancho Mardia was appointed inquisitor. The popular aversion was extreme, and in 1500 the receiver of the Inquisition was assassinated in Cagliari by some person who had been reduced to poverty by his means. Early in the 16th century, its work was done, and it relapsed into comparative quiescence. Its existence was not ended, however, until the termination of the Spanish rule in 1708. The episcopal Inquisition which succeeded it had little to occupy itself with, all traces of the Conversos having long since disappeared.

MILAN. The medieval Inquisition in Milan, directed especially against the Cathari, had been stimulated by the popes into fresh activity at the time of the Reformation. An attempt made by Philip II to introduce the Spanish model was foiled by popular opposition. The papal tribunal was reorganized, however, and put on a firm footing by Carlo *Borromeo. Its principal occupation was dealing with heretics from the neighboring cantons of Switzerland, Conversos not being common in the Milanese territories after the general arrest throughout the Spanish dominions in 1540.

NAPLES. The Dominican Inquisition had been introduced into Naples by Charles of Anjou after the battle of Benevento (1266). Although the Neofiti of the kingdom, forced converts from Judaism at the close of the 13th century, who, like the Conversos of Spain, remained faithful at heart to their ancestral religion for many generations, afforded it an ample field of activity, the Neopolitan Inquisition was generally kept by the

government in a state of subjection. In 1449, however, Pope Nicholas V dispatched Fra Matteo da Reggio to Naples as inquisitor to proceed against the numerous Judaizing apostates. After the introduction of the Inquisition into the Peninsula, and particularly on the addition of Naples to the Spanish dominions at the beginning of the 16th century, a large number of Spanish Conversos also sought refuge there, as well as others escaping from the rigors of the new tribunal in Sicily. A further difficulty was offered by the presence of a sizable colony of Christian heretics, the Waldenses from Savoy. At Benevento, which was subject to the popes, an Inquisition under Dominican supervision was established by Julius II to deal with the problem. To counteract this, Ferdinand the Catholic endeavored to procure the extension of the authority of the new Sicilian tribunal over his possessions on the mainland. The popular opposition was so great, however, that the proposal was abandoned; the same conclusion met other similar attempts in 1510, 1516, and 1547, when a popular rising was provoked by the suggestions. However, the papal Inquisition was extended in scope in 1553 and carried on its work ruthlessly. In 1561, there was a pitiless persecution of the Waldenses in Calabria. Ten years later, there was lively persecution of Judaizers, seven of whom, comprising both Converso refugees and native Neofiti, were sent to Rome and burned at the stake in February 1572. In 1585, Sixtus V established a regular commissioner of the papal Inquisition in Naples, but popular prejudice remained unchanged, and as late as 1747 brought about the removal of certain abuses. By the middle of the 17th century, however, heresy in Naples had been largely stamped out, and little more is heard of Conversos or of Neofiti.

PAPAL STATES. In Rome the Inquisition maintained a certain authority over the Jews after the issue of the bull *Turbato corde* of Clement IV in 1267, subsequently repeatedly confirmed, enjoining the Inquisition to proceed not only against renegades but also against those who seduced them from their faith. This was no doubt responsible for the persecution of 1298, in which Elijah de' *Pomi(s) lost his life. Its effects were mitigated in the following year by Boniface VIII, who declared that, in spite of their wealth, the Jews were not to be included among the "powerful persons" against whom the Inquisition might proceed without disclosing the names of those who had denounced them. Under the Renaissance popes, the Roman Inquisition was so little vigilant that the Conversos were able to return to Judaism in the Papal States without interference. This period, however, came to an end with the beginning of the Counter-Reformation. In 1542, Paul III instituted the "Congregation of the Holy Office" (*Congregatio Sancti Officii*), consisting of six cardinals, with the intention of stimulating it into greater activity. In 1555, Paul IV ordered proceedings to be taken against the Portuguese Converso colony settled, with the sanction of his predecessors, in *Ancona. This resulted in a terrible persecution in which 25 persons were burned alive, 60 sent to slavery in Malta, and many more subjected to other punishments. In 1557, the proselyte to Judaism, Fra Cornelio da Montalcino, was burned at the stake at Rome. Subsequently, several Conversos who ventured to Rome suffered, while others were dispatched there for punishment. Thus at the beginning of 1571, seven Judaizers sent from Naples were burned; in 1583, Diego Lopez and Gabriel Henriques ("Joseph Saraval"), Converso immigrants from Portugal who had settled at Ferrara, suffered martyrdom; in 1640, Ferdinando Alvarez, alias Abraham da Porto, an old man of 76, was burned at the stake. However, in this period the Inquisition in the Papal States was largely occupied with securing the obedience of the Jews to the discriminatory legislation in force against them and in the supervision of the Hebrew literature. Indeed, its reputation among the Jews was not bad: in 1784 the community of Rome petitioned that the supervision of cases where a Jewish child was claimed for baptism should be placed under its control. Similarly in 1711, the Inquisition investigated a charge of ritual murder which had been made against the Jews of Ancona, who were fully absolved.

MANTUA. Elsewhere in Italy, conditions were much the same. Thus at Mantua Solomon *Molcho was burned in 1532 as an apostate Judaizer. In the same place, an old woman named Judith Franchetti was burned alive for sorcery in 1600 at the age of 77: the main charge against her was that she had persuaded a certain nun to embrace Judaism.

VENICE. The Inquisition at Venice, one of the principal centers of refuge for the Conversos from the Peninsula, similarly dealt with many Jewish cases. Between 1557 and 1711 the records of no less than 80 are preserved. Of these, approximately one-third are concerned with immigrants from Spain and Portugal; the rest deal with insincere local converts and with technical offenses committed by conforming Jews. Notable amongst the latter is a case against Leone *Modena, who for the sake of security voluntarily denounced the uncensored Paris edition of his *Historia de' Riti ebraici* (1637). The persecution of the Conversos in Venice by the Inquisition reached its height in the decade 1558–68, when Fra Felice Peretti da Montalto (later Pope Sixtus V) was inquisitor. In comparison with the Roman tribunal, however, it was humane, and never seems to have proceeded to any sentence of death.

TUSCANY. In Florence, the Inquisition seems to have restricted itself to a considerable degree to the supervision and encouragement of apostates to Christianity. However, it also prosecuted a number of Conversos from Spain and Portugal resident in the city, especially in the first decade of the 17th century. In Pisa and Leghorn, the operation of the Inquisition against the Conversos was expressly limited by the concessions of 1593, which were confirmed in the case of Jacob Gutiérrez Penha in 1730.

Procedure

In the course of time, the Spanish Inquisition evolved an elaborate procedure of its own. When a tribunal was opened at any place, an edict of grace would be published, inviting those con-

scious of heresy to come forward and make confession within a "period of grace," generally of 30 or 40 days. After the lapse of this period they could be proceeded against by Inquisition officers. At later stages, an edict of faith would periodically be issued, summoning all persons, under pain of excommunication, to denounce to the authorities all offenses enumerated in it of which he might have cognizance. These invariably comprised all those popularly associated with Judaism: lighting candles on Friday evening, changing the linen on the Sabbath, abstaining from pork and scaleless fishes, observing the Jewish holidays and especially the Day of Atonement and the fast of Esther, laying out the dead according to the Jewish custom, etc. By this means, the whole population became accomplices of the Inquisition in its task of eradicating heresy; and the denunciation of one of the customs mentioned above, performed absentmindedly or by mere force of habit, was frequently sufficient to bring a man to the stake.

ARREST AND EVIDENCE. Everything took place under the greatest secrecy, which became one of the main terrors of the Inquisition. Any breach of this was liable to be punished with the utmost severity, like heresy itself. From the moment of arrest, therefore, the utmost segregation obtained. The accused persons were confined in the dungeons of the Inquisition, such as may still be seen in Évora and elsewhere. As was inevitable, there were sometimes terrible abuses, women suffering especially; and it happened more than once that female prisoners were dragged pregnant to the stake.

The rules governing evidence were so devised as to exclude all witnesses who were likely to be of any use to the prisoner, on the ground that their evidence would be untrustworthy. No such scruples, however, prevailed with regard to witnesses for the prosecution, who were frequently inspired merely by venom. Moreover, the names of the accusers were suppressed, though originally this was supposed to be permissible only in the case of "powerful persons" who might intimidate the witnesses. The accusers and accused were thus never confronted. The evidence admitted was flimsy in the extreme: mere regard for personal cleanliness might be sufficient to convict a man of Judaism or Islam, and so cost him his life. Once the accusation was made, the subsequent procedure was based upon a desire to make the accused person confess his crime and thus be admitted to penitence. If this was not forthcoming spontaneously, in accordance with the spirit of the age, torture might be applied: though as a matter of fact in this particular instance the Spanish Inquisition, notorious though its cruelties were, compared favorably with the Roman, where torture might be continued even after confession in order to extort the names of accomplices. Death under torture was by no means uncommon. In most cases, however, the physician who was present enforced sufficient moderation to avoid this conclusion. Generally, the torture was abundantly sufficient to elicit a confession, if one had been withheld up to that point. It was imposed in most cases only to procure the confession of what the inquisitors already knew or suspected. The cases in which a condemnation was avoided were therefore few in the extreme. Thus, in the Toledo tribunal between the years 1484 to 1531 they totaled on an average less than two yearly. In the Portuguese Inquisition, the number of condemnations came to well over three-quarters of the total number of cases tried.

PUNISHMENTS. Often, in the case of any convicted person who professed repentance, "reconciliation" followed and the defendant was restored to the bosom of the Church. In such a reconciliation the defendant had to abjure either *de levi* or *de vehementi*. A transgressor of a *de levi* reconciliation may perhaps be punished to abjure *de vehementi*. This, paradoxically enough, being itself considered a punishment since the convicted person had to participate in the procession of the auto-da-fé, and had to do many penances, pilgrimages to holy shrines etc. There were two forms of reconciliation *de vehementi*, and a slight transgression from Christianity would be considered a relapse into the old sins. Harsher penalties in force included scourging, very common in the early period but remitted more and more frequently as time went on. This was executed publicly under every humiliating circumstance. Similar, with the omission of the lashes, was the *verguenza*, which consisted of the offender parading in the town stripped to the waist and bearing the insignia of the offense, the town-crier meanwhile proclaiming the sentence. The *mordaza* or gag was sometimes applied, this being regarded as increasing the humiliation of the punishment. In abjurations *de levi*, he added that in case of failing in his promise to comply with punishment he should be held as impenitent: in abjurations *de vehementi*, that in such a case he should be considered and treated as a relapsed heretic. A reconciliation of this sort could be performed only once and any subsequent conviction was taken as an obvious proof that the original penitence had been insincere and the culprit was condemned to the stake.

The reconciliation was invariably accompanied by a punishment of varying intensity. More severe was the penalty of the galleys, an economical device of Ferdinand the Catholic whereby the punishment of heresy was turned to the benefit of the state and which was adopted by the Roman Inquisition. In 1573, and again in 1591, the Suprema ordered that all Conversos, even when confessing their crime freely, should be sent to the galleys, and it remained a penalty very frequently inflicted upon secret Jews. In the course of the 18th century, other types of penal servitude were substituted. For women, forced service in hospitals or houses of correction was the alternative.

Perpetual incarceration was another common form of punishment; though the prison was known by the euphemistic title of *casa de la penitencia* or *de la misericordia*. At a later period, the duration of the imprisonment was generally decreased, persons being released after eight years or even less, though the title of the punishment officially remained the same. Among the other punishments may be mentioned that of exile or exclusion from certain places, and the custom of razing to the ground the house of any particularly heinous

offender or one in which heretical – especially Jewish – services had been held.

It was not only in his own person that any person convicted of a serious offense by the Inquisition was punished. A number of disabilities followed which fell not only on those penanced but also on their children and their male descendants for two generations to come: they were not allowed to enter Holy Orders; they were excluded from any public dignity; they were not permitted to become physicians, apothecaries, tutors of the young, advocates, scriveners, or farmers of revenue; they were subjected to certain sumptuary laws, not being permitted to wear cloth of gold or silver or precious stones, to bear arms, or to ride on horseback. Neglect of these provisions, sometimes even after the lapse of several generations, brought the offender once more into the clutches of the Inquisition. However, infractions were generally punished only by a fine, and the sale of rehabilitation ultimately became very common.

One of the strongest weapons of the Inquisition was the power it had of confiscating the property of those convicted of heresy. At the beginning, the proceeds were devoted to the use of the crown, but they gradually devolved more and more upon the Inquisition itself. In the early period, general arrangements on the part of the New Christians to save themselves from arbitrary confiscation were not uncommon, but this practice speedily died out. It was through this power that the Inquisition was raised into a corporation of such vast influence and wealth. Above all, it made it overwhelmingly to its interest to procure the conviction of all who were brought before it, especially when they were persons of great means. Nothing else, perhaps, was more instrumental in draining the Peninsula of its accumulated wealth during the course of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. It was a weapon which struck at the whole of a man's family, and might reduce it in a moment from affluence to beggary, while through its means the economic life of the whole country was liable to be disorganized.

THE DEATH PENALTY. The final sanction of the Inquisition was that of death. As an ecclesiastical body, however, it was not permitted itself to be a party to this. It therefore "relaxed" the convicted person to the secular arm, with a formal recommendation for mercy, adding that if it were found necessary to proceed to the extreme penalty, it should be done "without effusion of blood" – that is, by burning. This was an old legal fiction of the Catholic Church dating back to the 11th or 12th century; and the mode of punishment was justified by a text in John 15:6: "If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned."

Generally speaking, the extreme penalty was reserved for those who refused the opportunity for repentance: either the *contumacios*, who gloried in their crime and died true martyrs; or the "relapsed," who had been reconciled on some previous occasion and whose backsliding proved their insincerity; or the *diminutos*, whose confession was incomplete and who shielded their accomplices; or the *negativos*, who refused to confess to the charges made against them in the hope of escaping conviction. In this last category there must necessarily have been included on occasion some who were absolutely innocent of the crimes imputed to them and would not confess to falsehood even to escape death. The fact that such persons were condemned to the flames shows clearly on what sure ground the Inquisition generally felt itself. "Dogmatizers," or those who, whether baptized or not, propagated heretical views were also regarded as inevitable victims, and in the earlier period of the Inquisition many fervent professing Jews suffered under this head. However, by no means all of those executed capitally were burned alive. A profession of repentance, even after condemnation, was almost always effective in securing preliminary garroting, only the corpse then being burned at the stake. The effigies of fugitives, with the bones of those who had escaped justice by death (sometimes in prison or under torture) would similarly be committed to the flames. Those burned in effigy on certain occasions sometimes totaled something like half as many as those burned in person. This was far from an empty formality, as the condemnation secured the confiscation of their property, while reconciliation was in such cases obviously outside the bounds of possibility.

THE AUTOS-DA-FÉ. The sentences of the Inquisition were announced at the so-called Act of Faith: *auto-de-fé as it was termed in Spain and auto-da-fé in Portugal. For lighter offenses, the ceremonial might be private (*auto particular* or *autillo*), in which case it would be held in a church; but this was rarely resorted to for so grave a crime as Judaizing, particularly as it was considered wrong to pronounce a sentence of death in the sacred precincts. In most cases, the ceremony was public (*auto publico general*). This ultimately became the subject of elaborate organization. The ceremony would take place on some feast day in the principal square of the city. Ample notice was given so as to attract as large a group of spectators as possible, spiritual benefits being promised to all who were present. Two stagings were erected at vast expense – one for those convicted and their spiritual attendants, and the other for the inquisitors and the rest of the authorities, while a temporary altar, draped in black, was set up in the middle.

The proceedings would be opened by a procession in which all the clergy of the city took part. Behind them followed those condemned to appear. All those abjuring *de vehementi* had to carry lighted tapers in their hands and to wear the *sanbenito* or *saco bendito* (the *abito* as it was called in the official sentence). This, which was an innovation of the Spanish Inquisition, consisted of a long yellow robe, transversed by a black cross (in the case of those convicted of formal heresy alone, only one of the arms was necessary). In case the heretic had escaped the stake by confession, flames were painted on the garment, which was sometimes of black. Those condemned to be burned bore in addition pictures of demons thrusting the heretical into hell, while they wore tall miters

similarly adorned for additional prominence (the use of these, which were worn in different forms also by bigamists and perjurers, was forbidden by the Roman Inquisition in 1596). In certain cases, as an additional punishment, the *sanbenito* had to be worn in public even after the release of the prisoner, exposing him to universal scorn and derision. After it was removed, it was generally hung up in the parish church of the delinquent accompanied by a fitting inscription, thus marking out the wearer and his family for lasting humiliation. These memorials of shame were destroyed only with the abolition of the Inquisition in the early years of the 19th century.

When the procession had arrived in the square where the auto-da-fé was to be celebrated, amid general scorn the penitents would take their place on the scaffolding reserved for them. A sermon would then be preached by some distinguished cleric, directed especially against the penitents, upon whose heads a torrent of the most unsparing insults would be poured. They would then appear one by one before the pulpit to hear their sentences, which would hitherto have been kept a profound secret. This took some time, the proceedings often being protracted into night and sometimes being spread over two or even three days. The sentences of those "relaxed" to the secular arm were left to the last. They were then formally condemned to death by the civil magistrate and escorted to the *quemadero* (or *brasero*), the place of burning, by a detachment of soldiers, whose presence was sometimes necessary to save them from a violent but more humane death at the hands of the infuriated mob. To light the brand with which the pyre was kindled was considered a religious duty and honor of the highest degree and frequently fell to the lot of visiting royalty. The ashes of the victims were supposed to be scattered to the winds. A repentant heretic would sometimes be strangled before being burned.

During the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, the auto-de-fé came to be regarded as a great public spectacle in the Peninsula and its dependencies, vying in popular appeal with bullfights. Especially splendid celebrations would sometimes be arranged in honor of royalty: thus on Feb. 24/5, 1560, an auto-de-fé was held at Toledo to celebrate the visit of Philip II and his bride, Isabella of Valois; the tribunal of Madrid was inaugurated on July 4, 1632 by an auto-de-fé in celebration of the safe delivery of the queen; but the climax was reached on June 30, 1680 on the Plaza Mayor of the same city, in the presence of Charles II and his bride, Marie Louise d'Orléans, in honor of their marriage. At this, which began at six o'clock in the morning and lasted 14 hours, no less than 51 persons were burned either in person or in effigy, the king himself setting light to the brand which kindled the *quemadero*. This, as a great court spectacle, formed the subject of a painting by Rizi. It was the last great solemnity of its kind, as Philip V, the first of the Bourbon line, refused (in 1701) to grace with his presence one arranged in honor of his accession, and the usage was henceforth abandoned.

Accounts of the auto-da-fé, giving full details of the names of the victims and the nature of their punishment, with particulars of who was burned alive, who after garroting, or who in effigy, were subsequently printed and hawked about the streets: they form one of the main sources of information for the proceedings. Similarly, the sermons preached at the auto-da-fé were often subsequently published: in Portuguese alone, about 75 are extant in print. They speak of the penitents often as Jews, and in terms of the most outrageous vituperation. Most noteworthy is the sermon delivered on Sept. 6, 1705, at the great auto-da-fé held at Lisbon by the archbishop of Cranganore which was notable for the violence of its language: it was answered by David *Nieto, haham in London, in a crushing pamphlet which is a masterpiece of polemic and was not without influence in weakening the prestige and destroying the influence of the Inquisition in Portugal. On the other hand, counterparts of these pamphlets were sometimes issued at Amsterdam and elsewhere, where the local rabbis and poets would mourn the death of their martyrs in sermons and elegies. A noteworthy example is the volume of collected pieces published on the occasion of the martyrdom of Abraham Nuñes *Bernal at Córdoba in 1655. In the prayer books printed for the use of the Converso communities abroad at this period there is included a special **Ashkavah* beginning "God of Vengeance" to be recited in the synagogue in memory of "those burned for the Sanctification of the Name."

It was in Portugal that the New Christians formed the most important element in the population, and there accordingly that the victims of the Inquisition were the most illustrious. Among the most noteworthy of the martyrs, a few names may be mentioned: Luis *Dias of *Setúal, a poor tailor of Setúbal who claimed to be the Messiah (1540); Gonçalo Bandarra, the prophet of Sebastianism (1540); perhaps the famous David *Reuveni, probably burned c. 1538; Antonio *Homem, professor of Canon Law at the University of Coimbra, who officiated as rabbi at a secret synagogue in that city (1624); Fra Diogo da *Assumpção, a promising theologian, who remained revered by the Conversos as a martyr many years after his death (1603); Lope de *Vera y Alarcon, a young noble who circumcised himself and went by the name of Judah the Believer (1644); Isaac de *Castro Tartas, whose fortitude made a deep impression on all who came into touch with him (1647); Manuel Fernandes *Villareal, poet and diplomat (1652); and Antonio José da *Silva, the dramatist (1739). Many other persons (such as Tome Vaz, the jurist, or Andre d'Avelar and Pedro Nuñes, the mathematicians) suffered lesser penalties. In Spain, among the illustrious victims may be mentioned Felipe *Godínez, the poet, who was reconciled at Seville in 1624, and Antonio *Gómez *Enríquez (Henriquez), the playwright, who was burned in effigy at Madrid in 1680.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: GENERAL, SPAIN AND CASTILE: E. van der Vekené, *Bibliographie der Inquisition* (1963); H.C. Lea, *History of the Inquisition of Spain*, 4 vols. (1906); E.N. Adler, *Auto de Fe and Jew* (1908); Baer, Urkunden, index; Baer, Spain, index; C. Roth, *History of the Marranos* (1932); idem, *The Spanish Inquisition* (1938); B.

Ilorca, *La Inquisición en España* (1946); Ḥ. Beinart, *Anusim be-Din ha-Inkevizizyah* (1965; English trans. *Conversos on Trial* (1981)). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** H. Beinart, *Records of the Trial of the Spanish Inquisition in Ciudad Real* (1974–5), 4 vols.; idem, in: *Mediaeval Studies,* 43 (1981), 445–71; J.P. Villanueva, ed., *La Inquisición española; nueva visión, nuevos horizantes* (1980); J.M. García Fuentes, *La Inquisición en Granada en el siglo XVI* (1981); J. Contreras, in: *Estudios de historia social* 20/21 (1982), 429–45; idem, *El Santo oficio de la Inquisición en Galicia, 1560–1700* (1982); E. van der Vekené, *Bibliotheca bibliographica historiae sanctae inquisitioni* (1982–83), 2 vols.; J.M. Monsalvo Antón, in: *Studia historica,* 2:2 (1984), 109–39; A. Alcalá, ed., *Inquisición española y mentalidad inquisitorial* (1984); Y. Kaplan (ed.), *Jews and Conversos; Studies in Society and the Inquisition* (1985); J. Blázquez Miguel, *La Inquisición en Albacete* (1985); idem, *La Inquisición en Castilla-La Mancha* (1986); idem, *El tribunal de la Inquisición en Murcia* (1986); idem, *Inquisición y criptojudaísmo* (1988); idem, in *Hispania sacra,* 40 (1988), 133–64; idem, *Judíos, herejes y brujas* (1990); H. Kamen, *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1985); idem, in: *Bulletin hispanique* 88 (1986), 321–56; C. Carrete Parrondo, *El Tribunal de la Inquisición en el Obispado de Soria (1486–1502)* (1985); idem, *Proceso inquisitorial contra los Arias Dávila segovianos: un enfrentamiento social entre judíos y conversos* (1986); R. Levine-Melammed, in: PAAJR, 53 (1986), 91–109; J.I. Gutiérrez Nieto, in: *El siglo del Quijote (1580–1680).* vol. 1, *Religión, filosofía, ciencia* (1986), 645–792; A. Cascales Ramos, *La Inquisición en Andalucía* (1986); B.R. Gampel, in: J. Stampfer (ed.), *The Sephardim: A Cultural Journey from Spain to the Pacific Coast* (1987), 36–57; A. Alcalá (ed.), *The Spanish Inquisition and the Inquisitorial Mind* (1987); S. Haliczer (ed.), *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe* (1987); M.A. Bel Bravo, *El auto-de-fe de 1593. Los conversos granadinos de origen judío* (1988); R. de Lera García, in: *Sefarad,* 47 (1987), 87–137; idem, in: *Inquisição* (1989–90), vol. 3, 1087–1108; L. Coronas Tejada, *Conversos and Inquisition in Jaén* (1988); J. Belmonte Díaz, *Judíos e Inquisición en Ávila* (1989); J-P. Dedieu, *L'administration de la foi: L'Inquisition de Tolède, XVIe–XVIIe siècle* (1989); J. Martínez Millán, in: *Sefarad,* 49 (1989), 307–63; J.A. Ollero Pina, in: *Hispania sacra,* 40 (1988), 45–105; W. Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy: The Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily* (1990); J.M. de Bujanda, in: M.E. Perry and A.J. Cruz (eds.), *Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World* (1991), 221–47; F. García Ivars, *La represión en el tribunal inquisitorial de Granada, 1550–1819* (1991); B. Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain* (1992); C. Carrete Parrondo and Ma. F. García Casar, *El Tribunal de la Inquisición de Sigüenza, 1492–1505* (1997). CROWN OF ARAGON (Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia and Majorca): B. Braunstein, *The Chuetas of Majorca* (1936); M. Ardit, *L'inquisición al País Valenciá* (1970); E. Fort I Cogul, *Catalunua I la Inquisición* (1973); J. Ventura Subirats, in: *Cuadernos de historia económica de Cataluña,* 14 (1976), 79–131; R. Garcia Cárcel, *Orígenes de la Inquisición española: el Tribunal de Valencia, 1478–1530* (1976); J. Ventura Subirats, *Inquisición espanyola I cultura renaixentista al País Valenciá* (1978; J. Perarnau, in: *Revista catalana de teología,* 4 (1979), 309–53; A. Alcalá, *Los orígenes de la Inquisición en Aragón* (1984); A. Blasco Martínez, in: *Aragón en la Edad Media,* 7 (1988), 81–96; J.L. Palos, in: *L'Avenc,* 47 (marc 1982), 21–31; J. Edwards, in: REJ, 143 (1984), 333–50; A.S. Selke, *The Conversos of Majorca* (1986); Y. Assis, in: *Mediaeval Studies,* 49 (1987), 391–410; J. Riera I Sans, in: *Aplec de treballs,* 8 (1987), 59–73; J. Blázquez Miguel, *La Inquisición en Cataluña* (1990); S. Haliczer, *Inquisition and Society in the Kingdom of Valencia, 1478–1834* (1990); NAVARRE AND THE BASQUE COUNTRY: I. Reguera, *La Inqisición española en el País Vasco* (1984); CANARY ISLANDS: H. Beinart, in: *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England,* 25 (1977), 48–86; idem, in: *Helmantica,* 28 (1977), 23–32; L.A. Anaya Hernández, in: *Inquisição,* vol. 1 (1989–90), 161–76; PORTUGAL: A. Herculano de Carvalho, *History of the Origin and Establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal* (1926); A. Baião, *A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil* (1921); J.L. D'Azevedo, *Historia dos Christãos Novos Portugueses* (1922); A.J. Teixeira, *Antonio Homem e a Inquisção* (1902); N. Slouschz, *Ha-Anusim be-Portugal* (1932). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R. Carrasco, in: *Hispania* 166 (1987), 503–59; AMERICA: J.T. Medina, *Historia del Santo Oficio en Cartagena de las Indias* (1889); idem, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de Lima* (1956[2]); idem, *La Inquisición en el Rio de la Plata* (1945); idem, *La Imprenta de Bogotá y la Inquisición en Cartagena de las Indias* (1952); idem, *Historia del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en Chile* (1952); idem, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de México* (1905); H.C. Lea, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies* (1908); A. Toro, *Los Judíos en la Nueva España* (1932); Mariel de Ibáñez, *La Inquisición en México durante el siglo XVI* (1946); E. Chinchilla Aguilar, *La Inquisición en Guatemala* (1953); A. Wiznitzer, *Jews in Colonial Brazil* (1960); S.B. Liebman, *A Guide to Jewish References in the Mexican Colonial Era, 1521–1821* (1964); idem, *The Enlightened: The Writings of Luis de Carvajal, el Mozo* (1967); L. García de Proodián, *Los Judíos en américa* (1966); B. Lewin, *La Inquisición en Hispanoamérica* (1962); idem, *Los Judíos bajo la Inquisición en Hispanoamérica* (1960).

[Cecil Roth / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

INSDORF, ANNETTE, U.S. film scholar. Insdorf was born in Paris, France, to Polish immigrants and raised in New York. She earned her B.A. at Queens College in 1972 and received her Ph.D. in English from Yale University in 1975. She is best known for her book *Indelible Shadows: Film and the Holocaust* (1983), widely considered to be the definitive exploration of the subject. The book catalogues the variety of films made about the Shoah and discusses the ethical responsibilities of films that attempt to depict the Holocaust while at the same time remaining commercially viable. For the updated third edition (2002), she received the National Board of Review's William K. Everson Award in Film History. Insdorf also earned great renown for her scholarship and books on French New Wave director Francois Truffaut and Polish filmmaker Krzysztof Kieslowski and is universally acknowledged as the authority on their work. In 1986, the French Ministry of Culture named Insdorf Chevalier dans l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres; in 1993, she received the Palmes Academiques; and in 1999, she was promoted to Officer of the Arts. She served as a jury member at several film festivals, including Telluride and Cannes. Insdorf was also the executive producer of two short films: *Shoeshine*, nominated for an Academy Award and winner of the Grand Prize at the 1987 Montreal Film Festival; and *Performance Pieces,* awarded Best Fiction Short at Cannes in 1989. From 1982, Insdorf taught at Columbia University and was chair of the Graduate Film Division from 1990 to 1995. She subsequently served as director of Undergraduate Film Studies.

[Max Joseph (2nd ed.)]

INSTITUTE FOR THE RESEARCH OF MEDIEVAL HEBREW POETRY, institute for compiling, examining, select-

ing, and preparing for scholarly use the poetic and liturgical material contained in various manuscripts. It also assembled the works of the most eminent poets and *paytanim*. It was founded in Berlin in 1931 by S.Z. *Schocken and transferred to Jerusalem in 1934. Ḥayyim *Brody headed the Institute until 1942, assisted by A.M. *Habermann, M. *Zulai, and Ḥ. *Schirmann. The institute created the conditions necessary for intensive scholarly work. Its collection includes photographic reproductions of approximately 100 complete manuscripts (approximately 15,000 pages), and of some 4,000 fragments (about 10,000 pages) from the *genizah* collections of world libraries. The rich library of S.Z. Schocken, which contained dozens of manuscripts, was also made available to the Institute.

The Institute published the following works: Ḥ. Schirmann, *Mivḥar ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit be-Italyah* (1934); Ḥ. Brody, *Moshe Ibn Ezra: Shirei ha-Ḥol*, 2 vols (1935–42); M. Zulai, *Piyyutei Yannai* (1938); A.M. Habermann, *Piyyutei R. Shimon Bar Yizḥak* (1938); *Yedi'ot ha-Makhon le-Ḥeker ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit*, 7 vols (1933–58).

[Menahem Zulai and Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

The activities of the Institute have been continued by Prof. Ezra Fleischer at the *Makhon le-Ḥeker ha-Shirah ve-ha-Piyyut* (Genizah Research Institute for Hebrew Poetry) at the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem, with funding from the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities. The examination and description of the most important collections of Hebrew secular and liturgical poetry in *Genizah* fragments, with the help of the materials of the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts of the Library, made possible the complete revision and updating of Davidson's *Thesaurus*, the identification of many new poems and poets, and information and materials for new publications, and was a great help for researchers of Hebrew poetry from all over the world. In the early 2000s the Institute worked on the digitalization of poetry fragments.

[Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brody, in: YMḤSI, 1 (1933), 9–16; Zulai, in: *Alei Ayin: Minḥat Devarim li-Shelomo Zalman Schocken* (1952), 83–124.

INSTITUTE OF JEWISH AFFAIRS (IJA), international research body based in London, which deals with contemporary issues affecting Jews and Jewish communities worldwide.

Since 1997 it has been known as the Institute for Jewish Policy Studies. As the IJA, it monitored and analyzed trends and developments in international relations, politics, human rights, sociology, economy, and culture. It acted as a forum for discussion and presentation of policy options on matters of Jewish concern. The IJA was a leading research and documentation center on international antisemitism and published *Antisemitism World Report,* an annual survey of antisemitism and right-wing extremism in the world. The IJA's publications included *Patterns of Prejudice,* an academic journal devoted to the study of racial and religious prejudice with a special reference to antisemitism, now published by an academic press; *East European Jewish Affairs,* a journal dealing with Jewish problems in Eastern and Central Europe and the countries of the former Soviet Union; *Research Reports, a* series of background surveys on international affairs; *IJA Analysis,* papers commenting on current events and developments affecting Jews; *IJA Intelligence Reports,* concise assessments of the Jewish significance of developments in current affairs worldwide. Its journal *Christian-Jewish Relations* ceased to appear in 1990. Long-term research projects are published in book-form. The IJA's public activities ranged from academic conferences, symposia, and seminars to lecture series.

History

The Institute was founded in 1941 in New York by the World Jewish Congress to study problems facing Jewry after World War II. In the post-war period the IJA played a vital role in preparing blueprints for compensation to victims of Nazism, assisting in war-crimes trials and contributing to international legislation on human rights and related issues. It was headed successively by Jacob Robinson, Nehemia Robinson, and, after its transfer to London in 1966, by Stephen J. Roth, and then by Antony Lerman.

In 1997 the IJA changed its name to the Institute for Jewish Policy Studies (IJPR). It also changed its role and purpose, no longer centering on the study of antisemitism but, instead, on planning for Jewish communities in Britain and Europe; the maintenance of Jewish culture in Britain and Europe; and on Israel-Diaspora relations. Located in Wimpole Street, London, and headed by Professor Barry Kosmin, it has published numerous reports on aspects of Jewish life and society in Britain and elsewhere.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

INSTITUTE OF SOUTHERN JEWISH LIFE, GOLDRING/WOLDENBERG. The institute was founded in 1986 as the Museum of the Southern Jewish Experience; in 2000 its name was changed to the Goldring/Woldenberg Institute of Southern Jewish Life. Based in Jackson, Mississippi, the institute works to preserve and document the practice, culture, and legacy of Judaism in the southern United States. The original idea for the museum came from Macy B. Hart, a longtime director of the UAHC Henry S. Jacobs Camp in Utica, Mississippi. Hart recognized that many of the smaller Jewish communities in the region were experiencing population decline, forcing several synagogues to close their doors. The Museum of the Southern Jewish Experience began as an effort to preserve the artifacts and history of these declining communities. The MSJE completed its first building in 1989 on the grounds of Jacobs Camp in Utica. In 1992, the museum entered into a preservation agreement with Temple B'nai Israel in Natchez, Mississippi, with the congregation deeding their historic 1906 building to the museum. The museum created several award-winning exhibits, including "From Alsace to

America: Discovering a Southern Jewish Heritage" and "Bagels & Grits: Images of Southern Jewish Life." The MSJE maintained an active History Department that worked to gather information about every Jewish community that ever existed in the South. The museum also worked to restore and preserve historic Jewish cemeteries in communities that no longer had a Jewish presence.

In 2000, under Hart's leadership, the museum expanded its mission to become the Goldring/Woldenberg Institute of Southern Jewish Life. Incorporating the research and historic preservation work of the museum, the ISJL created new departments of Rabbinic Services, Education, and Cultural Programs. Many small congregations in the South and around the country do not have full-time rabbinic leadership. Reviving the old practice of circuit riding rabbis, the ISJL hired its first itinerant rabbi in 2003, who served over 24 small congregations in a four-state region. The ISJL also sought to raise the level of Jewish education in the small cities and towns of the region. The ISJL Education Department developed a complete and detailed non-denominational religious school curriculum administered by a team of Jewish educators, who travel across the region making site visits. In 2005, 28 different congregations in a four-state pilot region used the ISJL curriculum. The ISJL also works to bring leading Jewish cultural programs to small communities in the South through its Jewish Cinema South film series and its Southern States Jewish Literary Series.

Funded by both large foundations and individual members, the ISJL represents an innovative attempt to serve the spiritual, educational, and cultural needs of isolated and underserved Jewish communities in the South. Working outside of the national institutions of American Judaism and the movements, the ISJL envisions the Jews of the 12 southern states as if they were one community and synagogue. While most of its initial work focused on the Deep South, the Institute plans a gradual expansion to serve the entire 12-state region.

The problems of isolated and underserved Jewish communities are not limited to the South. In every region, small congregations do not have the resources to support a full-time rabbi or Jewish educator. The Institute of Southern Jewish Life is shaping a model of living Judaism and Jewish preservation that can be replicated in other parts of the country.

[Stuart Rockoff (2nd ed.)]

INSTITUTE OF TRADITIONAL JUDAISM, THE (ITJ), also known as the **Metivta**, the educational arm of the Union for Traditional Judaism. The ITJ was first established in 1991 in Mount Vernon, N.Y., under the rectorship of the renowned talmudic scholar Rabbi David Weiss *Halivni. Its dean, Rabbi Ronald D. Price, said that it would represent the motto coined by its *reish metivta* (Rector), *emunah ẓerufah ve-yosher da'at*, "Genuine Faith and Intellectual Honesty."

The founders of the ITJ sensed that the polarization of the Jewish community toward the right and the left created a vacuum in the middle. They observed that the Orthodox establishment had grown increasingly insistent on communal norms that went well beyond actual halakhic guidelines, while the liberal movements were abandoning a commitment to Jewish law altogether. The ITJ's founders noted that Orthodoxy was adopting debatable strictures – such as the rejection of joint synagogue councils with the non-Orthodox and the proscription of hearing a woman's voice – as universal standards. At the same time, they were convinced that in asserting a perceived moral imperative to supersede halakhic norms on the question of ordaining women as rabbis, the Conservative movement had opened itself to other infractions common in the Reform community such as the ordination of homosexuals, patrilineal descent, and intermarriage. The ITJ's objective was to create the needed outreach style rabbi who would be fully committed to halakhic observance while engaging the non-halakhic community with warmth and a willingness to work with all Jews regardless of affiliation.

At least as crucial was the sense that no existing institute of higher learning was prepared to accept both the notion that "God stepped into Man's history at Sinai" and a commitment to the value of the scientific study of sacred texts. As Rabbi Halivni, himself, said at the opening of the Metivta "our library will have Wellhausen in it, but not on the top shelf" – implying that the critical method of literary scholars would have its rightful place in the curriculum but would not be at its theological core. It was the hope of the founders that the school would be a bulwark for acceptance of the sacredness of biblical and rabbinic texts and that this very confidence in their holiness would also allow all methodologies to be applied to them in the search for their true meaning. Such an eventuality could only come about in an atmosphere uninfluenced by the religious politics of the day.

The leadership of the Institute regarded it as a transdenominational halakhic rabbinical school, although its graduates eventually found their place in Orthodox communities or non-affiliated traditional communities as well as in Jewish education and communal service. Because the original founders of the Metivta were products of both the Conservative movement and Orthodoxy, there was a question at the outset regarding the status of the *meḥiẓah* in synagogues and whether or not such was necessary. Once Rabbi Halivni announced his opinion that *le-khathilah* (*a priori*) a *meḥiẓah*, or at least separation of men and women was necessary and established that ITJ worship services would be with a full *meḥiẓah*, the issue subsided.

In 1995 the Metivta, along with the Union for Traditional Judaism moved to Teaneck, N.J. In 2005 the school began offering classes at a satellite site in the upper West side of Manhattan in addition to Teaneck. It also created two programs in addition to the *semikhah* track. The first was a co-sponsored Masters in Public Administration with emphasis on Jewish communal service with neighboring Fairleigh Dickinson University. The second was a *mekhinah* or preparatory program for men and women wishing to have an immersion experi-

ence in classical text study who would then go on to any rabbinical school, including the Metivta, or would return to lay life with the tools for lifelong learning.

Aside from Rabbi Halivni and Rabbi Price, the founders of the Metivta included philanthropists Horace Bier of Livingston, New Jersey, and Burton G. Greenblatt, of Teaneck, N.J., theologian Rabbi Professor David Novak, and master Jewish educator Dr. Miriam Klein Shapiro. The Metivta faculty included Rabbi Halivni, Hakham Isaac Sassoon from the Sephardi (Syrian) community, Rabbi Professor Novak, Rabbi Price and others ranging in background from the Mir yeshivah to graduates of Yeshiva University's RIETS, and graduates of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

[Ronald Price (2nd ed.)]

INSTITUTUM JUDAICUM DELITZSCHIANUM, institute for the study of Judaism and (in its original form) for missionary activity among the Jews. Connected with the faculties of Protestant theology at German universities, several such institutes came into being. The first one was established at Halle in 1728 by J.H. *Callenberg. It trained missionaries, and a printing office attached to it published Yiddish translations of the New Testament and other Christian literature. This institute was dissolved in 1791. In 1886 Franz *Delitzsch established an institute for training probationers in theology for missionary work among the Jews at Leipzig University in connection with the Lutheran mission to the Jews. It was responsible also for a number of publications, including a Hebrew translation of the New Testament. After Delitzsch's death in 1890 the institute was renamed in his memory. Gustav *Dalman succeeded him as director. The Nazis ordered it closed in 1935, but with the help of missionary societies it reopened in Vienna in December of that year and there celebrated its jubilee in 1936. In 1948, under the direction of K.H. Rengstorf, the Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum was reestablished in Munster in conjunction with the Evangelical Theological Faculty of the Westphalian Wilhelm University and since then has served as a research center for both Christian and Jewish scholars. For several years it has published the *Studia Delitzschiana* and the annual Franz Delitzsch Lectures. Its projects include a German translation of the Tosefta and a Greek concordance to Josephus. Along with similar institutions in Tuebingen, Berlin, and Hamburg, the Institutum played an important role in furthering Christian-Jewish dialogue, although the missionary aim has not been completely abandoned. H.L. *Strack established an Institutum Judaicum in Berlin in 1883, which was responsible for the publication of Strack's *Einleitung in den Talmud* (1887) as well as German translations of several tractates of the Mishnah. It had missionary interests, but when in 1923 under the direction of Hugo *Gressmann it was made officially part of the theological faculty, missionary activity was expressly excluded. It ceased to function in 1933.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K.H. Rengstorf, *Das Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum 1886–1961* (1963); J.F.A. de le Roi, *Die evangelische Christenheit und die Juden* (1884); idem, *Geschichte der evangelischen Judenmission*, 2 (1899); F. Guggenheim-Gruenberg, *Pfarrer Ulrich als Missionaer im Surbtal* (1953).

[Michael A. Meyer]

INSULT, disparagement or defamation of the character or injury to the feelings of another (Heb. *boshet, ona'at devarim, halbanat panim, hoẓa'at shem ra*). The rabbis of the Talmud distinguished between two main types of insult: that which causes embarrassment and verbal oppression. The primary biblical injunction against the first type of insult is, "Thou shalt surely rebuke thy neighbor, and not suffer sin upon him" (Lev. 19:17). Thus, wrongdoing should be admonished, but in a way that will not cause embarrassment. Even more so, embarrassing one who is innocent of wrongdoing is prohibited (Ar. 16b). The talmudic formulation of the sin of insult is *halbanat panim* (lit. "blanching of the face") which, when committed in public, is equated with murder and deprives the offender of his share in the world to come (BM 58b). This idea is emphasized in the talmudic statement: "Let a man rather cast himself into a fiery furnace than shame his fellow in public" (BM 59a). For this reason, the rabbis often did not deny unjust accusations against themselves and allowed misdeeds of which they were innocent to be attributed to themselves, rather than cause embarrassment by revealing the identity of the true culprits. They derived this ethical principle from such biblical sources as, "And Shechaniah … said unto Ezra: We have broken faith with God and have married foreign women …" (Ezra 10:2). Shechaniah included himself even though he was guiltless (Sanh. 11a). Included in the type of insult that causes embarrassment is the application of a derogatory nickname or epithet to one's fellow even if he is accustomed to that appellation (BM 58b). Related to the injunction against shaming is the commandment, "Ye shall not oppress one another" (Lev. 25:17), which the Talmud interprets as the second type of insult, namely, verbal oppression (*ona'at devarim*). Any taunt or expression of derision or gloating directed at someone which results in his mental anguish is prohibited. Thus it is forbidden to remind a repentant sinner or a proselyte of their past; or to quote to one who is suffering, "… who ever perished being innocent?" (Job 4:7); or to ask someone for an opinion on a topic of which he is known to be ignorant. In the view of the Talmud verbal oppression is more heinous than financial oppression, because it affects the victim's inner self, and because no real restoration is possible (BM 58b; Maim. Yad, Mekhirah, 14:18). The Torah enunciates additional prohibitions against insulting orphans and widows (Ex. 22:21), because of their sense of dejection (Maim. Yad, De'ot, 6:10), and proselytes (Ex. 22:20; Lev. 19:33), because of their vulnerability (*Sefer Ḥinnukh*, 63) and for fear that they may revert to their former state (BM 59b). Likewise, the Talmud prohibits insulting one's wife, "for she is readily moved to tears" (BM 59a). One who insults a Torah scholar (*talmid ḥakham*) is particularly condemned in the Talmud as one who "has spurned the word of the Lord" (Num. 15:31) and is considered a heretic (*apikoros*; Sanh. 99b). According to *halakhah*, a person may receive financial redress

for intentional embarrassment (*boshet*) caused him through a physical assault. The amount of compensation is determined by considering the degree of shame, and the status and reputation of the offender and the injured party. Although this compensation is limited to embarrassment arising from physical acts, the rabbis of the post-talmudic era prescribed a variety of penalties for purely verbal insult, including excommunication (*niddui*), flogging, and fines (ḤM 420:38). However, in cases where the insult is derived from a false statement, i.e., calumny (*moẓi shem ra*), the rabbis of the Talmud did prescribe penalties commensurate with the nature of the slander (Kid. 28a). Despite the strong injunctions against and penalties for the various types of insult, one is permitted to insult inveterate and unrepentant sinners, after the manner of the prophets, in order to secure their repentance and correction (Maim. Yad, De'ot, 6:8; *Sefer Ḥinnukh*, 240). Although some authorities maintain that when one is being insulted he may justifiably defend himself by responding in kind, the sages nevertheless praise the person who chooses to suffer indignities in silence: "Those who are insulted but do not insult, hear themselves reviled but do not answer … of them the Scriptures say, 'They who love Him are as the sun when He goeth forth in His might'" (Shab. 88b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y.M. Kagan, *Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim* (1963), passim; M. Lichstin, *Mitzvot ha-Levavot* (1924), 37–41; I. Epstein, *Judaism* (1959), 132ff.

[Joshua H. Shmidman]

INSURANCE.

Halakahic Aspect

Insurance activity may well serve as a model for the economic activities of the Jewish merchant throughout the ages. Hundreds of sources dealing with insurance for transport and fire are found in the halakhic literature, especially in the responsa collections.

There is no reference in the Bible to the practice of insurance, perhaps as a result of the biblical prohibition of interest in the loan agreements connected with it. The use of commercial agreements, however, such as the ancient Babylonian maritime loan, wherein an investor loaned money to an *agent-entrepreneur* who would convey merchandise abroad, sell or barter it, return and repay the loan, the profit and a fee for the insuring of the merchandise by the investor, was well known.

The topic of insurance as found in the *halakhah* can be divided into 5 periods: the Talmud, the Mediterranean countries (1100–1500), the Mediterranean countries during the Ottoman Empire (1500–1800), Europe (1700–1900), and the Twentieth Century.

THE TALMUD. The earliest Jewish record of an insurance practice is found in the Tosefta (BM 11:12) and is discussed in B. Bava Kamma 116b. Donkey drivers on caravan would arrange a program of mutual insurance whereby a driver losing his donkey during the course of the caravan would receive another donkey from a common fund. The same practice was found among Jewish shippers on Babylonian rivers, who would, in case of loss, receive a new boat from the ship owners' common fund. Both these practices were enforceable in the rabbinic court.

THE MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES 1100–1500. The next source for the insurance practice is found in *Sefer ha-Ezer* of Rabbi Meir ben Rabbi Yiẓḥak of 12th century Provence, who sanctions a contemporary use of the maritime loan among Jewish international shippers (quoted in *Kaftor va-Feraḥ*, Chapter 44; the original work is not extant). He is practically the only Jewish sage to sanction such a loan agreement.

Rabbi Solomon ben Adret (the "Rashba") in 13th century Spain mentions and permits a practice reminiscent of the maritime loan, but based upon the laws of bailment, as prevalent among Jewish overseas agents (Resp. 1:930; 2:325), and a practice among partners to include a clause guaranteeing income from profits earned by the partnership in case of illness (*ibid.*, 2:79, but see *Tashbeẓ* 1:35). In a responsum dating from 1388, Rabbi Isaac bar Sheshet validates the maritime shipping insurance contract involving a premium payment, long in practice, but not one containing a loan repayment formula (Ribash 308).

From Algeria, at the turn of the 15th century, there are records of gold bullion shipped to Christian Majorca under coverage of insurance – a standard expense (*Tashbeẓ* 3:74) – and the insuring of a cow bought by a butcher for kosher slaughter, against the danger of being found unfit for Jewish consumption (*trefah*; see Rashbash, Tikkun Soferim, laws of *Asmakhta*).

There are no references in the standard histories of insurance to these important sources for the early history of modern insurance.

THE MEDITERRANEAN LANDS DURING THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (1500–1800). The resettlement of Spanish Jewry after the Expulsion centered in North Africa, Italy and primarily the Ottoman Empire. Salonika, Constantinople, Venice, Ancona and Cairo boasted large, viable Jewish communities whose economic activities were based on international trade. The cold and not-so-cold war between Turkey and Christian Europe did not interfere with trade, but led to a proliferation of insurance contracts, and consequent litigation before the rabbinic courts, especially those of Salonika, whose *dayyanim* became experts in the insurance contract. Changes in course of transit, confiscation by the authorities, the different genres of accidents under coverage – all such disputes are found in the Salonikan rabbinic court decisions, usually decided upon the basis of prevalent commercial practice and interpretation of the contract. Even Italian merchants would litigate in Salonika. (See, for example, the responsa of Maharashdam, *Divrei Rivot*; Maharshach, *Torat Emet*, et al.)

The use of the *cambio* agreement, based upon repayment of a loan, together with an insurance charge, was quite prevalent, but it met with rabbinic opposition, on the grounds that it constituted an infringement of the laws of interest (*ribbit*).

From Italy and Turkey, the use of insurance spread to the land of Israel, Egypt, Corfu, Rhodes, and Tunis.

EUROPE (1700–1900). The well-known Jewish halakhic periodical, *Peri-Eẓ-Ḥayyim*, published by the *Eẓ Hayyim* Sephardi yeshivah of Amsterdam (1691–1807), in which scholars of the yeshivah replied to queries posed to them from throughout the Dutch colonial empire of its day, contains several references to shipping from the New World by Jewish merchants, under insurance coverage also granted by Jewish merchants.

Eastern Europe became the next center of insurance activity, especially Galicia. In the early 19th century, the rabbis of Brod dealt with the basic validity of the insurance contract, and the various halakhic problems involved, e,g., interest, *asmakhta*, etc. (see *Bet Efraim*, *Ḥoshen Mishpat* 34, 35 and *Gur Aryeh Yehudah*, *Yoreh De'ah* 119).

The use of fire insurance became widespread in Poland in general, and many responsa were written on the topic of the insurable interest and the indemnity principles. Towards the end of the century, material on fire and transport insurance occurs in the writings of Russian, Lithuanian and Hungarian rabbis.

The Twentieth Century

The twentieth century saw the emergence of life insurance, and questions were addressed to European authorities on its permissibility according to Jewish law. Further insurance topics are found in the works of the rabbis of Hungary (the prime center of Jewish activity after the decline of Galician Jewry), Poland, and – after World War II – Israel and America.

[Menahem Slae]

Jewish Involvement in Insurance

The Talmud contains references to partnership as a means of minimization of risks, but this must be differentiated from insurance proper, based on premiums. In the 14th to 16th centuries the insurers of the wool export of *Burgos included some 40 *Marrano families, related by birth or marriage, who maintained connections with the strategic centers of international trade – Bruges, Antwerp, Rouen, Nantes, and Florence – by means of commission agents and brokers who were generally relatives. In Amsterdam some Marranos ("Portuguese") entered insurance. In Hamburg an insurance contract with the participation of "Portuguese" Jews was signed only three years after the first such contract had been drawn up. In the 1620s and 1630s the "Portuguese" dominated the insurance field, constituting more than half of the insurance brokers and being particularly active in colonial shipping, where the risks and premiums were highest. Many rich Jews engaged in marine insurance too, such as Manuel *Teixera. In the late 17th and 18th centuries Jews left insurance in Hamburg and by 1778 only one remained there.

In France the *Gradis family of Bordeaux played a leading role in marine insurance. In 1757 Gradis and Alexander, "*negociants juifs*," had agreed to insure a corsair but postponed signing the contract because of the Sabbath: the next day the news that the ship had been seized by the British arrived. In the ensuing litigation the insurance was annulled by the court. Two Sephardi Jews, Joshua Mendes Da Costa (1741–1801) and Lewis Mendes (1716–1790), "one of the first Merchants of the City of London," were among the original founders of Lloyds, in which many Jews later participated, including the *Hart, *Goldsmid, *Samuel, *Solomons, *Montefiore, *Rothschild, and *Sassoon families. Benjamin *Gompertz (1779–1865) was a member of Lloyds and of the Royal Society, whose achievements in actuary statistics were internationally acknowledged. Nathan *Rothschild and Moses *Montefiore founded the Alliance Assurance Company for which the mathematician and actuary-statistician, Benjamin Gompertz, was chief actuary.

In Italy Giuseppe Lazzaro *Morpurgo (1762–1835) introduced modern methods and founded a number of insurance companies, among them the Assicurazioni Generali, the largest Italian insurance company. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries a number of Jewish insurance experts and entrepreneurs from Trieste helped to found and develop Austrian and Italian insurance and shipping companies.

Jews did not play an important role in insurance in other countries in modern times. In the first years of World War I a group of Jewish financiers in Russia headed by N.B. Glazer formed an insurance company syndicate to fill the vacuum created by the withdrawal of the German companies.

In both Europe and America Jews were proportionately underrepresented in the insurance business, though there were some notable exceptions, such as L.K. *Frankel (1867–1931), pioneer in social insurance and second vice president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and Louis I. Dublin, a public health and actuarial specialist.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: HALAKHIC ASPECT: S. Passamaneck, *Insurance in Rabbinic Law* (1974); M. Slae, *Ha-Bituaḥ bi-Mekorot ha-Halakhah* (1974); idem, in: *Nazir Eḥav*, 3 (1978), 292–327; idem, in: *Noam*, 20 (1978), 272–8. JEWISH INVOLVEMENT IN INSURANCE: J. Graf, in: *Dr. Bloch's Oesterreichische Wochenschrift*, 29 (1912), 843–5, 865, 880; H.I. Bloom, *Economic Activities of the Jews of Amsterdam* (1937), index; W.S. Samuel, in: JHSEM, 5 (1948), 176–92; H. Kellenbenz, *Sephardim an der unteren Elbe* (1958), 268–71; G. Stefani, *Insurance in Venice*, 1 (1958), 262f.; Z. Szajkowski, *Franco-Judaica* (1962), 94–100; J. Zoller, in: *Freie juedische Lehrerstimme*, 6 (1917), 45–7, 74; H. Landaw, in: *Ekonomishe Shriften*, 2 (1932), 102–3; J. Pick, in: *The Jews of Czechoslovakia* (1968), 366–9.

INTELLECT. The rationalism of medieval Jewish philosophy is manifest in its doctrines of intellect. Seen as both an incorporeal, universal heavenly substance and as a personal psychic faculty, intellect is both within man and without; it is viewed as the source and goal of all knowledge, man's bridge to the upper world and to everlasting happiness.

The creative aspect of intellect is concentrated in a heavenly substance, which is regarded as the place of all universal ideas. It is called Intellect or Mind in the neoplatonic tradition (see *Neoplatonism) and Agent or Active Intellect in the Aristotelian (see *Aristotle and Aristotelianism), where it is the last of ten such intelligences and responsible for the

sublunar sphere of earth (see *Cosmology, *Emanation; Plotinus, *Enneads* 5:9, 1–9; Solomon ibn Gabirol, *Mekor Ḥayyim* (*Fons Vitae*), 2:8, 20; 3:26; Israeli, "The Book of Substances," in: A. Altmann and S.M. Stern (eds.), *Isaac Israeli* (1958), 85 ff.; Maimonides, *Guide*, 2:4). Both are viewed as proceeding from God, entrusted by Him with the shape and destiny of the world; in more Aristotelian terms, they are the formal and final causes of earthly things. As such the neoplatonic Intellect and the Aristotelian Agent Intellect in their respective traditions play the role assigned to *Logos* in *Philo and the Word in Christianity.

Man's intellect is related to this heavenly substance as a further emanation or individualization of universal Intelligence. Thinking is viewed as a process whereby the individual intellect and the object of intellection are both "illuminated" by the "light" of the universal intellect, leading to knowledge of the ideas latent in objects of our perception. Man's intellect thus "recreates" the intelligibles underlying all reality, bringing them and himself from potentiality to actuality. During intellection, the subject becomes one with its object, intellect becoming its intelligible (as said of Aristotle's Unmoved Mover, or God, in *Metaphysics*, 12:9, 1074b 34; and see *On the Soul* 3:4, 5). The philosophers prefer to call this relation "conjunction" (Arabic *ittiṣāl*, Hebrew *devekut*) rather than "union," which is the mystics' term, emphasizing thereby its impermanent nature and the retention of individuality by man and, particularly, by the universal Agent Intellect. The total, transcendent nature of the latter is generally considered beyond man's comprehension. Among the ideas that man can know for a certainty are self-evident principles of reason, or the laws of logic, and the rational structure of the world. They lead man to the knowledge of God's existence and His relation to man and the world. Such ideas place even relatively simple religious belief in an intellectual framework. Religious teachings are then seen as either obviously or ultimately rational, and the intellect to a large degree becomes the arbiter of faith (see particularly Saadiah Gaon, *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, introd. 5; 2:13; 3:1–4).

Human intellect is analyzed as a faculty of the soul and regarded as one of the internal senses. It is that which receives the already semiabstracted perceptions, known as phantasms, from the soul's intellectually disposed imagination or memory, and brings the process of abstraction and generalization to completion. The explanation of the process of disengagement from matter is facilitated for the later philosophers by their subdivision of the Aristotelian concept of active and passive states of intellect into a number of stages. Chief among these are the "hylic" (material), or "potential," intellect, viewed either as an incorporeal substance (following *Themistius) or as a disposition of the body to receive intelligibles (following *Alexander of Aphrodisias); the intellect "in act" and its counterpart, intellect "in *habitu*," which express an intellect that has become under the influence of the Agent Intellect actual and experienced; and the "acquired" intellect, representing intellectual perfection and conjunction with the world of eternal substances (a world also identified with the angelic realm; see F. Rahman's summary of the influential views of al-Fārābī and Avicenna, *Prophecy in Islam* (1958), 11–29; and see Levi ben Gershom's survey, *Milḥamot ha-Shem*, Part 1).

Philosophers disputed whether this last stage can be reached by natural processes and whether personal identity is retained in it, vital issues relating to man's happiness and immortality. Despite opposition from traditional circles, the trend toward acceptance of a unified intellect and the loss of individuality in intellection, discernible in the thought of the Muslim philosopher Ibn Bājjah (see *Avempace) and of *Maimonides (see *Guide* 1:72; 74, 7th method), is pronounced in the writings of the Averroists. For *Averroes, whose influence upon such late figures as *Moses of Narbonne and *Levi ben Gershom was great, the potential intellect is a disposition of the Agent Intellect itself, only accidentally related to imaginative forms and man. Conjunction of the acquired intellect with the Agent Intellect, therefore, is seen as possible even in this life, and even though man, as commonly understood, thereby surrenders himself to universal being.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Altmann, in: *H.A. Wolfson Jubilee Volume*, 1 (1965), 47–87; I. Efros, in: JQR, 33 (1942/43), 133–70; O. Hamelin, *La théorie de l'intellect d'après Aristote et ses commentateurs* (1953), 3–72; A. Ivry, in: JAOS, 86 (1966), 76–85; H.A. Wolfson, in: *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 22 (1961), 3–32; Guttmann, Philosophies, index s.v. *Intellect*. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** H. Davidson, *Alfarabi, Avicenna and Averroes on Intellect* (1992); Sirat, *History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (1985), index s.v. *Intellect*; D. Schwartz, "The Quadripartite Division of the Intellect in Medieval Jewish Thought," in: JQR. 84:2–3 (1993–94), 227–36; R. Jospe, *Torah and Sophia: The Life and Thought of Shem Tov ibn Falaquera* (1988), ch. 4.

[Alfred L. Ivry]

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH GENEALOGICAL SOCIETIES. The International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies (IAJGS) is an independent non-profit umbrella organization coordinating activities for more than 80 Jewish genealogical societies spanning six continents. The IAJGS was formed in the late 1980s as a result of the growing interest in Jewish genealogy and the local groups that grew up as a result. The first president was Gary Mokotoff, a pioneer in Jewish genealogy, who led the IAJGS for the first few years.

Thirty years ago, genealogy was typically described as a hobby for retired people who trudged from archive to archive and few Jews at that time were among them. Then a series of events occurred, beginning with Alex Haley's *Roots* that mesmerized television audiences night after night. The thought of tracing one's ancestors back to the old country struck a chord in literally millions of people, whether it was back to Africa or the *shtetls* of Eastern Europe. In 1977, the first Jewish genealogy society was founded in New York and the number of societies worldwide has continued to grow. These societies have motivated and guided thousands of Jews through lectures, seminars, and publications. The IAJGS

has sponsored or co-sponsored international seminars held in cities throughout the United States, Canada, England, France and Israel.

The IAJGS promotes membership in local societies, acts as a spokesperson for the societies in areas of mutual interest, and provides new member societies with services to help in their development and growth. The IAJGS also provides monetary awards for special projects and presents achievement awards recognizing excellence in various aspects of Jewish genealogy during the annual international conferences. Various committees of the IAJGS address important issues such as Public Records Access (both in the United States and worldwide), fundraising activities for the member societies, and The International Jewish Cemetery Project to document Jewish burial sites throughout the world. Thus far it has identified over 22,000 cemeteries. The IAJGS project identifies only cemeteries and burial sites. It is not an index of individual names and graves.

Among the recent projects of the IAJGS are (1) achieving agreement with the Family History Library to remove thousands of names of Jewish Holocaust victims that had been inappropriately included in the International Genealogical Index and (2) gathering and making available data to support the research of Jewish genealogists, including the Family Tree of the Jewish People; various Jewish records at the Family History Library in Salt Lake City, Utah; and cemetery and burial information.

The Internet, along with the increasing number of computerized databases (Ellis Island, Yad Vashem, and others) has made it much easier for Jews worldwide to look for their roots and to discover previously unknown relatives.

Hidden within the files of archives and libraries throughout the world are old pieces of paper testifying to the lives of our families. When the family historian discovers one of these documents, an aging piece of paper is transformed into a profound connection between past and future. What was once a hobby for mostly amateurs is now a vocation for a growing number of professional researchers, producing scholarly publications that have become the authoritative word on a particular subject, welcomed and treasured by archivists, librarians, and genealogists.

The IAJGS is an active participant in coordinating the activities of organized genealogy and continues to expand its list of accomplishments through its joint projects with various organizations and institutions worldwide.

Selected Websites:

UNITED STATES. Avotaynu, Inc., http://www.avotaynu.com
Center for Jewish History, New York, NY, http://www.cjh.org
Ellis Island Foundation, http://www.ellisisland.org
Genealogy Institute, http://www.cjh.org/family/
Family History Library, http://www.lds.org
Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, http://www.hias.org/splash.html
International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies, http://www.iajgs.org
JewishGen, Inc., http://www.jewishgen.org
Leo Baeck Institute, New York, http://www.lbi.org/
Routes to Roots Foundation, Inc., http://www.rtrfoundation.org
U.S. Holocaust Museum and Archives in Washington, D.C., http://www.ushmm.org.
United States National Archives – The Genealogy page, http://www.nara.gov/genealogy/genindex.html
YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, http://www.yivoinstitute.org

ISRAEL. Central Archive for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem, http://sites.huji.ac.il/archives/
Hebrew University, The Jewish History Resource Center, http://www.hum.huji.ac.il/dinur/
Jewish National Library, http://jnul.huji.ac.il/
Yad Vashem, http://www.yadvashem.org/

POLAND. Jewish Historical Institute, http://www.jewishinstitute.org.pl

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.M. Guzik (ed.), *Genealogical Resources in the New York Metropolitan Area* (1989, rev. 2003); A. Kurzweil, *From Generation to Generation* (1981; rev. 2004); A. Kurzweil and M. Weiner, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Genealogy*, vol. 1 (1991, 1996); G. Mokotoff and S.A. Sack, *Where Once We Walked* (1991; rev. 2002); N. Rosenstein, *The Unbroken Chain: Biographical Sketches and Genealogy of Illustrious Jewish Families from the 15th–20th Century* (1990 rev. ed.); S.A. Sack and G. Mokotoff (eds.), *Avotaynu Guide to Jewish Genealogy* (2004); M.H. Stern, *First American Jewish Families: 600 Genealogies, 1654–1988* (1991, updates 1978 ed.); M. Weiner, *Jewish Roots in Poland: Pages from the Past and Archival Inventories* (1997); idem, *Jewish Roots in Ukraine and Moldova: Pages from the Past and Archival Inventories* (1999). Periodical: *Avotaynu: The International Review of Jewish Genealogy* (published quarterly).

[Miriam Weiner (2nd ed.)]

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE, international body originating as an informal gathering of Jewish social workers who attended the First International Conference of Social Work in Paris in 1928. The International Conference of Jewish Communal Service evolved slowly as an unplanned meeting of representatives of organizations and countries. A second informal conference was held in Frankfurt, Germany, in 1932 and a third one in London in 1936. The sessions were not recorded. The fourth assembly was held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, in 1948. Like the preceding conferences, it was held in conjunction with the International Conference of Social Work. While informal meetings continued to take place together with the biannual International Conference of Social Work, a decision was reached in 1964 to establish a permanent planning committee for an independent conference of Jewish communal workers. This group organized the fifth conference of Jewish Communal Services in Jerusalem in 1967, which voted to hold sessions, in Jerusalem, every four years. In 1994 it changed its name to

World Council of Jewish Communal Services (WCJCS), holding subsequent conferences in 1998 and 2003 with a stated aim of strengthening Jewish life and community both in Israel and the Diaspora.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Glikson (ed.), *Jewish Communal Services; Preliminary Survey…* (1967); *International Conference of Jewish Communal Service, Jerusalem, 1967. Official Programme…* (1967). **WEBSITE:** www.wcjcs.org.

[Joseph Neipris]

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN, an organization linking Jewish women from 47 countries in the five continents with 52 affiliated national organizations, which represents a total membership of over 1,000,000. The Council was founded in 1912 in Rome, but ceased to function during World War I and did not resume its activities until 1923, at a meeting in Vienna. After its meeting in Hamburg, Germany, in 1939, it was rendered inactive by World War II and the Nazi Holocaust, but was reconstituted in 1949 in Paris, where representatives from six countries met and drew up the constitution which reestablished the International Council of Jewish Women on its present basis. Ten regular triennial conventions have been held since the first one in 1951.

The major objective of the ICJW is to advance human welfare in the Jewish and general communities. It seeks to stimulate and assist its affiliates to promote programs and train volunteers to serve in the fields of child, youth, and family welfare, mental health, medical care, education, special needs of the aged, and the social, economic, and legal status of women both in Jewish and secular law.

Dedicated to the purpose of strengthening the Jewish community and the Jewish family in the great traditions of Judaism, the ICJW encourages and helps its affiliates to foster and promote Jewish education. The ICJW also exchanges information on projects which are supported by the affiliates to advance education and social welfare in Israel,

United Nations Work

The ICJW seeks to spread knowledge about and promote support for the United Nations, to which it has been accredited, and has been granted consultative status with the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). For these purposes the ICJW has appointed an official accredited representative and an alternate in New York City and a representative in Geneva who participate directly in their activities. They attend regular sessions of the United Nations and cooperate with national and international organizations engaged in United Nations-related activities. On the basis of their consultative status they participate directly in the work of ECOSOC and UNICEF.

Structure

The International Council of Jewish Women is a non-political organization consisting of affiliated national organizations and associated members from countries where there is no affiliate. It is supported by dues from both categories of membership. Each affiliate organization is autonomous and is made up of a cross section of the Jewish women of that country, and carries out educational and social projects in accordance with the country's needs and opportunities. The ICJW maintains close contact with affiliates through the exchange of information, field service visits, and reciprocal communication between ICJW and the affiliates through the office of the president and the 11 ICJW standing committees which comprise members of the affiliates. The council publishes the ICJW Newsletter in English and Spanish, which appears several times a year.

WEBSITE: www.icjw.org.

INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION (ILGWU), U.S. trade union that represented hundreds of thousands of apparel industry workers over the course of the 20th century. Founded by 11 male Jewish tailors on June 3, 1900, the ILGWU relied on a largely female rank-and-file membership for most of its history, even as it excluded women from its top leadership positions.

The ILGWU became a mass movement due to the support and leadership of the young Jewish and Italian female immigrants who participated in the Shirtwaist Strike of 1909. These workers, mostly between the ages of 16 and 25, fashioned the popular buttoned blouses known as "shirtwaists." They worked for long hours in shops that often lacked sanitary lavatories and accessible fire exits; contractors deducted expenses from their already low wages for electricity, needles, belts, and even their chairs. Although many male ILGWU workers doubted that "temporary" female workers could organize, some of these women fought against these oppressive working conditions by forming Local 25.

In the fall of 1909, in response to strikes that had erupted in individual garment shops, the ILGWU called a meeting at New York's Cooper Union. The roster of speakers included such labor luminaries as Samuel *Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, Meyer *London, the first Lower East Side socialist to be elected to Congress, and Mary Dreier of the middle-class Women's Trade Union League. The union had not invited any working women to speak, but that did not stop Local 25's Clara Lemlich from demanding the podium. Interrupting the proceedings, she called for a general strike. Her impassioned Yiddish oration ignited what became known as the "Uprising of the Twenty Thousand." Between 30,000 and 40,000 garment workers, mostly young Jewish women, walked out of their shops in subsequent weeks. The strike achieved some successes, including material improvements for the workers and obtaining union recognition in some shops. The strikers' resolve also transformed the ILGWU from a financially insolvent organization with little bargaining power to a major player in labor disputes while demonstrating that unskilled women workers could wage militant strikes.

However, the partial nature of the 1909 victory became evident on March 25, 1911, when the Jewish-owned Triangle Shirtwaist factory caught fire. The factory owners had not complied with the legal safety guidelines specified in the

1909 settlement; the building possessed only two of the three staircases required by law and the doors to those stairways had been locked to prevent "pilferage." The windows became the only escape route for the workers and many jumped to their deaths. Too late for the 146 workers who perished in the blaze, the Triangle Fire led to more effective safety regulation in New York State.

In addition to organizing and negotiating, the members of ILGWU Local 25 also believed that the union should provide workers with educational and social opportunities. In 1916, Local 25 convinced the International to start an education department. No one devoted more energy and guidance to this aspect of the union than Fannia M. *Cohn, an activist who became the education department's executive secretary. Cohn spearheaded the Worker's University, where esteemed scholars delivered lectures, and the department established eight "Unity Centers" in New York City to offer more basic courses in English, hygiene, gymnastics, speech, and literature. The members of Local 25 also believed that women workers deserved recreational opportunities to relax and socialize with their union sisters where they could build the personal bonds that would sustain their political struggles. In 1916, the local established Unity House, a vacation retreat in the Catskills region in New York. In 1921, Unity House, now located at a site in the Pocono Mountains which could accommodate 900 people, was put under the direct administration of the ILGWU.

After a decline in the 1920s, and in spite of internal fights between communists and socialists within the union, the ILGWU re-emerged in the pro-labor, New Deal 1930s as a major player in labor negotiations and also began to devote attention to the "International" elements of organizing. Rose *Pesotta, the only woman on the General Executive Board of the 85% female union and vice president from 1934 until 1942, was sent to organize garment workers in Montreal and Puerto Rico. The union expanded its public relations in the 1930s, promoting its message to the public in innovative ways. In 1936, the union produced a musical revue called *Pins and Needles*, which became the longest-running musical of its time. The show, written by Harold Rome and performed entirely by ILGWU members, dealt with issues of work, unionism, and, by the 1940s, war and fascism, with humor and wit.

While the ILGWU had great success in reducing sweatshop labor in the United States in the early part of the century, sweatshop conditions re-emerged in the late 20th century and continued into the 21st. To avoid labor regulations in the U.S., some American clothing manufacturers relocated their factories to Third World countries that did not enforce minimum wage and safety laws. The ILGWU began responding to this global problem in the late 1960s and continued to combat these issues into the 21st century. In 1995, the ILGWU merged with the Amalgamated Clothing and Textiles Union to form UNITE, the Union of Needle Trades, Industrial and Textile Employees. In 2004, UNITE again combined with HERE, the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union. As with the ILGWU at the beginning of the 20th century, UNITE-HERE still serves a large immigrant constituency, mostly of Latino, Asian, and African American descent. Women continue to comprise a majority of the membership.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.E. Hyman and D.D. Moore (eds.), "International Ladies Garment Workers Union," in: *Jewish Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (1997), 674–80; A. Kessler-Harris, "Organizing the Unorganizable: Three Jewish Women and Their Union," in: *Labor History*, 17 (1976), 5–23; A. Orleck, *Common Sense and a Little Fire: Women and Working-Class Politics in the United States* (1995); G. Tyler, *Look for the Union Label* (1995).

[Rachel Kranson (2nd ed.)]

INTERNATIONAL TRACING SERVICE, founded in 1945 in Arolsen, German Federal Republic, by the Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces. Since 1955 it has been directed by the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva, though financed by the German Federal Republic. The archives contain nominal records of inmates of German concentration camps from 1933 to 1945, of foreigners who worked in Germany during World War II, and of *Displaced Persons in Western Europe immediately after the war. There are approximately 2,500,000 pages of lists and 8,000,000 individual records. New documents are continually acquired. There is a master index of 28,000,000 reference cards for the records, which are classified exclusively for the checking of individual cases. Excerpts from documents are established according to subject matter, such as deportation, detention in concentration camps, or death in such a camp. Since 1955 a staff of more than 200 persons has answered about 150,000 inquiries annually. The service has published a *Catalogue of Camps and Prisons in Germany and German-occupied Territories, 1939–1945* (2 vols. and supplement, 1949–51), and official documents of a general character referring to concentration camps were collected for a revised edition of which a first volume was published in 1969 in German under the title *Vorlaeufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstaetten unter dem Reichsfuehrer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten 1933–1945* ("Preliminary Register of Concentration Camps and their Commandos and of other places of detention under the control of the Reichsfuehrer-SS in Germany and German-occupied territories"). With the passage of time, tracing represents a small percentage of the activities of the ITS, whose main task is to assemble, classify, and evaluate records about prisoners of the concentration camps and other places of detention, Jews who were deported, foreigners who were in the territory of the Reich, displaced persons under the care of international relief organizations, and children who were separated from their parents due to the war.

In 1990 the American Red Cross opened the Holocaust and War Victims Tracing Center after the release of files on 130,000 people detained for forced labor and 46 death books containing 74,000 names from Auschwitz. It provides tracing services free of charge and expedites requests to the ICRC's International Tracing Services in Arolsen, Germany. As of 2005

it had received more than 30,000 inquiries and had confirmed 7,000 deaths and found 1,000 persons still alive, thus facilitating family reunification.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Robinson and P. Friedman (eds.), *Guide to the Jewish History Under Nazi Impact* (1960), 140–2.

[Nicolas Burckhardt / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

INTERPRETATION

This article is arranged according to the following outline:

DEFINITION OF TERMS

In Jewish law interpretation is called Midrash – a word deriving from the verb *darosh*, meaning study and investigation of the inner and logical meaning of a particular text as opposed to its plain and literal reading. The word *darosh* is also used in the same sense to denote investigation of the true and "unrevealed" position as regards a particular factual event (Deut. 13:15; "*Ve-darashta ve-ḥakarta ve-sha'alta heitev*" – "you shall investigate and inquire and interrogate thoroughly" – hence the term *derishah va-ḥakirah* with reference to the interrogation of *witnesses). For the act of interpretation the word *talmud* is sometimes used (e.g., Sanh. 11:2; cf. Avot 4:13), and also the word *din* (e.g., Mak. 5b). In the field of the *halakhah*, the concept of Midrash has a meaning similar to *interpretatio* in Roman law and to "interpretation" in English law. The term *parshanut* was originally used in the sense of commentary (i.e., elucidation), generally amounting to a rephrasing or translation of the text into simpler and more easily understood terms; however, in the course of time the term *parshanut* also came to be employed in Jewish law in the sense of interpretation, and at the present time has both meanings. The interpretative process is often executed with the aid of fixed rules by which the exegete is guided; these are "the *middot* by means of which the Torah is interpreted" (see below). The process of interpretation began with Midrash of the Torah (i.e., Bible exegesis) and was followed by Midrash of the *halakhah*, i.e., of the Mishnah, both Talmuds, and post-talmudic halakhic literature (see below). In addition there evolved, from very early days, a system for the interpretation of various legal documents (see below), and after the redaction of the Talmud for the interpretation of communal enactments also (*takkanot ha-kahal*; see below).

BIBLE EXEGESIS

Substance of Bible Exegesis in Jewish Law: Creative Interpretation and Integrative Interpretation

A reading of halakhic literature reveals that very many *halakhot* are stated in midrashic form, i.e., the particular *halakhah* is integrated into and interwoven with a biblical passage (this

is the form adopted in the **Midreshei Halakhah*, halakhic literature on biblical passages, some details of which are mentioned below) and is not stated in the form of an abstract *halakhah* which stands by itself (as is the accepted and general form in the Mishnah). Scholars have expressed different opinions on the substantive nature of this form of interpretation. According to some, it is a merely literary device for a manner of studying the *halakhot*, i.e., the essential halakhic rule was not created in consequence of the interpretation of a particular scriptural passage but had already been in existence (having originated from other legal sources of the *halakhah*, such as *kabbalah* ("tradition"), **takkanah* ("enactment"), **minhag* ("custom"), etc.) and the scholars merely found support for the existing halakhic rule through allusion to a biblical passage. Such allusion was made for two reasons:

(a) in order to facilitate recall of a rule which, in ancient times, had never been reduced to writing but studied orally and hence had to be studied together with the relevant biblical passage;

(b) in order to stress the integral connection between the Oral and the Written Law, since the latter constituted the basic norm of the entire halakhic system. Another view is that Bible exegesis is much more than a mere literary device for studying the *halakhah*; on the contrary, the biblical passage into which the halakhic rule is integrated constitutes at the same time the source of the rule; i.e., the rule was created out of the study and examination of the particular passage and without such an interpretation of the passage the rule would never have existed at all. Some scholars suggest that at first Midrash served as a source for the evolution of the law and that in later times it ceased to serve this purpose, while other scholars take the contrary view.

It is clear that even the scholars who hold that Bible exegesis served as a source for the evolution of the law do not regard that fact as meaning that in every case of Bible exegesis the halakhic rule in question necessarily evolved from such exegesis. Thus as regards a certain section of the biblical expositions, it is specifically stated that they are in the nature of **asmakhta be-alma* (i.e., simply allusion to a particular passage; see, e.g., Ber. 41b; Er. 4b: "They are but traditional laws for which the rabbis have found allusions in Scripture," cf. Tosef. Ket. 12:2; TJ, Git. 5:1). Thus the scholars emphasize that the *halakhot* do not derive from the Bible exegesis, but from some other legal source of the *halakhah*, and are merely supported by allusions to particular biblical passages. This is also so in the case of numerous other *halakhot* arrived at by way of interpretation; even though they are not said to be in the nature of *asmakhta* alone, it cannot be determined with certainty whether in each case they derived from the particular interpretation of the biblical passages concerned, or whether they evolved from some other legal source and were merely integrated into the relevant biblical passages.

Halakhic Creativity by Means of Interpretation (Midrash)

It appears that from the inception of the *halakhah* and throughout its history, Midrash has served as a creative source of Jewish law and as an instrument in its evolution and development (see Yad, introd. and Mamrim 1:2). In point of time and importance, it constitutes the primary legal source of Jewish law (see **Mishpat Ivri*). Throughout the history of the *halakhah*, scholars had to face the twofold problem of (a) reconciling difficulties emerging from the study of biblical passages, and (b) resolving new problems arising in daily life, particularly in consequence of changed economic and social realities.

The evolution of new *halakhot* was a natural outcome of the use of Midrash by the scholars in their efforts to overcome difficulties in the elucidation of Scripture, and Midrash led to great creativity, especially when applied to the solution of new problems. Although other means of solving such new problems were available (e.g., through the enactment of *takkanot*), the scholars nevertheless first and above all sought to find the solutions in Scripture itself, by endeavoring to penetrate to its inner or "concealed" content. In the eyes of the scholars Midrash was also to be preferred over the *takkanah* as a means of resolving new problems: the *takkanah* represented intentional and explicit lawmaking, designed to add to, detract from, or otherwise change the existing and sanctified *halakhah*, whereas in the case of Midrash the new *halakhah* derived from the scriptural passage concerned was not designed to add to the latter and certainly did not stand in contradiction to it. The link between the new *halakhah* and the Written Law was seen as a natural one of father and offspring, and the *halakhah* evolved from Scripture was, as it were, embedded in the latter from the beginning. Hence it may reasonably be assumed that the halakhic scholars would first have turned to Midrash in their search for solutions to the new problems that arose, and only when this offered no adequate or satisfactory answer would they turn to other legal sources of the *halakhah*.

Evidence of Creative Interpretation in Ancient *Halakhah*

From early tannaitic sources it may be inferred that Midrash already served as a creative legal source of the *halakhah*. Thus the description is given of how the judges would deliberate the relevant scriptural passage in each case before they gave judgment: "And if he had committed murder, they deliberated the passage dealing with murder; if he had committed incest, they deliberated the passage dealing with incest" (Tosef. Sanh. 9:1); similarly as regards the legal order of succession. The Pentateuch prescribes the order as son, daughter, brother, brothers of the father, and then the nearest kin of the deceased (Num. 27:6–11); the father is not mentioned as an heir but this omission is rectified in the Mishnah, where his place in the order is determined as falling after the children of the deceased and before the latter's brothers (BB 8:1). The scholars arrived at this result by interpreting the above-mentioned pentateuchal passage in this manner: "Ye shall give his inheritance unto his kinsman that is next to him of his family, 'that is next to him' – the nearest relative takes preference." Even though the above is only enjoined after the brothers of the deceased and

his father's brothers are mentioned as heirs, the scholars nevertheless ranked the father above the latter since "the Torah has authorized the scholars to interpret and say: 'whoever is nearest in kinship takes preference in inheritance'" (Sif. Num. 134). At times differences of opinion amongst the scholars regarding the manner of interpreting the verse naturally also led to different legal conclusions (e.g., Git. 9:10 and Mid. Tannaim to 23:15, concerning the grounds for divorce; also, as regards the taking of a pledge from a rich widow, see BM 9:13 and BM 115a; and see below).

Midrash and Roman Law *Interpretatio*

In Roman law also and by a similar process in other legal systems – at the beginning and after the Twelve Tables – *interpretatio* fulfilled an eminently creative function which, according to R. Sohm (*The Institutes* (1970[3]), 55f.), evolved and even changed the law without affecting the written letter of it. The purpose of *interpretatio* in Roman law has been described by Dernburg: "It is true that the content of a law should be expressed in the document wherein it is contained, but it is not necessary that this content must be derived directly from the words of the law; often the general wording of a law leads one to conclusions that are not expressed in so many words in this law, but which nevertheless are undoubtedly the correct conclusions to be drawn therefrom; *interpretatio* must therefore recognize as an authoritative conclusion from the law, not only that which derives from what is explicitly and directly stated in the law but also that deriving from what is indirectly stated therein; this may be referred to as the 'concealed content' of the law" (H. Dernburg, *Pandekten*, 1, pt. 1 (1900[6]), 73).

Different Literary Forms for Creative and Integrative Interpretation

The existence of the two forms of Midrash, differing in function and objective, also led to a differentiation in their literary expression. When the object of the interpretation was not to create *halakhah* but simply to integrate existing *halakhah* into a scriptural verse, this could be achieved even by means of forced and symbolic modes of interpretation – such as analysis of seemingly superfluous words and letters – since this sufficed for the integrative purpose. Such artificial associations also represented an accepted literary device in other ancient civilizations (see S. Lieberman, in bibl., p. 62f., 77f.; in recent generations efforts have been made to explain these symbolic modes of interpretation in an orderly and systematic manner and much was done in this field by Meir Loeb *Malbim). On the other hand, when the interpretation was made in order to evolve a particular *halakhah*, this was generally effected solely through rational modes of interpretation in the wider sense of the term, i.e., within the framework of the "concealed content" of the scriptural verse (although there are also instances in which *halakhot* were evolved through symbolic modes of interpretation, and this was particularly the case in the academy of R. Akiva; see, e.g., Sanh. 51b and see below).

[Menachem Elon]

Biblical Exegesis and its Place in Formulating *Halakhah*

Research into biblical exegesis has produced further conclusions regarding its place in the creation and formulation of *halakhah* since ancient times. Thus, it has examined the manner in which the exegetical method was utilized to interpret biblical verses to adjust them to the prevailing Jewish law. Allusions to this manner of interpretation are already found within the biblical corpus, such as in the Book of Chronicles (see Bibliography, Seeligmann). For a detailed discussion of research of tannaitic and amoraic exegesis, see *Midrash; **Midreshei Halakhah.*

[Menachem Elon (2[nd] ed.)]

Development of Bible Exegesis

UNTIL HILLEL THE ELDER. The process of exegesis began immediately after the law-giving, since in turning to the Written Law the halakhic scholars necessarily had to have recourse to various modes of interpretation for the purposes of its elucidation and application to the new problems that arose. However, the earliest clear literary references to exegetical activity only date back to the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. With reference to Ezra's efforts to direct the returned exiles back to the law of the Torah, it is stated: "For Ezra had set his heart to interpret (*lidrosh*) the law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and ordinances" (Ezra 7:10). The people were taught the law: "And they read in the book, in the law of God, distinctly; and they gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading" (Neh. 8:8), i.e., they interpreted the Torah by way of deep study, in order to understand its contents and laws. Ezra is called *ha-sofer* ("the scribe"; Ezra 7:11), a name which has also adhered to his contemporaries and to the succeeding scholars and which has been explained thus: "Therefore the *rishonim* were called *soferim* because they used to count all the letters of the Torah" (Ḥag. 15b; Kid. 30a). The Midrash of the scribes, or *soferim*, was not mere *interpretatio doctrinalis*, with no legal and binding validity attaching to the conclusions derived from it, but was in the nature of *interpretatio authentica*, and the conclusions derived from it constituted an integral and binding part of the *halakhah* itself. This was so even though it was derived outside the context of the law's being decided in a concrete case (see **Ma'aseh*).

Evidence of the interpretative process can be found in the Septuagint Bible translation and in the Book of *Ben Sira (e.g., 39:1–3); the process received a sharp impetus in the time of the **zugot* (pairs of scholars), when the *Pharisees, in their struggle against the *Sadducees, sought to prove the correctness of the Oral Law with the aid of interpretation. Thus, for instance, of the fourth scholarly pair it was said, "the two greatest men of our generation, Shemaiah and Avtalyon … are great sages and great interpreters" (*darshanim*; Pes. 70b), and of Hillel, a member of the fifth scholarly pair, it was said that he "expounded seven *middot* [rules of interpretation] before the elders of the sons of Bathyra" (introd. to Sifra, *Baraita* of R. Ishmael, concl.; see also Tosef. Sanh. 7:11; ARN[1] 37, 110). These *middot*, or rules, were not innovations of Hillel; he sim-

ply crystallized them, although he may have provided some of the names which adhere to them (Sifra, loc. cit.).

R. NEHUNYAH B. HA-KANAH AND R. NAHUM OF GIMZO. Toward the end of the first century a difference of approach to Bible exegesis was asserted by two of Johanan b. Zakkai's pupils. Neḥunyah b. ha-Kanah took the view that a rational standard (by way of the rule of *kelal u-ferat*, i.e., the general and the particular: see below) had to be maintained in the conclusions drawn from the modes of interpretation; while Nahum of Gimzo favored drawing wide conclusions from the modes of interpretation (by way of *ribbui u-mi'ut*, i.e., inclusion and exclusion), even when the conclusion was not altogether in keeping with the general meaning of the verse (Tosef. Shevu. 1:7; Shevu. 26a).

R. ISHMAEL AND R. AKIVA AND THEIR ACADEMIES. These two different approaches to the interpretative method were fully developed by the pupils of each of these scholars. Both R. Ishmael – a pupil of R. Neḥunyah – and R. Akiva – a pupil of R. Nahum – followed his teacher's method and founded his own academy. These established two different schools of Bible exegesis and complete works containing the Midrashim of each are extant. From the academy of R. Ishmael there remains the *Mekhilta* to Exodus (*mekhilta* meaning *middot*, i.e., measures; see Isa. 40:12), *Sifrei* to Numbers, *Sifrei* to Deuteronomy (until 11:26), etc.; and from the academy of R. Akiva, the *Mekhilta* of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai to Exodus, *Sifra* to Leviticus (*Torat Kohanim*), *Sifrei Zuta* to Numbers, *Sifrei* to Deuteronomy (from 11:26 on), etc. R. Ishmael and his academy endeavored to uphold modes of interpretation that would maintain the legal and logical meaning of the scriptural passages concerned. Thus, for instance, they laid down the rule that "the Torah speaks in the language of men" (Sif. Num. 112; Sanh. 64b, etc.; in the TJ, "a language of synonym, employed by the Torah"; Shab. 19:2, 17a). That is to say, just as the language of synonym occurs in the narrative part of Scripture for purposes of reinforcement and emphasis – because this is the phraseology adopted by men in their discussions (e.g., Gen. 31:30; 40:15) – so in the legal part of the Torah there ought to be no interpretation of such repetition (e.g., Lev. 19:20). R. Akiva and his academy took a different approach and adopted modes of interpretation that widened the meaning of Scripture far beyond the terms of the written text, expounding every seemingly superfluous word or phrase (see BK 41b), and the occurrence of every synonym or repetition of a word or even letter (see Yev. 68b). Often the dispute between the two schools is found to relate not to the actual legal principle involved, but to the question of how to integrate such a principle with the scriptural verse (from this period onward this type of Midrash continued to expand). R. Ishmael's method was to integrate the *halakhah* with the scriptural verse by means of interpretation that remained within the meaning of the text, while R. Akiva integrated the same halakhic ruling by interpretative devices based on the apparent redundancy of words, or even a single letter, such as a *vav*. For an example of the two respective methods compare R. Ishmael and R. Akiva on the rule that a bill of divorcement need not be delivered into the hands of the wife personally, but is valid if placed within her *reshut* ("domain"; TJ, Git. 8:1, 77a; Sif. Deut. 269; TJ, Git. 8:1, 49b). Similarly, in a case where R. Ishmael found no suitable interpretative device to aid him in his integration of an existing *halakhah* with the appropriate verse, he would forego such midrashic integration ("in three places the *halakhah* bypasses Scripture": TJ, Kid. 1:2; Sot. 16a; etc.); in the same circumstances R. Akiva nevertheless effected the integrative process by enlisting the method of "redundancy" (Sif. Deut. 122 and 269; Sifra, Aḥarei Mot, 11:10).

There are even instances in which R. Akiva and his academy also created *halakhah* through the interpretative method based on the analysis of redundancy, a fact that met with strong opposition from R. Ishmael and his academy (see, e.g., Sanh. 51b, concerning the case of adultery committed by a priest's daughter). On more than one occasion such symbolic mode of interpretation from Akiva's academy provoked sharp scholarly reaction (see Sifra, Va-Yikra, 4:5; Ẓav, 5:11; Tazriʾa 13:2; Sif. Num. 75; Men. 29b). Although opposed to modes of interpretation that departed from the logical sense of the scriptural text, R. Ishmael expanded the *middot* of Hillel and fixed their number, thereby establishing the 13 well-known hermeneutical rules (see below). In principle the 13 rules of R. Ishmael are contained within Hillel's seven, except that the former are further subdivided and amplified (thus, e.g., R. Ishmael subdivided Hillel's rule of *kelal u-ferat* (see above) into four *middot*).

R. ELIEZER B. YOSE HA-GELILI. To R. Eliezer, one of the generation succeeding R. Ishmael and R. Akiva, is attributed the *baraita* of the 32 rules of Bible exegesis. However, this subdivision was made primarily for the purpose of aggadic and not halakhic Midrash (the *baraita* is printed in TB, after Ber.). The accepted number of hermeneutical rules remained at 13, but other exegetical principles were stated, also in the field of the *halakhah*, which are not embraced in the 13 *middot*.

IN THE AMORAIC PERIOD. For the *amoraim*, Bible exegesis generally served as interpretation intended to integrate already known *halakhot* with the relevant scriptural texts. They too regarded themselves as competent to engage in Bible exegesis in order to decide the *halakhah* in accordance with their own interpretation, but in practice during this period Bible exegesis had ceased to serve as a source for the continued creativity of the law. The change came about because Scripture no longer constituted the sole authoritative source within the halakhic system for the deduction of legal conclusions, since meanwhile collections of Mishnayot and halakhic Midrashim (*Midreshei Halakhah*) had been compiled. In particular the Mishnah – since its redaction by R. Judah and its acceptance at the end of the tannaitic period and the beginning of the amoraic period – had become the legal codex to be studied and

interpreted and serve as the basis and starting point for the creation and continued evolution of the *halakhah*. Of course the Written Law remained the primary source of the *halakhah*, occupying the highest rung on its scale of values and authority, yet the Mishnah and other tannaitic works now became the immediate source for purposes of study and adjudication in daily life. For the same reason there was a decline in interpretation aimed at integrating existing *halakhah* with scriptural texts; once the Mishnah had become an authoritative book of *halakhah* there was no longer a need for such integration in order to lend validity to a particular halakhic ruling, since the very inclusion of the latter in the Mishnah, and its integration into this authoritative compilation, sufficed to invest it with full legal-halakhic recognition and authority. Thus it is found that at times one *amora* was surprised by the efforts of another to integrate a known *halakhah* with a scriptural verse, when such *halakhah* could equally have been founded on logical deduction (see **Sevarah*): "Do we need Scripture to tell us this? It stands to reason" (BK 46b; Ket. 22a), a question never asked in tannaitic times even when the aim was merely to integrate a particular *halakhah* with a scriptural verse.

IN THE POST-TALMUDIC PERIOD. The redaction of the Talmud was followed by a general decline in Bible exegesis, even in the form of the integrative interpretation of existing *halakhah*. The link with the Written Law became a spiritual one, whereas in practical life adjudication was based on the talmudic *halakhah* as crystallized in the halakhic Midrashim, the Mishnah, the Tosefta, and both Talmuds. At the same time, it may be noted that sometimes the statements of the *geonim* and *rishonim* contain various interpretations of scriptural verses which are not recorded in the extant halakhic Midrashim. In some cases it transpires that such interpretations were taken from midrashic compilations available to the *rishonim* which are no longer extant (see e.g., Yad, Avadim 2:12, concerning the matter of a slave who falls ill, where the origin of an interpretation mentioned there remained unknown until the publication of the Mekh. Sb-Y to 21:2). However, sometimes it also happened that the post-talmudic scholars had recourse to Bible exegesis in seeking support for a new law derived from *sevarah* or enactment (*takkanah*); "Whenever it is known that a certain matter has been truly stated, but without ascertainment of the scriptural support, then everyone is free to interpret and advance such support" (Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona, quoted in *Nimmukei Yosef*, BK, commencement of *Ha-Ḥovel*). The practical application of this procedure is illustrated in a number of instances (see, e.g., Yad, Arakhin 6:31–33 and Ravad, ad loc.; Resp. Maharshal no. 89; Resp. Radbaz no. 1049).

[Menachem Elon]

In addition to the aforementioned, there are instances in which post-talmudic halakhic authorities relied on *halakhot* based on communal enactments or logical inference; there are even cases in which new laws were established in accordance with exegesis of biblical verses. For example, during the geonic period, it was established that when the brother of a deceased Jew is an apostate, the wife of the deceased is not bound by the laws of *yibbum* (levirate marriage) or *ḥaliẓah* if that brother changed his faith before the couple wed (see *Apostate, *Levirate Marriage). Rabbinic exegesis of the verse in the section dealing with *yibbum,* "If brethren dwell together" (Deut. 25:5), is that "brotherhood must reign between them at the time of marriage" (*Ginzei Schechter,* 1929, 2:173). It was therefore determined that an apostate, regarding whom no "brotherhood" reigns between himself and his biological brother, is not included in the positive precept of *yibbum.* Similarly, some of the *geonim* stated that in other cases as well there is no need for *yibbum*, for example, where the deceased himself changed his faith.

There are likewise cases of legal innovation in Maimonides' Code based on biblical exegesis. Thus, Maimonides rules that consuming human flesh is prohibited by dint of a positive precept, based upon his exegesis of the verse in Leviticus 11:2: "'These are the animals which you may eat' – anything outside that category may not be eaten." From here one may infer that consuming human flesh is prohibited by a positive precept. This exegesis has no basis in talmudic literature, and provoked criticism by other *rishonim* (Resp. Rashba, Ket. 20a).

Among other medieval Sages who gave halakhic rulings based on exegesis of biblical verses are *Sefer Yere'im* (*Sefer Yere'im ha-Shalem* 309) and Naḥmanides, in his Commentary on the Torah (Deut. 21:16).

Recent halakhic authorities also ruled on the basis of exegesis of the biblical text. Rabbi Meir Simḥah ha-Kohen of Dvinsk expounds the verse, "Go, return into Egypt; for all the men are dead that sought your life" (Exodus 4:19). From this, he inferred that one is not obligated to endanger his life in order to save the public at large, reasoning that Moses was not commanded to return to Egypt to save the People of Israel until his pursuers had died (*Or Same'aḥ* on Maim., Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 7:8). In another context he deduces that a thief must pay for what he stole, based on the verse "If he has nothing, then he shall be sold for his theft" (Exodus 22:2). On the basis of the location of this phrase in the chapter as a whole, he derives the rule that a thief may be sold as a slave for his theft only when he removed the object from the owner's property with his own hands, but not where he retained possession of an object temporarily given to him, with intent to steal it.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

Thirteen Middot of R. Ishmael

The 13 hermeneutical rules of R. Ishmael (for a detailed enumeration see Sifra introd. and Ravad ad loc.; and see *Hermeneutics) belong mainly to two general categories of interpretations: one of elucidative interpretation (*midrash ha-meva'er*) – i.e., that which is concerned with the explanation and elucidation of scriptural passages; and the other of analogical interpretation (*midrash ha-mekish*) – i.e., that which is concerned with the drawing of analogous conclusions from one matter to another with a view to widening the law and

solving new problems. The first category is akin to *interpretatio grammatica* in Roman law, but is much wider and more comprehensive, while the second is akin to *analogia*.

Elucidative Interpretation

This category includes the last ten of R. Ishmael's 13 hermeneutical rules, which are further subdivisible into four groups.

KELAL U-FERAT. ("the general and the particular"; *middot* 4–7): The central problem dealt with by the first three rules in this group may be stated as follows: when a law lays down a certain direction, which such a law renders operative both in particular and in general and the general includes the particular, must the direction be held to apply only to the particular expressly mentioned and the general be interpreted as including only such a particular and no more, or must it be held that the direction applies to everything embraced by the general and that the particular is quoted only in illustration of the general and not in exhaustion of it? This question is answered by the said three rules in different ways depending on the juxtaposition of the general and the particular (for illustrations of each of these rules, see Sifra introd.; BK 62b). The fourth rule deals with the case in which the general and the particular serve neither to amplify nor to limit, but the one is merely in elucidation of the other, i.e., the two are mutually interdependent (see Sifra introd.; Bek. 19a).

DAVAR SHE-HAYAH BA-KELAL VE-YAẒA MIN HA-KELAL. (middot 8–11: "the particular stated separately after forming part of the general"): The central problem to which the rules of this group provide help in finding an answer is: when there are two separate directions on a common matter (and not a simple direction with a generality and a particularity, as in the previous group) – the one a general direction (lex generalis) and the other a special direction (lex specialis) – what is the relationship between the two classes of directions and for what reason has the special direction been stated separately from the general one? The main and most commonly applied rule in this group is the eighth (see Mekh. Shabbata 1; Shab. 70a).

DAVAR HA-LAMED ME-INYANO, DAVAR HA-LAMED MI-SOFO. (*middah* 12; "inference from the context"): This rule prescribes that a doubtful direction is to be determined from the context in which it occurs, either from other parts of the same subject matter, or from the adjacent subject (see Mekh. ba-Ḥodesh 8, Sanh. 86a).

SHENEI KETUVIM HA-MAKHḤISHIM ZEH ET ZEH. (*middah* 13; "two passages which contradict each other"): This rule is applied in case of a contradiction between two passages dealing with the same topic (e.g., Sif. Deut. 279; BM 110b); between two passages in the same *parashah* (e.g., Mekh. Mishpatim 20); or even between two different parts of the same verse (Mekh. Mishpatim, end of 7). Such contradiction, the rule prescribes, must be reconciled by reference to a third passage which will determine the issue, or, when this is impossible, by the decision of the halakhic scholars according to their understanding of the matter (Sifra, introd.; TJ, Ḥag. 1:1).

INTERPRETATION OF WORDS AND PHRASES. Also belonging to the category of elucidative interpretation are many Midrashim purporting to explain various terms and concepts appearing in scriptural verses, and as an outcome also the content and scope of the scriptural direction (e.g., Mekh., Nezikin 1, explanation of the term *shevi'it*; Ber. 1:3, dispute between Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel concerning interpretation of the words *be-shokhbekha u-ve-kumekha* in the context of *keri'at Shema*). Similarly there are various exegetical rules dealing with matters such as the construction of conjunctive words and letters (e.g., Sanh. 66a, dispute between R. Joshia and R. Jonathan), the question of whether or not mention of the masculine gender includes the feminine (e.g., BK 15a; Tos. to Kid. 2b; Yad, Edut 9:2; and *Kesef Mishneh* thereto), and similar grammatical and syntactical constructions.

Analogical Interpretation

Analogical Interpretation (*midrash ha-mekish*): This category of interpretation is the subject matter of the first three of the 13 *middot* enumerated by R. Ishmael.

KAL VA-ḤOMER. (an a fortiori inference, a minori ad majus or a majori ad minus): The basis of this *middah* is found in Scripture itself (Gen. 44:8; Deut. 31:27) and the scholars enumerated ten pentateuchal *kallin va-ḥomarim* (Gen. R. 92:7). The rule of *kal va-ḥomer* (for correct reading of the term, see Schwarz, bibl. p. 8ff.) is a process of reasoning by analogy whereby an inference is drawn in both directions from one matter to another, when the two have a common premise – i.e., it can be drawn either from the minor to the major in order to apply the stringent aspect of the minor premise also (BM 95a), or from the major to the minor in order to apply the lighter aspect of the major premise to the minor premise (Beẓah 20b). Material to this rule is the principle *dayo la-ba min ha-din lihyot ka-niddon* (Sifra, loc. cit.; BK 25a, etc.), i.e., it suffices when the inference drawn from the argument (*ha-ba min ha-din*) is equal in stringency to the premise from which it is derived (the *niddon*), but not more so, not even when it might be argued that logically the inference should be even more stringent than the premise from which it is derived.

GEZERAH SHAVAH. ("inference from the analogy of words"): Scholars have given much thought to the etymology as well as the scope and content of this hermeneutic rule (see Lieberman in bibl.; Albeck, Mishnah, Kod., pp. 403f.). Lieberman translates the term as "a comparison with the equal" (*ibid.*, p. 59; in Scripture and halakhic literature the meaning of the term *gezerah* is "decision" or "decree"; cf. the meaning of the parallel Greek term, Lieberman, *ibid.*). Originally, *gezerah shavah* meant the analogy and comparison of two equal or similar matters, but later this rule came to refer "not to analogy of content but to identity of words" (i.e., verbal congruities in the text, Lieberman, *ibid.*, p. 61), even in the absence of any connection in content between the two matters. Some scholars held that an analogy was not to be drawn from one matter to another by way of a *gezerah shavah* unless the term in

question was *mufneh* ("vacant," empty of content) in either of the matters (Nid. 22b; Sif. Deut. 249). This mode of interpretation – involving the deduction of halakhic inferences from analogous words only without regard for similarity of content between two separate matters – was likely to lead to comparisons for which there were no logical foundations and to strange and unusual halakhic conclusions (e.g., TJ, Pes. 6:1). However, this was avoided by the determination in talmudic tradition of the rule that "no one may infer by *gezerah shavah* on his own authority," i.e., this exegetical rule was to be applied only in cases where a scholar received a tradition from his teacher that the particular word or phrase might be interpreted by that method (TJ, Pes. 6:1; Nid. 19b and Rashi thereto; see also Naḥmanides Commentary to *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, 2nd *shoresh*).

BINYAN AV. (a principle "built up" from biblical passages): This *middah* is enumerated by R. Ishmael in two parts: *binyan av mi-katuv eḥad* (e.g., Sanh. 30a; Sot. 2a) and *binyan av mi-shenei ketuvim* (e.g., Mekh. Mishpatim 9). It appears from the halakhic literature that the application of this rule was also extended to derivation of a principle from three passages (e.g., Sif. Num. 160) and even from four passages (e.g., BK 1:1). By this rule, a principle is constructed from one passage, or a characteristic common to several passages; the *av* is the basic premise, and the *binyan* is the principle constructed.

HEKKESH HA-KATUV. (analogy drawn in the Bible itself): To the category of exegetical principles by analogy must be added a further rule, which often appears in talmudic literature although it is not included in the 13 *middot* enumerated by R. Ishmael. This is known as *hekkesh ha-katuv*, or simply *hekkesh* (Zev. 49b; Sanh. 73a), and also as (*hishvah*) *ha-katuv* (Kid. 35a), etc. It is distinguished from the other three analogic *middot* by the fact that in their case it is the halakhic scholars who draw the analogy whereas *hekkesh ha-katuv* represents an analogy drawn in the Bible itself. From this point of view the rule has been of fundamental importance to the process of Bible exegesis, since it enabled halakhic scholars to find in the Bible itself the basis for reasoning by analogy for purposes of drawing legal conclusions. A classic example of this form of analogy is found in the scriptural passage dealing with the violation of a betrothed maiden (*na'arah me'orasah*, see *Marriage) which enjoins that the maiden, even though she is betrothed, must suffer no punishment: "But unto the damsel thou shalt do nothing; there is in the damsel no sin worthy of death – for as when a man riseth against his neighbor, and slayeth him, even so is this matter" (Deut. 22:26). Here, through analogy with the murderer's victim, Scripture holds the violated girl blameless, and the halakhic scholars pursued the analogic argument from the two cases, deriving additional *halakhot* from them (Sanh. 74a). Sometimes *hekkesh ha-katuv* occurs in implicit rather than in explicit form (Sif. Deut. 208).

For further particulars concerning the 13 *middot*, see *Hermeneutics.

Logical Interpretation

This third category of Midrash (i.e., in addition to the elucidative and analogic) plays an important role in the modes of interpretation in Jewish Law, although it is not enumerated among the 13 *middot*. Known as *midrash ha-higgayon*, it is similar to the Roman law *interpretatio logica*. In substance and objective, it is akin to the elucidative category, since its main purpose is to explain and contribute toward logical understanding of Scripture, and its application often led to the determination of new *halakhot* and legal principles. Thus, for instance, in the matter of the violation of a betrothed girl, the statement that nothing should be done to her, "For he found her in the field; the betrothed damsel cried, and there was none to save her" (Deut. 22:25–27), was interpreted in this way: the word field is not to be understood literally, but the measure of the damsel's innocence or guilt must be determined by her resistance or lack of it. "Shall it be said, in the city she is liable, in the field she is exempt? We are taught: 'she cried … and there was none to save her'; if there was none to save her whether in the city or in the field, she is exempt, and if there was someone to save her whether in the city or in the field, she is liable" (Sif. Deut. 243). Similarly, the enjoinder, "No man shall take the mill or the upper millstone to pledge; for he taketh a man's life to pledge" (Deut. 24:6) was interpreted as follows: "They spoke not only of the mill and the upper millstone, but of aught wherewith is prepared necessary food, as it is written 'For he taketh a man's life to pledge'" (BM 9:13; Sif. Deut. 272).

In this form of interpretation reliance is sometimes placed on logical reasoning which is circumscribed by factors of practical reality. Thus, from the enjoinder concerning the paschal sacrifice – "and the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it" (Ex. 12:6) – R. Joshua b. Karḥa deduced the following legal principle: "Does then the whole assembly really slaughter? Surely only one person slaughters? Hence it follows that a man's agent is as himself" (Mekh. Pisḥa 5; Kid. 41b). In other words, as the verse cannot be literally interpreted since such would be physically impossible, it may be inferred that the act of one person can be attributed to another and regarded as his act and the same is true even of an entire assembly; this constitutes the principle of principal and agent. The mode of interpretation thus exemplified is akin to the *rerum natura* in Roman law.

Restrictive Interpretation

Just as Midrash served to extend the scope of the *halakhah* by the addition of new laws, so it sometimes served to narrow, to a varying extent, the operation of a particular law through a process of restrictive interpretation. Thus, for instance, the prohibition, "An Ammonite or a Moabite shall not enter into the assembly of the Lord; even to the tenth generation shall none of them enter into the assembly of the Lord forever" (Deut. 23:4), was restrictively interpreted by the scholars as applying to men only, thus rendering women acceptable immediately if they converted. Some scholars explained this law

on the basis that the prohibition was enjoined "because they met you not with bread and with water on the way, when you came forth out of Egypt" (Deut. 23:5), a reason which was inapplicable to women because, for reasons of modesty, they are not in the habit of going out to meet other men; other scholars reasoned that the prohibition reads "an Ammonite but not an Ammonitess, a Moabite but not a Moabitess" (Yev. 8:3; Sif. Deut. 249; Yev. 77a). The scholars dated this interpretation to the time of the prophet Samuel, who anointed David king over Israel (I Sam. 16:13), and held it to be the explanation for David's entry "into the assembly of the Lord," even though he was descended from Ruth the Moabitess (Yev. 77a).

At times the text was so restrictively interpreted as to make any practical application of the law impossible from the start. This is illustrated in the matter of the stubborn and *rebellious son, of whom it was said that he must be brought before the city elders and stoned to death (Deut. 21:18–21). The relevant verses were interpreted as meaning that the law only applied if the son committed the transgression within three months of his reaching the age of 13 years – and even then he was to be held exempt, unless the proceedings against him were completed within the same period (Sanh. 8:1; Sanh. 68b–69a). In addition, the passage was interpreted as requiring the existence of various preconditions relating to the qualities of the parents (*ibid.*). The practical impossibility of having all these conditions fulfilled is recognized in tannaitic tradition: "There never has been a stubborn and rebellious son, and never will be. Why then was the law written? That you may study it and receive reward" (Tosef. Sanh. 11:6; Sanh. 71a). A similar interpretation was given by the scholars to the passage concerning the destruction of a city condemned for idolatry (Deut. 13:13–17; Sif. Deut. 92; Sanh. 16b; 71a; 111b; 113a; Tosef. Sanh. 14:1).

INTERPRETATION OF THE *HALAKHAH*

Use of the Principles of Bible Exegesis for Interpretation of the *Halakhah*

Just as the *middot* and other rules for Bible exegesis served the scholars as a source for the shaping of the *halakhah* and its continued creativity and development, so the scholars engaged in the same interpretative activity – and with the same objective – with regard to the available halakhic material. This activity may be referred to as *Midrash Halakhah* as opposed to Midrash Torah which has been dealt with so far. Interpretation of the *halakhah* continued to be engaged in throughout the history of Jewish law, and at times, for purposes of a particular exegetical rule, the scholars distinguished between modes of interpreting the Bible and those of interpreting the *halakhah*. The term Midrash was even used by the scholars to describe the latter. Thus, for instance, in early *halakhah* – until the middle of the second century – the duty of a father to maintain his children was in the nature of a religio-moral obligation only and not a legal one (Ket. 49a–b); the question arose whether the absence of a legal obligation applied to sons only, and whether such a duty did not in fact exist in respect of daughters, in the same way as they were entitled to be maintained out of the estate of their deceased father. The answer was arrived at in this way: "The father is not liable for the maintenance of his daughter. R. Eleazar b. Azariah gave this exposition (*zeh midrash darash*) at Kerem be-Yavneh. 'The sons shall be heirs and the daughters shall be maintained.' As the sons only inherit after the death of their father, so the daughters are not entitled to maintenance except after the death of their father" (Ket. 4:6). The dictum that "the sons shall be heirs and the daughters shall be maintained" derived from an ancient rabbinical enactment relating to the laws of succession (BB 9:1, 131b) and R. Eleazar, reasoning that the two component *halakhot* of the dictum were analogous, concluded that both were applicable at a common stage – namely after the death of the father.

Restrictive and Expansive Interpretation

Many *halakhot* were derived from both restrictive and expansive interpretation. Thus for instance the Mishnah records a dispute between Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai on whether the then existing *halakhah* concerning the trustworthiness of a woman's declaration of her husband's death (so as to enable her to remarry) had to be narrowly or widely interpreted (Yev. 15:1–2). Similarly, as regards the legal capacity of a minor to acquire lost property he found himself, the *amora* Samuel gives the term *katan* ("minor"), which appears in the Mishnah (BM 1:5), a restrictive interpretation referring to biological minority, holding that no minor is capable of acquiring for himself lost property; R. Johanan, on the other hand, gives the same term the liberal interpretation of referring only to those who are maintained by their fathers, and therefore "a minor who is not maintained by his father is regarded as a major" (BM 12a–b). A further illustration is to be found in the different interpretations given by the *amoraim* of Ereẓ Israel and of Babylonia to the Mishnah, BK 3:1 (see BK 27b).

Interpretation of the *Halakhah* in Post-Talmudic Times

In post-talmudic times the scholars of every generation continued to apply all the different modes of interpretation to the existing *halakhah*. For this purpose they even resorted to some of the 13 *middot* (see, e.g., Resp. Abraham, son of Maimonides, nos. 78 and 97; Resp. Rambam (in Assaf, *Sifran shel Rishonim*), no. 3; Resp. Rashba vol. 2, no. 14; Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, no. 85; Resp. Rosh, 78:1, 3). In one instance a 15th-century scholar expounded the responsum of an earlier scholar by the rule of *kelal u-ferat* in order to solve a basic legal problem in the field of the public law, one concerning the power of the communal representatives (Resp. Judah Mintz no. 7).

INTERPRETATION OF DOCUMENTS

In early times there had already evolved a further category of Midrash – that concerning the interpretation of the text of various legal documents in daily use, such as the **ketubbah* deed and deeds of *acquisition (*kinyan*), indebtedness, testamentary disposition, and the like. The documents, the text of

which was sometimes determined by the scholars and sometimes by popular usage, became integrated into the overall Jewish legal system, extending and developing it. In their study of such documents, whether theoretically or for the practical purpose of deciding the law, the scholars were faced with the need to elucidate and understand their contents, and to this end, they had recourse to interpretative norms used in the exegesis of the Bible and the *halakhah*, and, in the course of time, developed additional – and sometimes different – interpretative norms.

Doreshin Leshon Hedyot **("interpreting human speech")**
Interpretation of documents was originally referred to as *doreshin leshon hedyot* (Tosef. Ket. 4:9ff.; TJ, Ket. 4:8, 28d; TJ, Yev. 15:3, 14d; BM 104a), since the scholars "used to analyze and interpret the language used by men in writing their deeds, as they would do with Scripture … and not according to the literal meaning" (quoted in the name of Hai in Nov. Ramban to BM 104a and in commentary of Zechariah b. Judah Agamati to BM loc. cit., p. 143 – a photographic reprint of the Ms. published by Jacob Leveen, London, 1961). The term *leshon hedyot* came to be used in contradistinction to *leshon Torah* (in a similar manner to *mamon hedyot* ("property of human beings") and *mamon gavohah* ("sacred property"), in Kid. 1:6; see Agamati, loc. cit.), since even documents formulated by the scholars, such as the *ketubbah* deed, fall within the rule's applicability. In the Talmud, various examples are quoted of documents interpreted in accordance with *leshon hedyot*, for instance deeds of *ketubbah*, lease of a field, pledge, etc. (Tosef., TJ, and TB, loc. cit.), and in this manner problems of principle were sometimes solved. Thus it is recorded that in Alexandria, Egypt, there occurred cases of women who entered into *kiddushin* with a particular man but prior to completion of the marriage (the *nissu'in*) married another man; in these circumstances the children born of the latter marriage had to be regarded as *mamzerim*, since their mother was already an *eshet ish*, a woman already married (see *Marriage; **Mamzer*). However, Hillel the Elder studied the *ketubbah* deeds of the women in Alexandria and interpreted "*leshon hedyot*," finding it written in the *ketubbah* that the *kiddushin* was to be regarded as valid only if followed by a marriage (*ḥuppah*) between the parties – and since the condition remained unfulfilled in the case of the first *kiddushin* it followed that the latter was no *kiddushin* at all and therefore the children born of the husband to whom she was actually married were not to be regarded as having any blemish of status (Tosef., TJ, and TB, loc. cit.). The concept of *doreshin leshon hedyot* was also held to be a principle applicable to the laws of *custom.

Ha-Kol Holekh Aḥar ha-Taḥton **("all according to the latter reference")**
There has also been extensive discussion in Jewish law of various problems relating to the interpretation of legal documents, aimed at the elucidation of the text and of various terms which appear in them as well as the reconciliation of conflicting passages in the same document. The following are some of the rules of principle derived for this purpose. If there are two conflicting references to the same subject, for instance first a figure of 100 is mentioned and thereafter a figure of 200, then the rule is, "all according to the latter reference," since it is to be assumed that what is first stated has been retracted (BB 10:2; Yad, Malveh 27:14; Sh. Ar., ḤM 42:5; see also Nov. Ri Migash BB 166b). It was laid down that if there is a possibility of reconciling a divergence between two different parts of a deed, "we must endeavor, in whatever way possible, to uphold both as being in agreement with each other … even if the possibility is somewhat strained" (Resp. Ribash no. 249; Sh. Ar., ḤM 42:5 and Sma thereto, n. 10). Sometimes the first reference is to be followed as the decisive one. Thus, for instance, if at the beginning of a deed there is a detailed enumeration of the items composing the total amount and at the end the total amount is set out and it is at variance with the enumerated details, it has to be assumed that an error was made in the calculation of the total amount and the detailed enumeration must be regarded as decisive – i.e., the first reference is followed (R. Isaiah, quoted in Tur, ḤM 42:8 and in Sh. Ar., ḤM 42:5).

Yad Ba'al ha-Shetar al ha-Taḥtonah **("the holder of a deed is at a disadvantage")**
Another rule is that in case of doubt over the correct interpretation of a document "the holder of a deed is at a disadvantage," i.e., the interpretation that is less onerous for the person in possession must be followed, since the burden of proof rests on the claimant – who is the holder of the deed (Ket. 83b; BB 166a; Yad, Malveh 27:16; Sh. Ar., ḤM 42:8). This rule also applies when the doubt arises from conflicting references in different parts of the deed if in the particular circumstances the rule of "all in accordance with the latter reference" has no reasonable application in the matter. Thus, for example, if the words "100 which are 200" are written in a deed, there will be no possibility of saying that the second reference (200) is a retraction of the first (100), and therefore the holder of the deed will be at a disadvantage and entitled to recover 100 only (BB 10:2; Yad, Malveh 27:14). However, the rule is applied only if it does not have the effect of prejudicing the validity of the deed even when it is interpreted in accordance with the statement of particulars which is less onerous for the person in possession. If the choice is between upholding the deed or invalidating it entirely, the holder of the deed must not be deemed to be at a disadvantage, but on the contrary at an advantage, "for we must at all times seek all possible ways of upholding the validity of a deed, even if in a circuitous manner" (Resp. Ribash no. 345). For this reason it was held by Asher b. Jehiel that in a deed in which A undertook to give B 15 *zehuvim* "after Passover" – and not "after next Passover" – the undertaking must be interpreted as intended to mean "after next Passover," otherwise it would have to be said that the reference was to the last Passover before the end of the world, an interpretation that would deprive the deed of all meaning and validity (Resp. Rosh, no. 68:14; Sh. Ar., ḤM 42:9). Clearly, in the case of a legal error in the formulation of a deed – for instance mention

of an inappropriate **kinyan* – the deed will be invalid (Resp. Maharik no. 94; *Rema*, ḤM 42:9).

Interpretation *le-Fi Leshon Benei-Adam* ("according to the common usage of the people")

The terms which appear in a deed are to be given their ordinary meaning as used by people in their everyday speech and not interpreted according to their meaning in the language of the Torah or of the scholars. Thus it was laid down that a person who bequeathed his property to his sons thereby excluded his grandsons from the estate, since it was not customary for people to refer to a grandson as a "son" (*ben*) even though the word had this meaning in biblical language (BB 143b and Rashbam ad loc.; Yad., Zekhiyyah 11:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 247:3). The scholars drew a parallel between the interpretation of terms in documents and those used by a person in making a vow (BB 143b; Ned. 63a) – since in each case the meaning which the person attaches to the document he has prepared or the vow he has made is of decisive importance. In the case of a vow the rule is: "the speech of men is followed" (*aḥar leshon benei adam*; Ned. 51b, et al.). This rule was interpreted to mean the speech of men "in the place, in the language, and at the time the vow was made" (Yad, Nedarim 9:1, 13; Sh. Ar., YD 217:1), i.e., according to the meaning of the term employed by the person taking the vow, so as to take into account any possible change in the meaning of a particular term – even in the same locality – from time to time (see Yad, Nedarim 9; Sh. Ar., YD 217). In the responsa literature this rule is discussed extensively, along with its influence in bringing about differences between certain rules relating to the exegesis of the Bible and the *halakhah* and those relating to the interpretation of documents (see, e.g., Resp. Maharik no. 10; Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 26; vol. 5, no. 260; Resp. Maharashdam EH no. 45; see also *Wills).

Interpretation of Contracts

INTERPRETATIONS BASED ON ASSESSING THE PARTIES' INTENT. In addition to the rule discussed above whereby meaning is determined by common usage, another approach to interpretation of contracts is that of presumption based on the parties' express statements (*umdana be-gilui da'at*; see *Evidence). Despite the principle that "words of the heart, if unexpressed, are not words" (Kid. 49b, see update to *Mistake), there are still certain kinds of stipulations that need not be expressed, because we may presume a person's intent (see *Evidence). By dint of these presumptions, the court may determine that a particular condition is not "unexpressed," but rather "universally talked about and understood to apply" (*Rabbenu Nissim*, on the folios of Rif, Kid. 20b; *Tosafot* at Kid. 49b). It was further determined that the rule by which matters not expressed explicitly are considered "words of the heart," and thus not to be taken into account, only applies to those matters that are normally explicitly expressed in formulating legal documents. Where it can be presumed that the parties to a contract did not feel compelled to give written expression to certain matters by reason of their being manifestly clear even without being recorded, they may be treated as valid, and the rule that words of the heart are not words does not apply (*Hiddushei Ha-Rashba*, Kid. 50a, in the name of *Sefer Yere'im*).

The Supreme Court of the State of Israel discussed the position of Jewish Law on interpreting a contract in accordance with the presumed intent of the parties in the *Hazan* case (CA 893/03 *Bank Le'umi v. Hazan*; per Justice Eliakim Rubenstein). In that case, it was clear that, when the contract was concluded, the two parties had differing subjective understandings of a certain matter; the plaintiff requested that the Court interpret the contract objectively, in accordance with its purpose, even if it was contrary to the intention evidenced by its wording. The Court discussed the sources quoted above regarding unexpressed words and conditions, and observed that even in Jewish Law there are certain extreme situations in which the court interprets a person's words while consciously ignoring that person's own contrary intention. An example of this is where the Court administers lashes to a recalcitrant husband until he says he "wants" to give his wife a *get* (see: *Divorce; *Piskei Maharit ha-Ḥadashim* 2). In this particular case, the Court decided that it was not unreasonable to interpret the contract solely in accordance with its language, and neither did this divest the contract of its meaning. Accordingly, a purposive construction of the contract in accordance with the plaintiff's understanding of its objective, and of the parties' intention, would be one based upon "words of the heart" where there was no evidence that such was really their intent. Hence the contract could not be interpreted that way.

PRESUMPTION OF A DOCUMENT'S VALIDITY. The aforementioned principle, whereby a document must be given an interpretation that retains its effectiveness, also applies to the invalidation of a document. When a document bears two possible interpretations, one of which renders it invalid, the interpretation that retains its validity should be adopted. In accordance with this principle, the Tosefta determines that, if the date recorded on a bond of debt is the Sabbath or Yom Kippur, which clearly indicates that the date is a mistake, the date is to be fixed as later than the date on which the debt was actually created, thereby allowing for validation of the bond. In such a case we do not say that the debt was created later than the date recorded in the bond, which would render the bond invalid (Tosef. Makk. 1:3; BB 171a; Yad, Malveh ve-Loveh 23:4). In this kind of case, where the question is whether the entire document is invalid, the regular legal presumptions are not applied. In other words, there is no application of the evidentiary rules under which "the burden of proof lies on the claimant" (BK 35a) and "the holder of the deed is at a disadvantage" (BB 173a). Rather, the law is that precisely the party that seeks to invalidate the document – i.e., the party holding the money – is at a disadvantage (Rashbam, ad loc.).

Nonetheless, where the interpretive doubt pertains to the law, or to a mistake in the law, rather than to a doubt regarding the factual situation, the document does not enjoy a presumption of validity. Rather, the normal rule that "the holder of the

deed is at a disadvantage" will apply. Thus, for example, a case arose in which a person undertook a contractual obligation, and a disagreement arose over whether or not the contract's wording was valid and binding. Rabbi Joseph ben Solomon Colon (Resp. Maharik 94.7) ruled that the person standing to gain by virtue of the contract was at a disadvantage, and would have to adduce proof that the law sided with him.

INTERPRETATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH CONTEXT AND CUSTOM. When a document can be interpreted in two different ways, but a certain interpretation appears more reasonable according to the prevailing custom in a particular location, then the rule that the holder of the deed is at a disadvantage and that the plaintiff bears the burden of proof is not applied. Application of these rules would mean accepting a less plausible interpretation to the manner of fulfilling the obligations created by the document. Rather, the deed ought to be interpreted in accordance with prevailing custom in that place (Resp. Rashbash, no. 354). The Israel Supreme Court relied on this principle in interpreting a contract in the *Katan* case (HC 442/77 *Katan v. the City of Holon*, PD 32(1) 494, page 498, per Justice Menachem Elon). The Court concluded:

> This is the essence of one of the underlying principles governing the doctrine of custom in Jewish law: "Any *halakhah* which is not firmly entrenched in the practice of the *bet din* and whose nature you do not know, go and observe the practice of the public and abide by their practice" (TJ, Peah 7:5 [34a]; Ma'aser Sheni 5:2 [30a]).
>
> Similarly, Rabbi Solomon ben Simeon *Duran (15th century), ruled regarding the interpretation of documents: "Whenever the wording in a document is unclear, follow local custom with respect to all of the matters in which they customarily deal" (Resp. Rashbash, ad loc.).

In that case, the Court also resorted to the principle of *doreshin leshon hedyot* (ascertaining lay usage: Tosef. BB 11:7), and ruled that the contractual provision in question should be interpreted in terms of the substantive context in which it appears, in accordance with the 12th of Rabbi Ishmael's 13 canons of Talmudic exposition of the Scriptures – *"davar ha-lamed me-inyano"* – that an ambiguous word or passage is explained on the basis of its context (*ibid.*).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

INTERPRETATION OF *TAKKANOT HA-KAHAL*

The interpretation of *takkanot ha-kahal* ("communal enactments," i.e., *takkanot* enacted by the community or its representatives in the fields of civil and criminal law (see **Takkanot ha-Kahal*)) constitutes a category which is related to the interpretation of documents. Communal enactments appeared in Jewish law mainly from the tenth century onward, with the increasing importance of the Jewish community in the various centers of the Diaspora, and are parallel to legislative activities by the public and its representatives in other legal systems. As in the case of statutes, regulations, etc., in any other legal system, in the course of their practical application in daily life the Jewish communal enactments also led to the development of an imposing system of norms for their interpretation.

Entrustment of Interpretative Authority

In the main, authority to interpret communal enactments was entrusted to the halakhic scholars before whom an issue between parties would be aired. The issue was sometimes between individuals, sometimes between an individual and the community, and sometimes between different communities. In a considerable proportion of the responsa literature dealing with matters of public, civil, and criminal law, there are detailed discussions by the scholars on the interpretation of the communal enactments at issue. At times – in the *takkanah* itself – authority to interpret a *takkanah* was vested in the halakhic scholars (see, e.g., *Takkanot Medinat Mehrin*, no. 292), and at others in the communal leaders (see Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 409; vol. 5, nos. 221, 289). However, interpretative authority would be vested in the communal leaders only if doubt existed about the meaning of any particular term, but the leaders would have no authority to depart from the reasonable meaning of the term; the authority to determine the existence, or otherwise, of any doubt concerning the meaning of the term would once again be entrusted to the halakhic scholars (see Resp. Ritba, no. 134).

Interpretation of *Takkanot le-Fi Leshon Benei Adam* ("in accordance with their common usage")

In dealing with the interpretation of communal enactments, the halakhic scholars laid down many rules for the interpretation of statutes. For the interpretation of both communal enactments and documents, there was a common rule, requiring that they be interpreted according to "the speech of men," i.e., in accordance with the common usage of the terms employed (Ritba, loc. cit.). Thus it was decided that a reference in a *takkanah* to the term *shetar* ("deed") could not be interpreted as embracing a wife's *get* ("bill of divorce"), even though this was sometimes the case in the language of the scholars (e.g., Git. 10b; Kid. 5a–b), since "in common usage the term *get* is particularly and solely applied to bills of divorcement for women, and other *shetarot* are never called by the name of *get*, nor is a woman's *get* ever called a *shetar*" (Resp. Ribash, no. 304). Clearly, there was not always necessarily a variation between common usage and that of the scholars and sometimes there may exist a continuing identity of meaning in the language of Scripture, that of the scholars, and the common usage of the people (Resp. Rashba, vol. 4, no. 312). Since the communal enactments were of far more substantive and general significance and validity than were the documents of individuals, it follows that more fundamental and comprehensive norms came to be determined for the interpretation of the former. Some of these are outlined below.

Interpretation in Accordance with the Language of the *Takkanah*

It was laid down that a *takkanah* must be interpreted according to the view and understanding of those qualified to do so,

in accordance with the ordinary meaning of the text (Resp. Rashba, vol. 4, no. 308; vol. 5, no. 247), and not according to the intention of those who enacted it (*ibid.*, vol. 3, no. 409), nor to the supposed motivating reasons of the latter (*ibid.*, vol. 4, no. 268). This rule is much discussed in the interpretation of *takkanot* in various legal fields, particularly family law (Resp. Rosh, no. 50:10), the law of hire (Tashbeẓ 2:61), and tax law (Rashba, vol. 5, no. 282, see also *Taxation). However, the text of the *takkanot* may be contradicted if it may reasonably be assumed that a scribal error was made when it was drafted (Resp. Rosh, no. 6:8).

Circumstances in Which the Background to a *Takkanah* and Its Motivating Factors May Be Taken into Account

In circumstances where the intention of a *takkanah* may be presumed as a matter of "common cause" (*kavvanot muskamot la-kol*), the *takkanah* may be interpreted accordingly (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 409). Thus where it was enacted that the taxpayers had to submit their declarations at "the synagogue" – which served as the central gathering place for the community – it was held that not the synagogue itself was intended, but areas such as the courtyard or the upper floor, even though these had distinctive names, since the matter at issue was not one of prayer (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 222). It was also laid down that rigid formalism was to be avoided in the interpretation of a *takkanah* (*ibid.*, vol. 3, nos. 407, 408).

For purposes of understanding the objective of a *takkanah*, its preamble was also sometimes relied on even though it was not an integral part of the enactment (Rashba, vol. 5, no. 287; Resp. Ribash, no. 331). Similarly, it was held that in cases where the text allows for two possible interpretations, the one beneficial to the public and the other prejudicial to it, the former must be adopted since the general objective of every *takkanah* is to increase the public good and not the contrary (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 287). Hence it was decided that a certain *takkanah* purporting to prohibit public worship in all but certain places could not be assumed to have intended the prohibition of public worship in a synagogue to be erected in the future. It must be interpreted only as prohibiting such worship in the homes of individuals – even though such an interpretation was a strain on the text – for otherwise the *takkanah* would "prevent many from fulfilling a *mitzvah*" and amount to something "distorted and improper" (Resp. Ribash, no. 331). In such a case it was held permissible to consult the community about its intention in enacting the *takkanah*, but the explanatory remarks should only be accepted if it was stated that at the time of enactment of the *takkanah* it was thought that the relevant intention was actually expressed in the text. If at that time it was known that the meaning of the text varied from the avowed intention of those who enacted it, the explanation would not avail and the *takkanah* must be interpreted within the ordinary meaning of the text (*ibid.*).

Conflicting Provisions and Ambiguity in the Text

Conflicting provisions in the text of a *takkanah* must be interpreted, in the case of a suit between two parties, in favor of the defendant (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 397; vol. 5, no. 281). In other cases, for instance a *takkanah* dealing with the authority of the trustees of the community chest to make expenditures, it was held that the rule of "all according to the latter reference" (see above) must be followed, but the attempt should be made to reconcile, as far as possible, conflicting references to the same matter, as in the interpretation of documents (see above; Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 386). At times such conflicts were held to be completely irreconcilable and it was decided that perhaps they had to be ascribed to clerical error (Resp. Rashba, loc. cit.). In case of doubt about the meaning of the text, an interpretation must be preferred which excludes any matter of halakhic controversy from the area of the application of the *takkanah*, and in interpreting the meaning of a *takkanah* it is permissible to be guided by the manner of its practical application in daily life for a certain period after its enactment (Resp. Ribash, no. 304). In their interpretation of communal enactments, the halakhic scholars were much guided by a comprehensive study of the entire collection of *takkanot* in which the enactment in question appeared, in order to draw analogies from one provision to another, either to distinguish between them or to apply to the one the terms of the other. Not only the analogic modes of interpretation were applied to communal enactments but also those of elucidative interpretation (see above; for an illustration of the interpretation of a *takkanah* by the rule of *kelal u-ferat*, see Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 396); they also dealt in detail with interpretation of words and phrases. In the course of these discussions by halakhic scholars, the Jewish legal system was enriched by the addition of many and varied canons of interpretation (see further Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, nos. 126, 277, 279, 284, 285, 288, 290; vol. 6, no. 7; Resp. Rosh, no. 55:9; Resp. Ritba, no. 50; Resp. Ribash, no. 249). These offer profitable jurisprudential sources concerning interpretation of laws and statutes.

[Menachem Elon]

An example of the principle that communal enactments should be interpreted according to their wording rather than their unstated objective appears in a responsum of Rashba. Rashba was asked regarding a communal enactment concerning taxes, whose objective was to enable more extensive collection of taxes from the population. But in fact the enactment created a situation in which a particular citizen paid less than what he would have paid without the enactment. The community argued that the enactment should be interpreted in terms of its objective, i.e. the intent of the community that enacted it, even if this absolutely contradicts its explicit language. Rashba rejected their claim, ruling that these (the community's claims) are unexpressed intentions, and that an unexpressed intention is of no legal weight (lit. "words in the heart are not words"), and that the clear language of the enactment is therefore binding (Resp. Rashba 5:282).

The Supreme Court of the State of Israel relied on the Rashba's comments in its interpretation of legislation. In the *Bank Leumi* case (HC 333/78 *Bank Leumi Trust Company v.*

the Estate Tax Authority, PD 32(3) 202, per Justice Menahem Elon), the Court ruled, in accordance with the Rashba's responsum, that the law should be interpreted "according to what can be inferred from it, and not according to the intent that the legislator may have had, when that intent cannot be elicited from the law's unequivocal wording" *(ibid.*, page 214; see also CA 460/00, *Maman v. the Customs Authority*, PD 57(2) 461, page 473, Justice Y. Turkel). Similarly, the Supreme Court ruled that the interpretation of a legal term must be rendered in accordance with the meaning afforded it by common usage, in accordance with the manner of interpreting communal enactments in Jewish law (CA 534/79 *Efrat v. the State of Israel*, PD 35(4) 729, page 734).

Judicial Interpretation – Judgment in Perfect Truth

The phrase "*din emet le-amitto*" (judgment in perfect truth) coined by the Sages, apparently during the amoraic period, is a highly instructive one. The Sages said, "A judge who delivers a judgment in perfect truth causes the Divine Presence to dwell in Israel" (Sanh. 7a) and, "It is as though he was made a partner to God in the Creation act" (Shab. 10a).

One interpretation of this phrase was provided by Rabbi Joshua Falk Katz (*Derisha*, ḤM 2; Poland, 17th century). He explained:

> "Judgment in perfect truth" means judging in accordance with the time and place, where the truth depends on these factors, as distinct from judgment that is always in accordance with the strict law of the Torah. Sometimes the judge has to rule *lifnim mi-shurat ha-din* (beyond the letter of the law) in accordance with the times and the context …

An example of the judicial application of this rule in the State of Israel is provided by the ruling in the Hoffman case (HC 257/89 *Hoffman v. the Custodian of the Western Wall*, 48 (2) 265). In that case, a petition was submitted by a group of women who sought to pray at the *Western Wall Plaza dressed in prayer shawls and carrying Torah scrolls. Their attempts to do so at that location provoked rioting and disturbances by a large number of worshipers there, as what they were doing contradicted the laws and customs of prayers prevailing there. One of the focuses of the ruling was Regulation 2(a) (1a) of the Protection of Holy Places Law, which forbids "conducting a religious ceremony not in accordance with the custom of the place …," the question being how to interpret the expression "custom of the place." In his judgment, Justice Elon ruled that "due to the uniqueness of the Western Wall and the tremendous sensitivities prevailing at the Jewish people's holiest site, prayer must be conducted at this special place in accordance with a common denominator that accommodates the prayers of every Jew, whoever he may be – namely, the local custom that has prevailed there throughout the generations" (page 290 of the ruling). Justice Elon concluded his comments by relating to the above-cited ruling of Rabbi Joshua Falk Katz:

> Where the issue is a sensitive, crucial matter in the world of Jewish Law, regarding the most holy place for Judaism and Israel, throughout the generations since the destruction of the Temple, it is right and proper to conduct oneself *lifnim mi-shurat ha-din*, in accordance with the common denominator applying to all Jews, whoever they may be, so that they can all approach the *Kotel* at all times, whispering their prayers before their Maker, for the welfare and integrity of Jerusalem their capital. And may we deliver judgment in perfect truth (*ibid.*, page 351).

Regarding the interpretation of laws in the State of Israel in accordance with Jewish Law, see *Mishpat Ivri – Jewish Law in the State of Israel.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Samson b. Isaac of Chinon, *Sefer Keritut*; Z.H. Chajes, *The Student's Guide through the Talmud* (1960²); D.Z. Hoffmann, *Zur Einleitung in die halachischen Midraschim* (1887); Hebrew translation, and additional notes by H.S. Horowitz in: *Mesillot le-Torat ha-Tanna'im* (1928), ed. by A.Z. Rabinowitz, 1–91; A. Schwarz, *Die hermeneutische Analogie in der talmudischen Litteratur* (1897); idem, *Der hermeneutische Syllogismus in der talmudischen Litteratur* (1901); idem, *Die hermeneutische Induktion in der talmudischen Litteratur* (1909); idem, *Die hermeneutische Antinomie in der talmudischen Literatur* (1913); idem, *Die hermeneutische Quantitaetsrelation in der talmudischen Literatur* (1916); idem, *Der hermeneutische Kontext in der talmudischen Literatur* (1921); idem, in: MGWJ, 72 (1928), 61–66; Weiss, Dor, 1 (1904⁴), 76–78, 132–6, 144–6, 155–61; 2 (1904⁴), 39–49; Frankel, Mishnah, 17–21, 106–9, 112–4; J.M. Guttmann, in: *Ha–Ẓofeh le–Ḥokhmat Yisrael*, 5 (1921), 17–34, 113–29; idem, Mafte'aḥ 3, pt. 1 (1924), appendix; also published separately; idem, *Beḥinat Kiyyum ha-Mitzvot* (1931), 19–29; M. Ostrowski, *Ha-Middot she-ha-Torah nidreshet bahen* (1924); H.G. Enelow (ed.), *The Mishnah of Rabbi Eliezer* … (1933); Ch. Tchernowitz, *Toledot ha-Halakhah*, 1, pt. 1 (1934), 37–66; 4 (1950), 68–97; J. Neubauer, in: *Sinai*, 22 (1947/48), 49–80; D. Daube, in: HUCA, 22 (1949), 239–64; S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (1950), 47–82; A. Karlin, in: *Sinai*, 29 (1951), 133–45; 31 (1952), 163–76; ET, 4 (1952), 1–12; 5 (1953), 546–64; 6 (1954), 553–60, 728–48; 7 (1956), 77–82; 10 (1961), 557–75; J.N. Epstein, *Mevo'ot le-Sifrut ha-Tanna'im* (1957), 501–44; E.E. Urbach, in: *Tarbiz*, 27 (1957/58), 166–82; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la–Mishnah* (1959), 40–62, 88–98; L. Finkelstein, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel le-Yiẓḥak Baer* (1960), 28–47; B. de Vries, *Toledot ha-Halakhah ha-Talmudit* (1962), 9–36; idem, *Meḥkarim be-Sifrut ha-Talmud* (1968), 161–4; B. Cohen, in: HTR, 47 (1954), 197–203; reprinted in his: *Jewish and Roman Law* (1966), 58–64; addenda, *ibid.*, 767f.; M. Elon, in: *Meḥkerei Mishpat le-Zekher Avraham Rosenthal* (1964), 51–53; idem, Mafte'aḥ, 233–41; idem, in: ILR, 2 (1967), 542–4. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Elon, *Jewish Law, Cases and Materials* (1999), 65–70; idem, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (1988), 1:243–390; idem, *Jewish Law* (1994), 1:275–473; idem, "*Din Emet le-Amitto*," in: *Sefer Shamgar,* 2:391–421; idem, *The Status of Women* (Heb., 2005), 119–93; M. Elon and B. Lifshitz, *Mafte'aḥ ha-She'elot ve-ha-Teshuvot shel Ḥakhmei Sefarad u-Ẓefon Afrikah* (legal digest) (1986) (2), 362–76; B. Lifshitz and E. Shochetman, *Mafte'aḥ ha-She'elot ve-ha-Teshuvot shel Ḥakhmei Ashkenaz, Ẓarefat ve-Italyah* (legal digest) (1997), 255–61; D. Boyarin, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash* (1990); M. Fishbein, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (1985); Y.D. Gilat, "*Midrash ha-Ketuvim bi-Tekufah ha-Batar Talmudit*," in: *Mikhtam le-David* (1978), 210–31; E. Goldberg, "*Ha-Midrash ha-Kadum ve-ha-Midrash ha-Me'uḥar*," in: *Tarbiz,* 50 (5741), 94–106; A. Hacohen, "*Parshanut Takkanot ha-Kahal be-Mishpat ha-Ivri*" (Diss., 2003); M. Halbertal, *Mahapekhot Parshaniyot be-Hithavvutam* (1997); M.Y. Kahana, *Ha-Mekhiltot le-Parashat Amalek* (1999), 15–19; S. Lieberman, *Yevanim ve-Yavanut be-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1962), 185–201; L. Shiffman, *Halakhah, Halikhah u-Meshiḥiyyut be-Kat Midbar Yehudah* (1993), 71–75; idem, *The Halakha at Qumeran* (1975), 54–60; M. Baumgarten, *Studies in*

Qumran Law (1977); A. Nimdar, "*Parshanut Takkanot ha-Kahal bi-Teshuvot ha-Rashdam*," in: *Mimizraḥ u-mi-Ma'arav*, 1 (1994), 295–331; I.L. Seeligmann, "*Niẓanei Midrash be-Sefer Divrei ha-Yamim*," in: *Tarbiẓ*, 49 (1980), 14–32; S. Warhaftig, *Dinei Ḥozim ba-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (1974), 262–90.

INTIFADA. This entry deals with the origins and ramifications of the first Intifada, which commenced in late 1987. For its subsequent course and for the second, so-called al-Aqsa Intifada, see *Israel, State of: Historical Survey; *Israel, State of: Israel Defense Forces (The War against Terror).

CAUSES OF THE UPRISING

Like any large-scale, prolonged event, the uprising of Arabs in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip had a number of underlying as well as more immediate and concrete causes and was triggered by the interaction of these two levels.

Underlying Causes

The primary motivation was national: the fierce desire of the approximately 1.7 million Palestinian Arabs – 900,000 in Judea-Samaria (the West Bank), 630,000 in the Gaza Strip, and 130,000 in East Jerusalem – to divest themselves of Israeli rule. Contrary to Israeli hopes, 20 years of "occupation" did not bring the Palestinian population to accept Israeli rule. No genuine coexistence emerged. On the contrary, over the years the Palestinians' national consciousness intensified and deepened.

The second factor was the squalid living conditions in the refugee camps, especially in the Gaza Strip, made even more unbearable due to rapid population growth.

Generally speaking it was the refugees, impelled by their harsh living conditions, who were initially in the forefront of the uprising, especially in the Gaza Strip though also in Judea-Samaria.

The third factor was an ongoing and powerful sense of humiliation, deprivation, frustration, and discrimination. A feeling of humiliation was pervasive in life under protracted occupation. Individuals felt humiliated when, for example, they were subjected to strip-searches as part of security checks for residents returning from Jordan via the two Jordan River bridges.

A sense of deprivation and discrimination was discernible in many of the young people who worked in Israel. Over half of the male workforce in the Gaza Strip (50,000 out of 90,000 men) and about one-third of the workforce in Judea-Samaria (50,000 out of 150,000) were employed in Israel. The result was an inevitable sense of discrimination, as they received lower wages than Israelis, were ineligible for tenure, and were often employed in menial labor.

The fourth factor was a fierce enmity for Israel on religious grounds, most potently in the Gaza Strip. Various analyses conclude that the momentum for the uprising in the Gaza Strip was primarily religious, characterized by an uncompromising fanaticism and a burning hatred of Israel.

The fifth factor was the emergence of a new generation of youngsters since the advent of Israeli rule who had no memory of the Jordanian and Egyptian regimes in the West Bank and Gaza, respectively, or of the heavy hand wielded by their security forces. They spoke a different language from their parents, let alone their grandparents, and railed at them for their submissiveness during two decades of Israeli rule and for shirking their national duty to rise up against the occupiers.

The sixth factor was the growing conviction of the Arabs in the Administered Territories that neither the Arab states nor the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) could advance their national interest. Israel's deputy chief of staff said that "the uprising is an attempt to attain goals and objectives that Arab armies and terrorism were unable to achieve."

The seventh element was the organizational infrastructure created by the Palestinians in the preceding years, without which it is doubtful whether the uprising would have broken out or lasted so long. Its major components include the following:

1. Former prison inmates, individuals imprisoned for acts of terrorism who, after their release, rehabilitated themselves with the aid of the PLO by becoming active in national organizations or in Islamic groups. There were estimated to be about 25,000 of these former prison inmates, including some 600 terrorists released in the 1985 deal with the Jibril organization, who remained in the Administered Territories or Jerusalem.

2. Trade unions. Ultimately four federations of workers – run by Fataḥ, George Ḥabash's Popular Front, Naif Hawatmeh's Democratic Front, and the communists – emerged. By 1987 there were 180 unions in the Administered Territories, operating in every city and large village. The leading activists in the unions were former prisoners.

3. Women's organizations. The dominant influence was exercised by left-wing organizations, which preceded Fataḥ by some years. In 1988 four organizations were unified under a single roof-organization called the "Supreme Women's Council." The four PLO affiliates are: The Union of Women's Work Committees, founded in 1978 by the Democratic Front; The Union of the Palestinian Working Women, founded by the Communist Party in 1978; The Women's Union for Social Work, a Fataḥ-affiliated group founded at a relatively late date, in 1981; and The Palestinian Women's Union, affiliated with the Popular Front, that commenced its activity in early 1981 in the Bethlehem area.

4. Charitable societies. From the late 1970s these organizations were undergoing a process of severance from the Israeli authorities. There were several hundred charitable societies in the Territories. In Judea-Samaria alone there were 206 societies (as of March 1989), of which 45 were operated by women and 94 jointly by men and women. The Judea-Samaria societies employed 2,240 men and women and could call on tens of thousands of activists and volunteers.

5. Student unions. In June 1967 not a single university existed in the Territories; by 1990 there were six in the West Bank and one in the Gaza Strip. The universities were hothouses for Palestinian nationalism and revolutionary ideas, and over the

years students were the primary instigators of disturbances. The early 1980s saw the establishment of the West Bank General Council for Higher Education.

6. Fataḥ's Shabiba youth movement. The Shabiba, the largest and most established youth organization in the Territories, fueled the uprising, chiefly in the West Bank. It was founded by Fataḥ in 1981. Initially the organization was comprised of former security prisoners and other nationalist activists within the Fataḥ framework. In 1983–84 the organization began operating in the Gaza Strip (where Islamic elements are dominant), setting up 150 local committees.

7. Islamic movements. In the Gaza Strip Islamic groups were the prime propellants of the uprising, especially the Muslim Brothers and the Islamic Jihad. The Muslim Brothers operated under cover of an association called al-Mujamaa al-Islami which was registered with the Israeli authorities in 1978. The Military Government had permitted its establishment hoping that it would constitute a counterweight to the PLO.

A militant offshoot of the Muslim Brothers known as "Hamas" (Arabic acronym for Islamic Resistance Movement, meaning fervent ardor) began operating in the Gaza Strip shortly after the start of the Intifada. Hamas espoused stands that were far more extreme than those of the PLO.

8. The eighth cause of the Intifada can be traced to an erosion in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF)'s deterrent image in the year preceding its onset. Successes scored by rioters and terrorists in 1987, and the IDF's withdrawal from Lebanon under pressure of civilian violence, undermined IDF deterrence and undercut the traditional status of the Israeli soldier.

Another phenomenon not lost on the inhabitants of the Territories was a gradual escalation in bold acts of terrorism perpetrated against Israelis by young individuals using knives and operating without an organizational base. The final factor was the shattering of the deterrent image of the General Security Service (GSS) in the wake of the extended crisis in the organization that ensued from the "No. 300 Bus affair" (see YB 86–87:281), and led to the resignation of the GSS chief and senior agents.

The period immediately preceding the uprising saw a number of flagrantly unusual incidents.

GAZA STRIP. An Islamic Jihad squad, in July 1987, escaped from the military prison in the Gaza Strip, situated in the most heavily guarded military base in the area. The squad's successful prison break and its subsequent attacks on Israeli security personnel, had a destabilizing effect throughout the Gaza Strip.

In the middle of November 1987 violent demonstrations on an unprecedented scale (in one case more than 2,000 people took part) were held in the Jibalyah refugee camp. For the first time demonstrators tried to break through the fence of the military base located near the offices of the Civil Administration.

JUDEA AND SAMARIA. In 1986 and 1987 two events occurred in Judea-Samaria which to the local population showed IDF weakness and its inability to cope with an organized mass. These developments were interpreted as signaling a decline in Israeli involvement.

In April 1986, Israeli authorities knew in advance that Fataḥ activists intended to "take over" the funeral of assassinated Nablus major Jafr al-Masri and transform it into a major national event. It was decided to avoid a confrontation and not deploy IDF troops on or near the funeral route. In the course of the huge procession, in which 10,000 people filled the streets of Nablus from one end to the other, banners and PLO flags were raised, and masked individuals marched openly. The second event occurred in 1987 when for the first time the IDF allowed Bir-Zeit University students and lecturers to hold a parade from the new to the old campus along a broad route 3 km. long. What took place was a national demonstration with the participation of about a thousand people in which flags and banners were hoisted. In their perception, the very fact that the authorities had permitted a national demonstration was proof that the government had been weakened and could not cope.

Some observers maintain that the Intifada actually began not in the Gaza Strip on December 9, 1987, but a few months earlier in the Balatah refugee camp near Nablus. So sharply did the situation in this camp deteriorate in 1986 and 1987 that Israel's very control there was called into question.

On the morning of May 31, 1987, an IDF force exceeding two battalions in strength entered the camp, in order to demonstrate Israeli sovereignty. Balatah was placed under curfew, and some 3,500 males were rounded up for identification. However the operation had to be halted when women in the camp staged a mass riot which was joined by the detained men. In forcing the IDF to halt the operation, the rioters scored a major success. For the local residents this was an extraordinary event: for the first time they had forced the IDF to retreat and in doing so had consolidated their self-rule in the camp. The broader ramification was a significant erosion in the IDF's deterrent capacity in the eyes of the entire population of the Territories.

Immediate Causes

A single hang-glider operation near Kiryat Shemonah on November 25, 1987, fired the imagination of the Palestinians. The attack, in which six Israeli soldiers were killed by a single terrorist, was perceived in the Territories as a major success in the Palestinians' struggle against Israel. It also helped create the perception that the IDF was not invincible and, concomitantly, engendered an image of a new Palestinian hero.

Rumors played a significant inflammatory role in generating the outbreak and spread of the riots, with the Israeli authorities unable to find an effective means to squelch them. The immediate spark for the riots, in the Jibalyah refugee camp on December 9, was a rumor concerning a road accident the previous day in which four Gazans were killed when their car collided with a truck driven by an Israeli. According to this rumor, the driver of the Israeli vehicle was the brother of an

Israeli who had been killed two days earlier in a terrorist attack in Gaza, and the four Arabs were from the Jibalyah camp. In fact, the driver was not the brother of the murdered man; and the Arabs who were killed were not from the Jibalyah camp but from a village of the same name.

The Israeli Factor

A series of Israeli mistakes at the outset of the uprising, in part structural and in part ongoing, contributed to the success of the Intifada.

The first mistake was the failure of the Israeli intelligence community to foresee the possibility that an uprising might break out. The principal reason for this was an ongoing conceptual fallacy encompassing both the political and military domains. Politically, a series of misappraisals were made: that time was on Israel's side concerning the Palestinian question; that the inhabitants of the Territories had no choice but to accept Israeli rule; that Israeli-Palestinian coexistence was an evolving process; and finally, that the struggle of the Palestinian population would not go beyond past parameters – sporadic disturbances.

There were three faults in the evaluation: the failure to assess that an uprising of these dimensions could or would occur, a concomitant failure to predict its timing, and, perhaps most serious, a misplaced confidence that the IDF could handle any disturbances that might erupt. It was assumed that an intensification of the struggle against Israel would take the form of increased terrorism and not a popular insurrection. That a new situation was emerging should have been evident from the surge in the number of incidents recorded in the Territories in 1987. Fatalities among Jews and Arabs killed in the Territories increased sharply in 1987 as compared with 1986. Arafat would later contend that the rumblings of the uprising could already be felt in 1986 although the full eruption occurred at the end of 1987.

Even in the days immediately after the start of the riots, the prevailing assessment was that they did not constitute an uprising and that order would be restored shortly. Notably, in this period the PLO leadership also failed to grasp the import of the events.

The second mistake occurred in the first days and weeks of the uprising, and stemmed from the evaluation that the riots were the same as past disturbances. It was not until two weeks after the rioting erupted that large forces were rushed to the Gaza Strip – and even later in Judea-Samaria. The non-reinforcement of the Israeli forces enabled the insurgents to score an initial success, and further eroded the IDF's deterrent image and resulted in an intensification of the violence.

The third mistake was a direct result of the second. In the first days of the uprising the limited forces in the Territories were deployed in numerous small units and frequently found themselves in life-threatening situations, facing large numbers of inflamed rioters, and had to open fire. The result was a relatively large number of casualties among the rioters (12 killed and 108 wounded in the Gaza Strip in the first two weeks, and 7 killed and 56 wounded in Judea-Samaria). This high casualty rate spurred the rioters to continue and even aggravated the situation.

The fourth mistake stemmed from the IDF's policy of action and reaction regarding manifestations of civil disobedience. The local population viewed the military's abrupt shifts and vacillations of policy in the early stages of the uprising as proof of the authorities' confusion.

The fifth mistake occurred in the realm of Israeli counteractivities. Unlike past waves of unrest, the uprising was marked by more instances of excesses by IDF soldiers. There were too many such "irregularities" for them to be characterized as sporadic.

The sixth mistake was in some ways unavoidable in the circumstances: the severe damage caused to Israel's image in the international arena. This resulted primarily from the situation in the field, not from the absence of an effective information line. Not even the most brilliant information campaign could have nullified (or even moderated) the powerful message generated by television images of the disturbances. Television screens across the globe primarily showed irregular, violent behavior by IDF soldiers against stone-throwing youths, or against women and children. The result was to drive home the point that the IDF was an occupation army facing a civilian population fighting for its political right of self-determination.

Conclusion

The uprising was generated by a combination of underlying causes that were aggravated over the years, as well as by more immediate causes. Four major reasons may be adduced to explain why the Intifada erupted only after 20 years of Israeli rule: a rise in nationalism, increased frustration, the Palestinians' creation of a national organizational infrastructure, and the erosion in the IDF's deterrent capability. Two decades of Israeli control, far from bringing about coexistence, produced mounting resistance to Israel and a growing desire among the population to divest themselves of Israeli rule. A new generation of Palestinians born and brought up under Israeli occupation, proved ready to fight, take greater risks, and make more sacrifices than their forebears. To this must be added the Palestinians' feeling that time was working against them (in the aftermath of the Lebanon War and Israel's intensified settlement policy in the Territories) and that past modes of action, including terrorism, had done little to advance their cause.

An important cause was the erosion of the IDF's deterrent ability vis-à-vis the local population. The decline began in the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War. The process was escalated by the Lebanon War of 1982–85 in which, according to the Palestinians' reading, an indigenous civilian population had forced the IDF to withdraw from Lebanon. The shattering of the deterrent image projected by the GSS (in 1986 and 1987) because of the No. 300 Bus affair, further diminished the Israeli authorities' deterrent image. The rioting was triggered by immediate and ongoing causes, once the underlying

causes were ripe. From this point of view, the uprising could have broken out before or after December 1987.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VIOLENT STRUGGLE AND THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IN THE UPRISING

The uprising in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip differed from past acts of disorder. The case under review constituted a popular uprising encompassing the entire population of the Territories characterized by violence on a broad scale as well as manifestations of civil disobedience. The considerable efforts of the Israeli security forces proved insufficient to halt the violence and restore the status quo ante.

Objectives

The uprising began spontaneously. Hence, no specific objectives were set (although the inhabitants' basic desire since June 1967 had been to divest themselves of Israeli rule). A variety of goals were enunciated as events took their course. These involved one fundamental long-term goal as well as immediate or intermediate-range goals.

The essential long-term objective was sweeping in nature and went far beyond the aims of past waves of unrest. It was, in short, release from Israeli rule and the establishment of a Palestinian state. In the words of PLO leader Yasser Arafat, "To end the Israel occupation, recover our land, and our right to self-determination and an independent state." Arafat was ambivalent about whether the Palestinian state he envisaged would be confined to the boundaries of June 4, 1967, or would incorporate all or part of the State of Israel as well.

To this must be added the "right of return" demanded by the Palestinians. This would entail Israel's permitting the three million Palestinians living in the Arab world, of whom 2.2 million are refugees (one million living in refugee camps), to reclaim their property in Israel, or receive compensation.

Additional objectives were as follows:

(1) To forge a political power base for the PLO and the Palestinians while weakening Israel politically;

(2) To induce the superpowers to coerce Israel into agreeing to an international peace conference under UN auspices with the participation of the PLO in an independent delegation;

(3) To strengthen the PLO as the symbol and sole representative of the Palestinian cause, and to undercut King Hussein's ability to represent the Palestinians and enter into negotiations with Israel; and

(4) To generate an internal debate in Israel and polarize stands on the Palestinian issue which, ultimately, would bring about a policy change.

Intensifying the Struggle

The aims of intensifying the struggle were the following:

(1) To ensure that struggle assumes a broad popular character and can continue indefinitely;

(2) To involve the majority of the Palestinians in the Territories in the struggle; and

(3) To transform the uprising into a stage toward the onset of "comprehensive" civil disobedience.

Moving toward Self-Government

Another objective was to reduce to the minimum Israeli control in civilian areas of life and to establish, gradually, local Palestinian bodies (associated with the PLO or Islamic Jihad) to administer routine civil affairs and replace the Israeli authorities.

The Violent Struggle

The violent struggle can be characterized by

(1) Duration. The Intifada was ongoing for years and seemed open-ended – a fact that some local residents regard as its primary characteristic.

(2) Geographical scope. The uprising gradually came to encompass all of Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem, taking root even in previously tranquil locales, some of which assumed leadership roles in the uprising despite, or because of, their former good relations with Israel (e.g., Kalkilya, Tulkarm, and Jenin).

(3) Targets: Israelis and Palestinians. Whereas past disturbances had been aimed primarily at the Israeli authorities in the Territories, this time civilians were also targeted. In fact, since the violence is directed in the first place against Israeli vehicles in the Territories, its target is any Israeli – soldier or civilian – traveling on the roads.

IDF Spokesman statistics show that from the start of the uprising until April 8, 1989, 6,951 disturbances (not including the throwing of petrol bombs) in the Territories were directed against soldiers, 7,216 against civilians, and 11,031 incidents in which people were not the target (e.g., tire-burning). According to data supplied by the Egged Bus Company, the first nine months of the uprising saw attacks on 1,650 of the firm's buses of which 39 were torched (the majority in the early stages); and 188 passengers and 24 drivers were wounded by stones. By June 8, 1989, 3,136 buses had come under attack and 337 passengers had been wounded.

Palestinian "collaborators" were also targeted, and in some cases violence was used to settle personal accounts. One-quarter to one-third of those murdered were killed to settle personal accounts, some were disposed of for moral-religious reasons, and others because they were suspected of collaborating with Israeli intelligence or engaging in economic collusion. Although the Israeli authorities took a very grave view of this phenomenon, measures taken to stop the practice were ineffectual.

(4) Scale of casualties and detainees. The high number of casualties among the rioters – far exceeding anything in the past – did not deter the population.

Considerable disparities exist regarding the statistics on Palestinian casualties. Taking all the different figures into account, the total number of Palestinians killed by the IDF and Jewish settlers in the first year and a half was probably about 550, with more than 6,500 wounded – a daily average of one killed and 12 wounded.

There were 15 Israelis killed and 1,822 wounded in the period under discussion. The number of Israelis wounded is relatively high, constituting 28 percent of the number of Pal-

estinians wounded. In contrast, the number of Israelis killed stands at 0.3 percent of the number of Palestinians.

(5) Scale of involvement. The extent and number of participants in riots was far greater than in the past, when a few dozen or at most a few hundred demonstrators would take to the streets. Some of the riots involved thousands of people – including one riot in the Gaza Strip in which more than 10,000 people took part – until the IDF began fielding large forces to prevent demonstrations swelling to this size. About ten percent of the population were actively involved in the violence but it had the moral and material support of virtually everyone in the Territories.

(6) Boldness. Greater boldness, intensity, and determination were manifested by the population. Weapons employed – all of them potentially lethal – included stones, rocks, bricks, steel balls fired with slingshots, knives (either thrown or in stabbing attempts at close quarters), hatchets, petrol bombs, maces made of sticks with protruding nails, and nails and oil scattered on roads to bring traffic to a standstill.

The Palestinians evinced growing daring as the uprising progressed, even when the risk of being wounded or killed was palpable. In contrast to the past, the population as a whole was more willing to tolerate casualties (including fatalities), hardships, and adversities of all kinds in order to advance the uprising.

(7) Use of firearms. Although the Intifada did not involve the use of firearms, terrorism continued to be perpetrated in dissociation from the riots.

It was primarily a "street-smart" attitude (and not so much PLO directives from outside) that accounted for the non-use of firearms. The rationale for this tactic was threefold: the desire of the Palestinians to produce a favorable impression on world public opinion of the uprising as a popular manifestation; fear that the use of firearms in demonstrations would result in a Palestinian bloodbath due to the IDF's absolute superiority in this domain; and an insufficient quantity of firearms in the possession of organized cells to render their use effective (although light arms in the thousands are held by individuals, families, and clans, particularly in villages).

Despite this, firearms continued to be employed parallel to the Intifada as an additional means of struggle against Israel (the "armed struggle"). However, the uprising itself was now the principal weapon.

(8) Women had taken part in disturbances in the past, but without engaging Israeli troops at close quarters. In the uprising they were involved on a large scale in the rioting and in throwing stones and petrol bombs. In some cases riots were led by women, and there were also demonstrations consisting exclusively of women. The uprising leadership was undoubtedly aware that Israeli soldiers would react more moderately vis-à-vis women rioters. Notably, women from rural areas and refugee camps were more prone to violence than their urban counterparts.

(9) Central organizing in the uprising. The uprising erupted spontaneously, but within a short time local leaderships sprang up. Each neighborhood had its popular and revolutionary committees comprised of representatives of up to four organizations (Fataḥ, Popular Front, Democratic Front, and Communists), or popular committees consisting of Islamic groups. Above them in each city was a central coordinating council (made up of the same factions as the popular committees). Beyond the city level was the United National Command (UNC) of the Uprising to which the four main factions assigned second- or third-rank functionaries. The UNC was formed piecemeal and was a loosely knit structure of cells. The population was activated and events controlled through the distribution of written communiqués (leaflets) or via radio broadcasts (Radio Baghdad, etc.). Its first leaflet was issued about three weeks after the start of the uprising for dissemination in the Territories. These numbered leaflets were drawn up following discussion with the PLO leadership.

No high command existed on which all four PLO factions were represented. The leaders of each faction formulated policy on the basis of direct guidelines received from PLO headquarters. These central figures did not meet and did not coordinate their actions. They acted by issuing instructions to their representatives on the UNC. It was via the leaflets, which gave directives to the general population, that coordination was achieved. The top-level leadership comprised about 45 persons based for the most part in East Jerusalem.

Even though the names of the political leaders of the Intifada were known to the Israeli authorities, no attempt was made to arrest them en bloc.

(10) East Jerusalem. The disturbances there, together with acts of civil disobedience (such as a commercial strike), took place parallel to the events in Judea-Samaria, and in some cases on a larger scale and with greater intensity. This may have derived from the feeling that fiercer opposition needed to be shown in East Jerusalem to annul Israel's formal annexation of the area.

In Jerusalem the Intifada began on December 19, 1987. It was differentiated from the uprising in the Territories by various features:

(a) The leadership of the uprising was based in East Jerusalem.

(b) The level of violence was lower than in Judea-Samaria.

(c) World press coverage was far more intense than in the Territories.

(d) As East Jerusalem is formally part of Israel, the Israel Police – trained in riot-control methods – were deployed there, rather than (as in the Territories) soldiers untrained in police tactics who are soon replaced by others.

(e) Since Judea-Samaria is a far larger area than Jerusalem, and the scale of incidents is far lower in Jerusalem, combating the Intifada in Jerusalem was less problematic.

(g) The number of casualties in Jerusalem was relatively small on both sides (until the Temple Mount clash in October 1990).

(h) Few Arab policemen heeded the calls in the leaflets to resign.

(i) Both sides considered Jerusalem, with its many holy places, a symbol. A serious incident in Jerusalem had an almost immediate effect on the behavior of the Palestinians in the Territories.

(11) Torchings of forests and crops. The use of arson to destroy forests, orchards, and field crops, and the sabotaging of agricultural equipment – for the most part in Israel proper but also in the Territories – began as a local initiative but quickly gained the support of the PLO leadership. The torchings began in May 1988 without any previous calls to the population to adopt this tactic either in UNC leaflets or PLO broadcasts.

Civil Disobedience

Aspects of civil disobedience were part of the uprising:

(1) Origins: The first to urge a boycott on the purchase of Israeli goods and on work in Israel, along with tactics of passive disobedience, was Dr. Mubarak Awad, a Palestinian-American who arrived in Jerusalem in 1984. Hana Siniora drew on Awad's ideas when he called for civil disobedience already in early January 1988, preceding the uprising leadership.

Siniora's program began to be implemented once it became possible for the uprising leadership to enforce the boycott by means of the strike units and popular committees. As a result, manifestations of civil disobedience were part and parcel of the uprising for far longer than past attempts. The tactic included strikes and demonstrations, resignations of policemen and tax collectors, reduced purchases of Israeli goods, non-payment of taxes, and diminished contact with the Civil Administration, its functions being filled by the popular committees. True, some of the measures called for were purely demonstrative in character, but the majority sought to undercut Israeli civilian rule in the Territories and, if possible, to reduce and eventually eliminate the population's economic dependence on Israel.

(2) The struggle for the reopening of schools. Generally speaking, the population carried out the directive of the UNC, but not all its calls for civil disobedience were obeyed. One example was the call to students, teachers, and administrative staff of educational institutions in Judea-Samaria to break into the schools and thus "overturn the enemy's decision [to close the schools]… to organize teaching on a national basis."

Israel had closed the schools in the Territories in order to contain the uprising. The uprising leadership wanted to bring about a situation in which teachers and headmasters would violate the orders of the Civil Administration by breaking into schools and resuming studies. However, this failed to occur in the 840 government and 100 UNRWA schools (there are also 300 private schools), although sporadic short-lived attempts were made. Evidently the teachers feared a direct confrontation with the authorities and the high risk of being fired. Furthermore, some schools had been seized by the IDF to accommodate certain units. In contrast, the private schools, attended by about 11 percent of the pupils in Judea-Samaria, continued to operate normally.

(3) Cessation of work in Israel. Another demand of the leadership which the population ignored was to cease work in Israel. As early as January 18, 1988, the call went out to continue the strike "in factories inside Israel" with the aim of "paralyzing the Israeli production line and undermining the Israeli economy." Toward the end of that month this call was extended to cover not only factories but all work in Israel. Indeed, it was perhaps the uprising's major failure that it was unable to prevent Palestinians from the Territories from continuing to "build" Israel. Work in Israel was the major source of livelihood for the inhabitants of the Territories. Manifestly, the cessation of work in Israel would mean mass unemployment, as no alternative exists. The uprising leadership, grasping the impracticality of the demand, moderated its call to workers by degrees. Undoubtedly the leadership knew that this demand, too, was impractical – supervision was impossible – but thought it might score points in the media.

MANIFESTATIONS OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE. The civil disobedience campaign continued and took principally the following forms:

(a) General strike days on which all economic activity including commerce, transportation, work, etc., ceases. Strike days were set by the authors of the leaflets and were fully and precisely carried out by the urban population but less so as one moved away from the cities.

The strikes were not intended to create chaos. The purpose of the general strikes, which were sometimes intensified by calls for a hunger strike, was not only to express resistance and anger in the face of ongoing Israeli rule but also to help unify ranks and heighten solidarity and motivation for the struggle.

(b) Commercial strikes. In addition to the cessation of commerce during general strikes, merchants were called upon – this began in East Jerusalem already at the end of December 1987, spreading thereafter to the Territories – to "open shops, gas stations, and vendors' stalls each day for three hours." Pressure was exerted on merchants to ensure that shops remained closed during the hours stipulated. While commercial strikes had been used as acts of defiance toward the Israeli authorities since 1967, never before had they become a continuous and virtually permanent tool which the military was unable to break.

(c) The cessation of tax payments to the Civil Administration was first demanded in a leaflet of early March 1988 and unabated. At the same time, local tax collectors were urged to resign.

In mid-July 1988, Defense Minister Yitẓḥak Rabin told the Knesset that revenue from tax payments in the Territories had dropped by 40 percent since the start of the uprising.

Taxes collected in 1988 amounted to 60 percent of the total collected the previous year. The budget of the Civil Administration was reduced by more than one-quarter, the planned

budget of NIS 588 million being revised to NIS 420 million. This was also the figure set for 1989. The Civil Administration was therefore compelled to dismiss workers and slash its activity. The development budget was totally canceled in Judea-Samaria and drastically reduced in the Gaza Strip.

(d) Resignation of policemen. Beginning in March 1988, leaflets of the uprising leadership called "on all policemen… to submit their resignations immediately" (noting that the resignation demand was directed at "the police and taxation sectors only"), threatening them with "the long hand of the punitive squads." Ad hominem pressures were in fact brought to bear on policemen to leave their jobs, including the murder of a Jericho policeman. Efforts at counter-persuasion by the Israel Police and the Civil Administration proved unavailing. Wearing the uniform and insignia of the Israel Police, they constituted the most blatant legal manifestation of the local population's integration into the Israeli occupation administration.

(e) Pressure was exerted for the resignation of local municipal councils, especially those which had been appointed by the Civil Administration rather than having been elected. This tactic was employed primarily in Ramallah, El Bira, and Nablus. The Intifada leadership had only limited success in this matter. Only three of 88 village councils in Judea-Samaria resigned. Likewise, even though the mayor of El Bira was assaulted and wounded, only one of 25 mayors resigned (the mayor of Nablus, the largest city in Judea-Samaria). No appointed councils resigned en bloc, and very few individual councilors resigned. The main reason for this state of affairs was the assessment by local officials that if they left they would be replaced by direct Israeli civil rule (as had already occurred in the past). Around the end of 1988 the PLO revised its tactics and ceased demanding the resignation of appointed councils.

(f) A development with far-reaching ramifications was the Palestinians' attempt to establish a self-rule mechanism as an alternative to Israeli rule. The Palestinians in the Territories tend to assess that they have acquired effective rule in many fields and that, as a result of the uprising, they are on their way toward establishing a state of their own. From the start of the Intifada, a process was underway of the institutionalization of PLO bodies in the Territories and the formation (or consolidation) of supreme councils with authority for the entire West Bank. "Auxiliary" committees were established in every locality and every neighborhood in order to administer community activities and in general "to look after all the affairs of the neighborhood."

Funds on a huge scale were required to keep the uprising going for almost three years. According to Muhammad Milhem, head of the Occupied Territories Section on the PLO's Executive Committee, in 1988 the damage sustained in the Territories by inhabitants and institutions totaled $571 million. This represented the salaries of activists, PLO compensation to families of fatalities (an initial payment of about 2,000 Jordanian dinars and then 100 dinars a month) and to the owners of houses demolished by the IDF according to their value (for purchasing or building a new house), and payments to the families of detainees (about 50 dinars a month if the detainee is unmarried, and 60 dinars to the family of a married detainee).

During the uprising, Israel took a number of steps to halt the smuggling of funds into the Territories via Jordan. Control was tightened at the Jordan River bridges (and at the Rafa checkpoint on the Egyptian border), and the amount of money a person entering from Jordan – either a local inhabitant or a visitor from an Arab state – could bring in was reduced to 200 dinars (instead of $2,000). A Palestinian inhabitant of the Territories entering the country via Ben-Gurion International Airport could bring in up to $400. Yet despite these measures and the close supervision of the Cairo-Amman Bank, PLO funds continued to reach the Territories and fuel the uprising.

The three primary conduits were (in ascending order) tourists arriving via Ben-Gurion Airport, who may bring in an unlimited sum of money, and are "recruited" abroad by the PLO for this purpose; money-changers from East Jerusalem, the Territories and even the Me'ah She'arim quarter of Jerusalem, who have branches abroad through which the PLO can transfer funds; and Western banks – a resident of Israel or the Territories with an account in an Israeli bank may legally transfer funds into the account from banks abroad (though the money can be withdrawn in Israeli shekels only). Funds are thus transferred directly to the Territories or, in some cases, via Israeli Arabs.

Conclusion

The civil disobedience campaign was not all-embracing and did not cover all areas of life. Its purpose was not to foment chaos but to demonstrate Israel's inability to rule in many spheres and to build a self-rule infrastructure for a future Palestinian state. The civil disobedience was not carried to extremes which would enfeeble the population's staying power, but was judiciously applied, staying within the parameters of the residents' capacities.

Civil disobedience was partial. In April 1989 Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad) explained why the Intifada had not evolved into outright civil disobedience. Such a development would entail the destruction and replacement of the existing administration, he said, and as this would require funds on a scale not currently available, civil disobedience was being implemented only in part. All the same, a self-image was created of a people fighting for its liberty through the utilization of all means, including civil disobedience. In 1990 most of the local Palestinians employed by the Civil Administration continued on the job, but there were signs that their integration into the system was ebbing. At the same time, a large percentage of the working force in the Territories continued to work in Israel.

Summing up, the primary characteristics of the uprising were violence, large-scale participation, the involvement of all the cities, villages, and refugee camps in Judea-Samaria

and the Gaza Strip, its duration (more than 36 months), its central control and direction, its political aims (liberation from Israeli rule), its manifestations of civil disobedience, and the Palestinians' struggle to take gradual control of civilian areas of life.

MAJOR RAMIFICATIONS OF THE UPRISING

Political Ramifications

The major consequence of the uprising was the shattering of the political consensus inside Israel. The fact that the uprising continued for such a lengthy period despite all the IDF's efforts, and the growing realization that it could not be stopped by military force alone, generated a new political situation.

For years the conception harbored by the majority of Israel's political parties was that the Territories did not constitute a burden of any sort and that the policy of creeping annexation could be pursued without fear of a popular revolt by the Palestinians. The uprising overturned this conception.

The uprising produced a growing polarity within Israeli public opinion and radicalization toward both left and right. Some Israelis saw no possibility of restoring the previous situation and believed that a political solution was essential, even if it entailed concessions. At the other end of the scale were those in whom the Intifada had instilled despair of any political solution and who were more convinced than ever that force was necessary to eradicate the uprising and beyond. The majority of Israelis still continued to oppose the establishment of a Palestinian state.

Criticism of the Army

Both right and left have been critical of the IDF's performance in combating the Intifada. The left spoke of brutalization; the right said the military was evading its duty to stamp out the uprising. Yet the public at large was less critical of the IDF than of the political leadership, and the uprising did not generate a crisis either within the IDF or between it and the Israeli public.

The Palestinian Issue on the International Agenda

The struggle of a civilian population against Israeli military rule, with images of children and youths throwing stones and Israeli troops reacting with sometimes excessive force screened day after day on TV around the world, generated sympathy for the Palestinians and harsh criticism of Israel, political and other. Furthermore, the uprising placed the Palestinian issue on the international political agenda for the first time in years. The Intifada forced the parties to the conflict to go beyond violence and counterviolence and embark on the path of a political solution. A series of political initiatives ensued, launched by Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz followed by a turnabout in the stand of the PLO, the onset of a U.S.-PLO dialogue, and the Israeli political initiative.

Political Initiatives

THE MUBARAK INITIATIVE. Mubarak put forward his plan toward the end of January 1988, some six weeks after the start of the uprising. The main points of the initiative, which was intended to set in motion a political process, were:

(1) a six-month moratorium on violence by the inhabitants of the Territories;

(2) a freeze on the establishment of new Israeli settlements in the Territories; and

(3) an Israeli declaration of readiness to accept steps toward an international conference and to recognize the Palestinians' political rights.

THE SHULTZ PLAN. The second initiative was put forward on behalf of the United States by Secretary of State Shultz following his visit to the Middle East at the end of February 1988. On March 4, Shultz forwarded his plan, and its operative points were as follows:

1. An international conference would be convened in mid-April 1988 by the UN secretary-general. The conference "will not be able to impose solutions or veto agreements reached."

2. On May 1, 1988, negotiations between an Israeli delegation and a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation "will begin on arrangements for a transitional period" with the objective of concluding these talks within six months (by November 1).

3. The "transitional period" would begin three months after the completion of the negotiations (i.e., February 1, 1989) and last for three years.

4. "[F]inal status negotiations" would commence on December 1, 1988 – before the start of the transitional period – and should be completed within one year.

The Shultz initiative was not accepted by the sides directly involved in the conflict and therefore could not serve as a basis for the start of negotiations. Nevertheless, the very fact that it was undertaken, in the final year of the Reagan administration, constituted an achievement for the uprising (irrespective of its contents).

By late May 1988 the impact of the uprising on the Jordanian authorities was clearly visible, their major priority now being to beef up the security of the East Bank.

On July 31, in an address to the Jordanian nation, King Hussein announced Jordan's disengagement from the West Bank, in his words: "the undoing of the legal and administrative bond between the two Banks," this in response "to the will of the PLO." In a press conference a few days later, he declared that Jordan no longer exercised any sovereignty over the West Bank and that it belonged to "the Palestinians."

THE THIRD INITIATIVE. *Changes in the stands of the PLO and the U.S.* Prominent Palestinians in the Territories pressed the PLO leadership, which was soon convinced of the need to launch a political process.

On November 15, 1988, the Palestinian National Council (PNC) adopted and published a series of resolutions, of which the two most significant are:

(1) The declaration of the establishment of an "independent national state, on their national soil." The proclamation

of statehood was based on UN General Assembly Resolution 181, of 1947 (rejected at the time by the Palestinians and the Arab states), which recommended the partition of Palestine into two states and recognized "the national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of return, the right of self-determination and independence, and a sovereignty over its national soil."

(2) Politically, the intention was to achieve "a comprehensive political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and its crux the Palestinian question" within the framework of the UN Charter and Security Council Resolutions 605, 607, and 608. The declaration stressed the PNC's "rejection of terrorism in all its forms," while drawing a distinction between this and a liberation struggle against occupation in order to achieve independence. The two PNC resolutions signified a more flexible PLO stance on two cardinal issues: establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel (even though the boundaries envisaged, based on the UN Partition Resolution, were unacceptable to Israel as a starting point for negotiations); and the goal of "a comprehensive political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict" through direct negotiations with Israel.

Addressing the meeting of the General Assembly on December 13, 1988, Arafat reiterated the main resolutions which had been passed by the PNC.

Arafat's address to the UN still did not induce Washington to enter into a dialogue with the PLO. The change in the American stand occurred in the wake of a press conference held by Arafat in Geneva (apparently following prior coordination with the U.S.) in which he moderated his stance on the terrorism issue. Arafat stated that "we totally and categorically reject all forms of terrorism, including individual, group, and state terrorism." He offered no change, however, on the topic of Resolutions 242 and 338, continuing to maintain that the PNC had accepted these "as a basis for negotiations with Israel within the framework of the international conference." Arafat added that the PNC considered Resolution 181 "a basis for Palestinian independence." U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, in a press conference the same day, announced Washington's decision to open a dialogue with the PLO in the wake of Arafat's statement.

For the PLO the onset of an official dialogue with the U.S. constituted a major achievement. To obtain the revision in the American stand, the PLO had to make concessions which it had refused to do for 14 years. It was the uprising in the Territories that caused the PLO's turnabout.

Israeli Responses

DEFENSE MINISTER'S PLAN. In late January 1989, Defense Minister Yitzḥak Rabin made public the main points of his plan for launching a peace process with the Palestinians.

The Rabin Plan consisted of two principal stages based on the principles of the Camp David accords: an interim settlement (transitional period) and, following a specified time, negotiations on a permanent settlement. These two stages would be preceded by: first, 3–6 months of calm and quiet in the Territories. Secondly, elections would be held not at the municipal level but for a "political representation" which would negotiate with Israel on an interim settlement. The object of the elections was "to find a partner [for negotiations] among the residents of the Territories." Rabin proposed two phases:

(1) Negotiations with representatives from the Territories, to be chosen in free elections, on an interim settlement and a transitional period.

(2) Following the transitional period, negotiations would be held to work out the permanent solution. The solution could take the form of "partnership with Jordan, federative or other," or "an idea of a federation of some kind with Israel."

The Rabin Plan was rejected, for public consumption at least, by the Palestinians. However, the Palestinians did discern a few positive elements in the Rabin Plan, notably that the defense minister had moved toward accommodation with them, and his readiness for a permanent solution in the form of a confederation between Jordan and the Territories, a solution going beyond Camp David.

THE SHAMIR PLAN AND THE GOVERNMENT'S INITIATIVE. At his meeting with U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Washington on April 6, 1989, Prime Minister Shamir put forward a four-part plan. The prime minister's plan was accepted by President Reagan as a starting point and basis for negotiations, and talks with both Israel and the PLO got underway. Israel was asked to formulate a more concrete and detailed proposal, and the result was the May 14 government initiative based on points adduced by the prime minister and the defense minister. The following were the principal points of the Israeli initiative.

"Basic Premises [include]:

"Israel opposes the establishment of an additional Palestinian state in the Gaza District and in the area between Israel and Jordan.

"Israel will not conduct negotiations with the PLO.

"Subjects to be Dealt with in the Peace Process":

(1) The initiative calls for "promoting a comprehensive settlement for the Arab-Israel conflict, including recognition, direct negotiations, ending the boycott, diplomatic relations…"

(2) On the subject of the elections, "Israel proposes free and democratic elections among the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza District… In these elections a representation will be chosen to conduct negotiations for a transitional period of self-rule."

(3) Immediately after the elections, negotiations will be held with the Palestinian representation "on an interim agreement." In these negotiations "all the subjects relating to the substance of the self-rule" will be determined.

THE PALESTINIANS' STAND. Both Egypt and especially the PLO found it difficult to accept the Israeli initiative. President Mubarak transmitted to Israel a list of ten conditions for holding elections, while Arafat and other PLO leaders assailed the

Israeli initiative publicly and rejected it in their dialogue with the U.S. Their virtually uniform line consisted of agreement to elections but only after "Israel's withdrawal from Palestine."

The PLO's stand on election in the Territories was summed up in an interview given by Arafat to an Egyptian newspaper. His four conditions included a radical approach toward key principles:

(1) A partial IDF withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza prior to elections;

(2) Determination of a timetable for total Israeli withdrawal from the Territories, within 27 months;

(3) Elections to be held under UN supervision and agreement to the Palestinian refugees' right of return to their former homes;

(4) Specifying a date for the proclamation of an independent Palestinian state.

The Israeli initiative did not meet the PLO's conditions, but the organization did not reject it outright.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS AND RAMIFICATIONS

The Administered Territories

DEPENDENCE ON ISRAEL. The Territories' economic dependence on Israel continued. These regions cannot survive without imports from and via Israel. The Territories are self-sufficient only in a few areas of agriculture, domestic animals, dairy products, various foods, and textiles.

WORK IN ISRAEL. Employment in Israel continued to be the main source of income in both regions.

PURCHASE OF ISRAELI GOODS. The local industry benefited from the boycott of Israeli merchandise. Consumption declined, local factories once more found themselves in dire straits. The owner of one large factory said his revenues had decreased by 30 percent.

AGRICULTURE AND EXPORTS TO JORDAN. The only area that showed a rise in production was agriculture. However, exports from Judea-Samaria to Jordan fell by 40 percent in the first nine months of 1988. Exports from Gaza were unaffected as compared with 1987.

UNEMPLOYMENT. Official figures put the unemployment level in Judea and Samaria during the uprising at an insignificant 3–4 percent – a good deal lower than in Israel. The real figure was probably far higher.

DECLINE IN LIVING STANDARD. The uprising caused a decline in the standard of living – up to 35 percent in some spheres.

The economic ramifications of the uprising were severe in the extreme. In the long term, the increasing pauperization among the population of the Territories may well have constituted a greater threat to the continuation of the uprising than the IDF's countermeasures.

Developments and Ramifications in Israel

Economically, the uprising affected Israel in three main areas:

(1) The unusually large mobilization of reservists caused a sharp decline in production. This was aggravated by the falloff in workdays of residents of the Territories in Israel.

(2) Israeli exports to the Territories fell drastically.

(3) Incoming tourism to Israel decreased by 15 percent in 1988, a loss of $120 million.

One sector that "benefited" from the uprising was Israel's Arabs, due to the tarnished image of West Bank cities that had served as commercial centers for Israeli Arabs – and for many Israeli Jews as well. Israelis, both Jews and Arabs, fearing for their lives, ceased almost completely to enter the West Bank for shopping.

To sum up the economic ramifications, the economic hardship experienced by the residents of the Territories did not stop the uprising and showed no signs of doing so for a number of reasons: their refusal to surrender (as they saw it) and their desire to register political achievements via the uprising; despite the financial crunch (above all due to the fall of 42 percent in the value of the dinar in 1988) money entered the Territories from PLO sources and there was no large-scale unemployment (many of those who lost their jobs in Israel found work locally); a household economy and primitive agriculture reduced economic dependence on Israel and allowed the struggle to continue. From Israel's point of view, the economic damage caused by the Intifada was bearable.

Overall, then, the uprising caused both sides economic difficulties – although these are certainly more severe in the Territories – but as long as the Palestinians felt that they were chalking up political successes, such difficulties did not suffice to stop the uprising.

Social Upheavals in the Territories

One effect of the uprising was to accelerate processes of social upheaval in the Territories. This was particularly evident in three areas. For one, the veteran leadership from the Jordanian period, whose status had already declined in the years preceding the Intifada, disappeared altogether. They were replaced by leaders and activists at the local level, and at the broader level by public figures, most of them based in East Jerusalem, who had been in the front rank of the national leadership even before the uprising.

Another result was a decline in the authority traditionally vested in the father as the head of the family and in the *ḥamula* (clan) system as a whole. The younger generation who led the uprising were deeply critical of their parents and grandparents for living under Israeli occupation for 20 years without fighting to liberate themselves. As the uprising developed, fathers lost all control over the activities of their sons. Indeed, family bonds were replaced by ties of a nationalist-political nature. There was no doubt that the young generation would exercise a greater influence than at any time in the past with regard to political decisions about the Territories.

The third area of social change concerned women, although here views differ. Civil Administration personnel contend that the status of women in the Palestinian society

did not undergo a basic change as a result of the uprising, notwithstanding that women were far more active than formerly in violent demonstrations and confrontations with the IDF.

In contrast, Palestinians, both men and women, contended that a social upheaval had already occurred in the status of Palestinian women in the Territories. The pace of developments was accelerated by the active and crucial role women played in the uprising from its very outset. The result was that women gained a status within Palestinian society, approaching the status of men.

Ramifications for Israel's Arabs (excluding East Jerusalem)

After the general strike, accompanied by demonstrations and violent disturbances, held by Israel's Arab population within the framework of "Peace Day" (December 21, 1987), Israeli Arabs became increasingly involved in assisting the struggle in the Territories. True, the scale of incidents was not great, but it is the very fact of their occurrence that was serious, and the dramatic surge as compared with the previous year. Israeli Arabs increasingly identified with the Arabs in the Territories and underwent a process of Palestinization and growing nationalism.

It was all but inevitable that a violent confrontation between Palestinians and Israel in the Territories would generate feelings of solidarity among Israeli Arabs. Manifestations of this solidarity included support in the form of delegations, fund-raising, and donations of food and medicine. These activities were organized by the Israeli Arab leadership, notably the heads of local councils. In addition, youths, apparently acting spontaneously, occasionally hoisted Palestinian flags, scrawled slogans on walls, threw stones and petrol bombs, and erected road barriers.

Most of the nationalist incidents took place in the Northern District of the Israel Police (north of Ḥaderah) and in the Iron Valley. Relatively few events were recorded in the south of the country.

In sum, it is difficult to determine whether the Intifada had already filtered across the Green Line by 1990, but violent nationalist incidents that were occurring with greater intensity than in the past may have foreshadowed the spread of the uprising. Dr. Ahmed Tibi, from Taibe, the chairman of the Association of Arab Academics, said: "The Intifada in all its manifestations will penetrate the Israeli-Arab street, it is only a question of time." The danger definitely existed that if the uprising in the Territories would continue and intensify, violence would also become more pervasive among Israeli Arab youths, and the leadership would be forced to submit to radical nationalist demands.

Conclusion

The cardinal political ramifications of the uprising were the following: the emergence of a new situation that precludes a return to the status quo ante; the placing of the Palestinian issue on the international agenda; serious polarization in Israel concerning policy toward the Territories and the Palestinian question; and more flexible stances adopted by the PLO and the Israeli government which would probably not have been forthcoming without the Intifada – the PLO agreeing to the idea of a Palestinian state alongside Israel, and Israel putting forward a political initiative involving elections in the Territories for representatives to negotiate an interim settlement as a stage toward a final settlement.

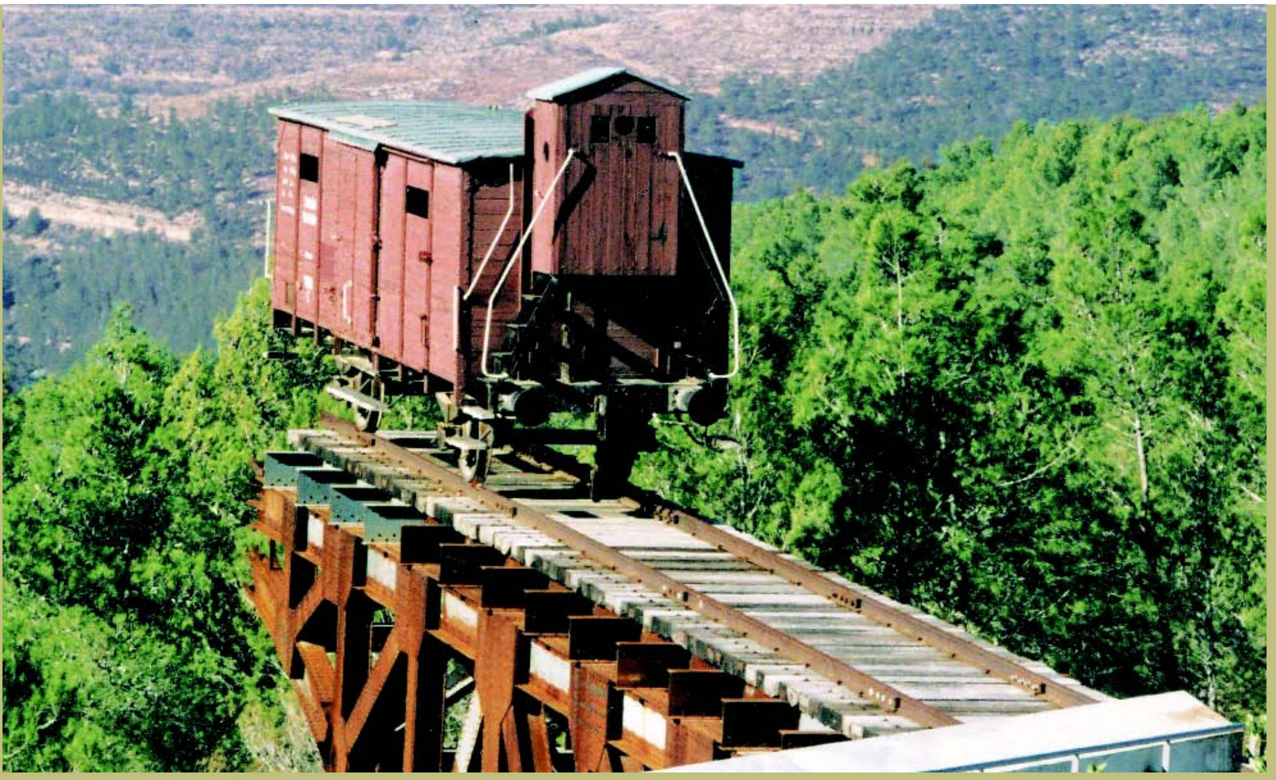
[Aryeh Shalev]

The Hall of Names in the Holocaust History Museum at Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, is the repository of the Pages of Testimony memorializing the victims of the Holocaust. *Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem. Photo: Yossi Ben David.*



Around the world there are many museums and monuments that memorialize the Holocaust and its victims. Most are in Europe and North America; some are on the sites of the death camps themselves. From six luminous towers in Boston to a single cattle car atop a railroad bridge in Yad Vashem, some of these striking memorials are depicted here.

MEMORIALIZATION OF THE HOLOCAUST



Memorial to the Deportees at Yad Vashem, Jerusalem. At the center of the memorial site stands an original German cattle car used to deport Jews to the extermination camps. Perched on the edge of a severed iron track, the cattle car is paused on the brink of the abyss—symbolizing the journey towards annihilation and oblivion. However, facing the hills of Jerusalem the memorial also conveys the eternal hope and renewal of life after the Holocaust. *Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.*





(opposite page) BOTTOM: **Symbolic reconstruction of the Leszno Street, in the Warsaw Ghetto in Poland, that includes authentic artifacts.** *Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.*

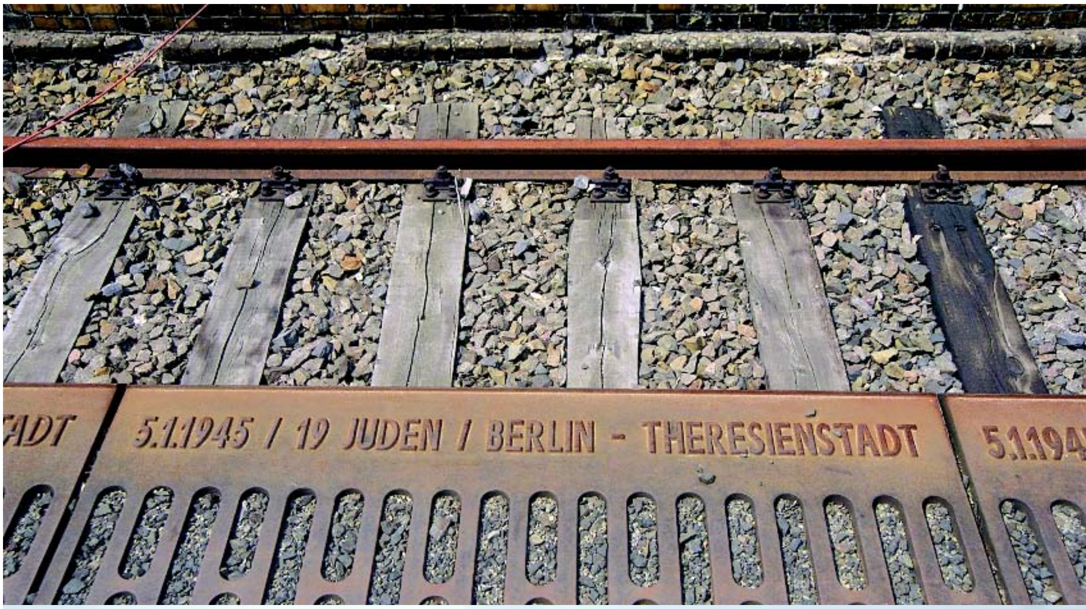
(this page): **Visitors in the Tower of Faces, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.** *Courtesy of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington. Photo: Max Reid.*

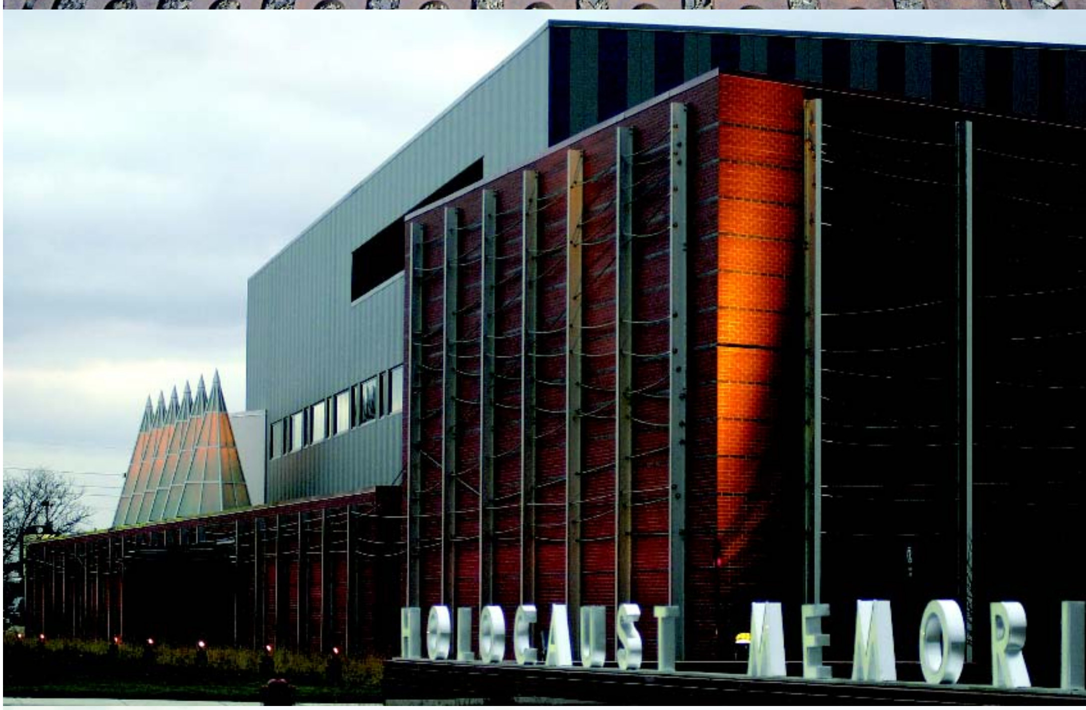


The Hall of Remembrance at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.
Courtesy of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington. Photo: Max Reid.

General view of the "weeping willow" holocaust memorial, in Budapest, Hungary.
Courtesy of Government Press Office, Jerusalem. Photo: Moshe Milner.









TOP: **"Memorial at Track 17" at Grunewald Station in Berlin, Germany.** *Courtesy of Government Press Office, Jerusalem. Photo: Moshe Milner.*

CENTER: **Holocaust Memorial Center in Farmington Hills, Michigan. The brick building is designed to symbolize the concentration camps. The facade resembles a barbed-wire fence surrounding the prisoners clad in striped uniforms. The six glass pyramids commemorate the 6 million victims of the Holocaust.** *AP Images.*

BOTTOM: **Evening at the Field of Stelae, Berlin.** *Courtesy of Foundation Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin.*




VORSICHT





(opposite page) TOP: **Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp in Poland.** *Courtesy of Government Press Office, Jerusalem. Photo: Ya'acov Sa'ar.*

(opposite page) BOTTOM: **View of the main camp at Auschwitz surrounded by a section of the barbed wire fence.** *Courtesy of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington.*

(this page) TOP: **The monument at the Sachsenhausen Nazi death camp in Germany.** *Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.*

(this page) BOTTOM: **Memorial at the site of the Treblinka death camp in Poland.** *Courtesy of Government Press Office, Jerusalem. Photo: Ya'acov Sa'ar.*

The New England Holocaust Memorial was begun by a group of survivors of Nazi concentration camps who settled in the Boston area. The memorial features six luminous, 54 feet high glass towers. Each tower is etched with the numbers 1 to 6,000,000 to memorialize those killed. *© Richard Cummins/Corbis.*

